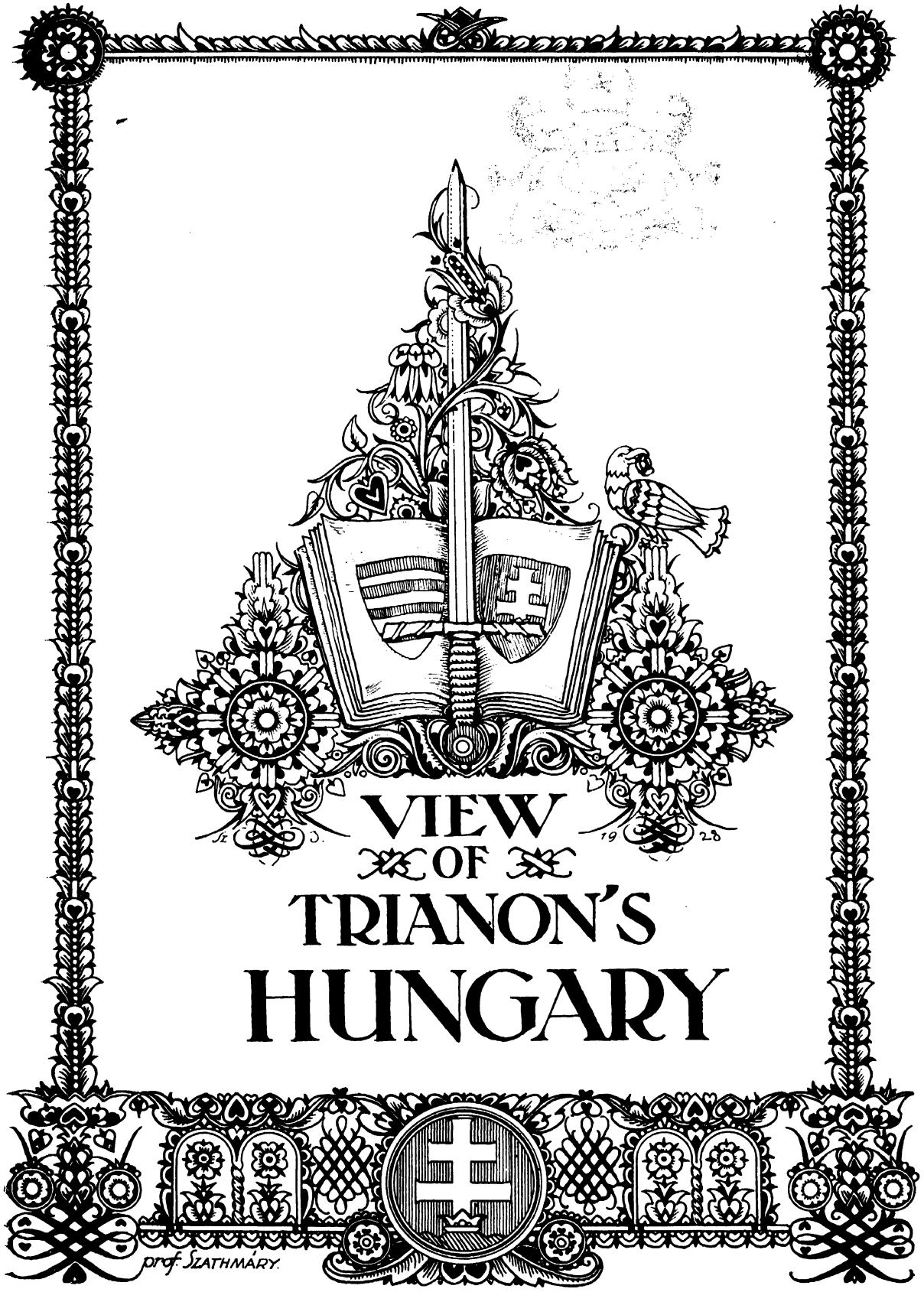
VIEW
OF
TRIANON'S
HUNGARY
prof. SZATHMÁRY.

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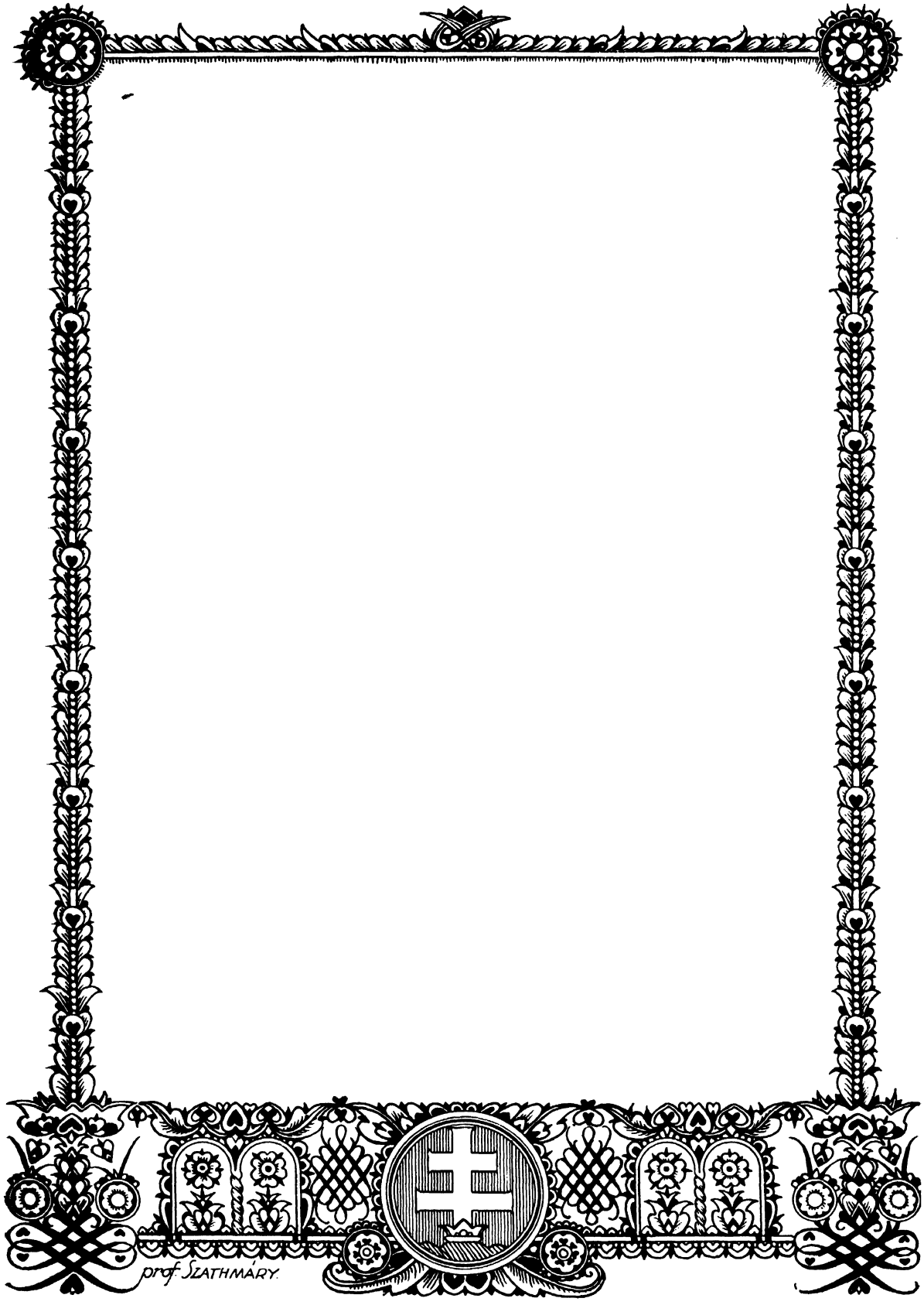
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LET THEM CONFINE
HIM CAPTIVE,
STILL SERENE

DESPITE THEM, HE
PRESERVES HIS
DAUNTLESS MIEN.

SZATHMÁRY.

Fáy. A

THE CAPTIVE LION

by PETŐFI SÁNDOR

The boundless desert is his home no more,
Within an iron cage he now must roar.

He, so debased, the desert's royal king,
To stand thus fettered with an iron ring!

To trifle with his sorrow let us cease,
'Tis desecration to disturb his peace.

If of his liberty he is bereft,
Let the dear memory of it still be left.

If to the tree his near approach be stayed,
Let him at least enjoy a little shade.

See in his port what majesty is found;
With how much grandeur do his looks abound!

Let them confine him captive, still serene
Despite them, he preserves his dauntless mien.

Even as the pyramid he seemeth grand,
Which towered above him in his own loved land.

His memory fondly leads him back again;
Once more he is upon his native plain,

That last expanse of wilderness where o'er
The wild simoom hath raced with him of yore.

O glorious land, O happy days and sweet!
But hush! he hears his prison-keepers' feet.

And lo! the world of fantasy has fled,
Because the keeper smote him on the head.

A stick-and such a boy commands him now.
O, heavenly powers! thus he has to bow.

Has he become so pitiful and poor
This deepest degradation to endure?

Behold the stupid herd, the gaping crowd
At his humiliation laugh aloud.

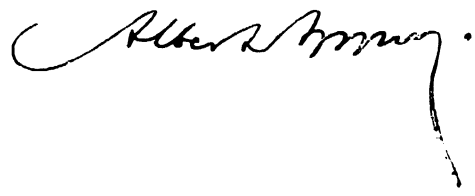
How dare they breathe, for should he break his chain,
No soul of them for hell-fire would remain.

prof SZATHMÁRY

inferior culture to rule territory with a racially mixed population, it has been known by Lord Rothermere that, of the 3 million 300 thousand Magyars taken away from Hungary, nearly 2 millions live, with no alien intermixture to speak of, on territories bordering on the territory left to Hungary. Flourishing Hungarian towns, almost purely Magyar, ancient seats of Hungarian learning, have been in that way severed from the mother country, which implies cultural destruction on a large scale, loss of intellectual values, moral sufferings wantonly inflicted on unwilling millions, without even the shadow of a principle to justify such action. The glaring injustice of these arrangements stands above discussion; it suffices to make them known in order to get a verdict of "Guilty„ from an unsophisticated public conscience.

But even to those who put considerations of expediency above those of justice, or who feel inclined to dismiss our case with a hint at its numerical insignificance, circumstances must be pointed out which must appeal to their practical sense. The following essays are written with the purpose of achieving this. But even here, in this introductory chapter it may be suggested in a general sort of way, that the importance of a military body does not entirely depend on its numbers, but — apart from the quality of the men — on the strategic value of the post as well, which it occupies and has to hold. This truth applies to political as well as to military situations. Now the Hungarian nation occupies the very spot on which the struggle of different types of culture has been going on for ages. Next to justice, our position on the boundaries of the west is the chief stronghold of our claims.

Budapest, January 1928.



THE HISTORY OF HUNGARY.

BY

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PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH IN THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN PETER PÁZMÁNY UNIVERSITY
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HUNGARY

CHAPTER I.

HUNGARY BEFORE THE COMING OF THE MAGYARS.

No attempt can be made to describe in detail Hungary and its conditions in the centuries preceding the coming of the Magyars. Romantic legends of the primitive cave-dwellers of the *paleolithic age* fighting for their lives, in the caves of *Aggtelek*, *Baráthegy*, and *Abaliget*, against the attack of the mammoths, might be capped by stirring stories of those rude inhabitants of the *neolithic age* who lived on the Lowlands skirting the Danube and the Tisza, where ancient cemeteries of the neolithic age have been unearthed, and at *Czinkota*, *Tószeg* and *Magyaród*, where has been discovered the richest collection of bone and horn implements in Europe. But to do so would be merely to reconstruct an imaginary history from the relics that have been discovered.

Hungary shares with Ireland the distinction of showing considerable traces of a *copper age*. Numerous hammers and hatchets wrought of this metal discovered in the *Mátra* district prove that the men of this age were skilled craftsmen.

The *bronze age* is represented by a still more numerous collection of implements, weapons etc. — swords (generally with blades of fleur-de-lis shape), daggers, pickaxes, spurs, chisels, knives, and sickles, etc. — discovered in various parts of Hungary, particularly at *Kisterenye*, in the county of Nógrád. The people of this age must have been familiar already with the claims of a higher civilisation. Of the lake-dwellings characteristic of this age, strange to say, no traces have been discovered in Hungary.

The beginnings of the *iron age* in Hungary practically coincide in point of time with the first appearence of the *Celts* (c. 350 B. C.). We are told, moreover, that in the days of Philip of Macedonia, and of his son Alexander the Great, Transylvania (Dacia) was made the scene of their operations by Greek traders and adventurers, traces of whose settlement are still to be found there: from this period dates the gilded bronze statue representing Ares (Alexander) discovered in the Vulkán Pass; and the bulk of Macedonian gold coins of this age were made of the products of Transylvanian mines.

The principal Celtic tribes settling in Hungary at this time were the *Boü* (Fertő district) and the *Scordisci* (district between the Drave and Save). They had iron coins; gave some attention to agriculture and mining; lived in „towns" and left written records. The discoveries made while excavating Celtic graves show that these tribes possessed a high grade of culture. They trafficked with foreign countries and had a mint at Regöly (in the county of Tolna).

The Celts of South-Western Hungary, the Dacians of Transylvania, and the *metanastae Jaziges* inhabiting the fertile plain between the Danube and the Tisza, were a constant menace to the Roman Empire. *Octavianus Augustus*, in 35 B. C., despatched his legions to occupy *Sirmium* (Mitrovicz) and *Sicia* (Sziszek), thus securing the control of the region between the Save and the Drave.

The Barbarians later rose in revolt and formed an alliance against the leadership of Rome under *Bato*. It was not until 8 A. D. that *Tiberius* succeeded in finally crushing the restless inhabitants of the province which, sixty-three years later, received the name of *Pannonia*.

Traces of the Roman occupation are to be found, not only in Aquincum, where there is a most interesting museum, but in the numerous fortifications discovered in various parts of Hungary. We know that the Romans drained Lake Balaton, and endeavoured to give the new province all the characteristic features of the countries permanently occupied by their legions. Traces of cotton mills and workshops of goldsmiths and silversmiths have been discovered, as well as those of a shield factory (Aquincum) and a mint (Siscia). Other signs of Roman culture have been discovered at Aquincum, and in the baths scattered over the country, at Aquincum, Igmánd, Balaton, etc., which must have been the favorite resorts of the *élite* of the Roman world. There are catacombs, too; and the subterranean chapel at Pécs (Scpianae) is a further witness to the presence of Christianity among the inhabitants of Roman Pannonia.

The task that faced the Romans in the eastern province of Hungary (Transylvania) was a much more difficult one. In 65 A. D. the Dacian king, *Decebalus*, succeeded in uniting the tribes of his country into one nation. In a few short years they had converted the province of Moesia into a vast desert, pillaging, ravaging, and massacring wherever they went. Domitian proved powerless to stem the tide of the barbarian inroads; and it was left to Trajan to secure the eastern frontiers of the Empire. From this time dates the wonderful road cut out of (or rather into) the rocky shore of the Danube on the Servian side (just opposite the famous Széchenyi road built on the Hungarian side at the instigation of the „greatest Magyar"), as well as the bridge across the Danube, the broken pillars of which may still be seen just below the Roumanian town of Tourn Severin. At the first time Trajan contented himself with Decebalus' acknowledgment of his suzerainty; but in his second campaign (105—107 A. D.) he defeated the Dacians decisively and brought them to submission. The events of this campaign (including the suicide of the heroic Dacian king) will be found commemorated on the column of Trajan.

Dacia became a Roman province. Colonists were invited from all parts of the Empire to settle in the fertile, well-watered valleys and on the wooded slopes of the Transylvanian Alps (Alpes Bastarnicae). Sarmizegetusa (Várhely), the former Barbarian capital, became Ulpia Trajana: other flourishing settlements were Apulum (Gyulafehérvár), Napoca (Kolozsvár), Porolissum (Mojgrád), and Potaissa (Torda). Numerous watering-places offered rest and refreshment to the *élite* during the tropical heat of the summer months.

The westward migration of the peoples in the third and fourth centuries completely destroyed Roman culture in the provinces of Dacia and Pannonia, which formed the principal highway of those people's wanderings.

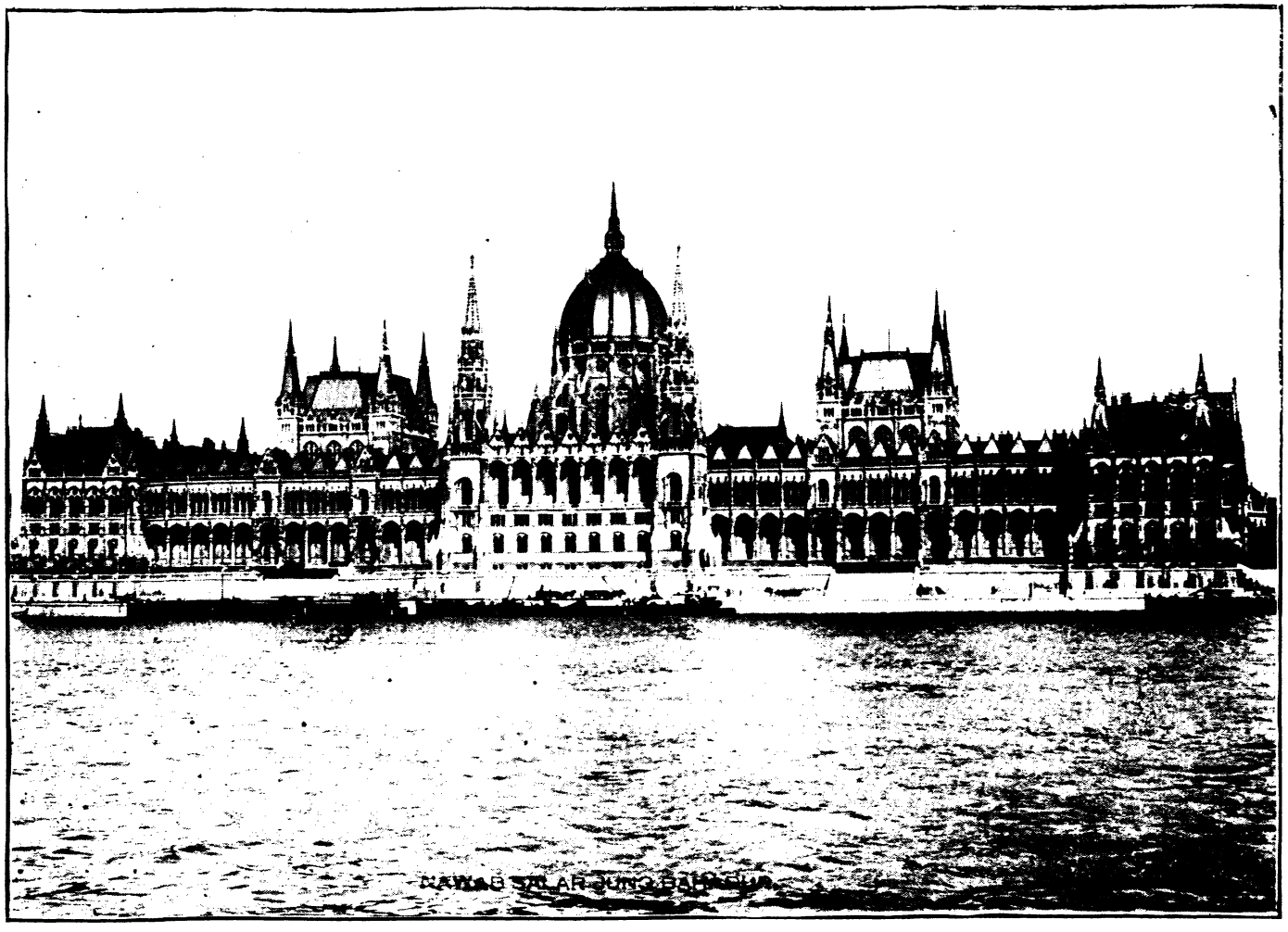
The pressure of the Western Goths made itself felt first in Dacia in 256 A. D.; while twenty years later, the last Roman soldiers left the province, by command of the Emperor Aurelian, and settled in Moesia (Dacia ripensis). Pannonia fell into the hands of the barbarians during the reign of Valentinianus II. (about the last quarter of the fourth century), although it did not fall so easy a prey to the invaders as Dacia.

The next chapter in the history of Hungary is one of the most romantic, while at the same time peculiarly mysterious.

About the same time as the occupation of Pannonia by the barbarians (375 A. D.), a horde of savage horsemen was sweeping westward from the banks of the Caspian Sea. Who the Huns were we do not know: but of all the theories advanced with regard to their origin, the most pleasing is that represented by the socalled *Székely Chronicle* (notwithstanding its spurious character, it being of course, a forgery of the eighteenth century), and by the school of Vámbéry, Pauler, and other scholars, which would see in the Huns distant relatives of the Magyars, the vanguard of the race which was destined to make Hungary its permanent home.

With their standards bearing the image of a „Turul" (eagle) at their head, these wild warriors galloped to battle, enveloping their foes in a cloud of arrows that darkened the sun in his course, and then falling upon them in their confusion and annihilating them with their swords. No quarter was given; these savage fighters had come to conquer and to destroy all traces of the civilisation which stemmed the tide of their advance.

The glories of the Hun nation began with the accession to the throne of *Attila* (433), the „Scourge of God". The hero of legends



Budapest. The Houses of Parliament.

Erdélyi fotó.

and traditions without number, and of a German epos, the great King, whose power and military skill was a lasting menace to both the Eastern and the Western Empire, has been variously described and his character defined by old-world historians — Ammianus Marcellinus, Jordanes, and Priscus Rhetor. Probably the truth lies between the theory that he was a monster and the more favorable description, „a clever, cunning, hospitable host". Implacably harsh to his enemies, massacring them right and left, impatient of any opposition to his arbitrary will, he seems to have had rough notions of justice and to have attempted in many cases to make the punishment meted out to offenders the means of their regeneration. Amid all the pomp of the feasts provided for his courtiers and the numerous embassies which visited his court, he was simply dressed, sat on a throne of wood, ate from wooden platters, drank from a wooden cup, eschewed all forms of ornament, and indulged in no luxuries.

Such was the man who now became the ruler of Hungary and whose formidable power was a bugbear to the whole world.

Attila's simple palace was built of wood, decorated with ornamental carvings. It was situated on a hill on the banks of the Tisza, somewhere near where the town of Szeged (or Hódmezővásárhely) stands today. Around it, at varying distances, in the fertile district between the Tisza and the Danube, were grouped the tent-settlements of the Huns, Attila's immediate followers and the backbone of his army. They were not fond of agriculture; their chief occupation, when not engaged in warfare, was the breeding of horses and cattle. They never reconciled themselves to life in houses or in towns. Marauding expeditions, too, were the order of the day with them, expeditions undertaken generally to provide the means of subsistence.

Attila's endeavour to create a state ended, as was inevitable under such circumstances, in failure: but he succeeded in establishing a might second to none in the age in which he lived. His liberal tolerance toward his subjects of manifold races and tongues is historical. He was as fond of, and as liberal a patron of music as the Magyars to-day; he loved to hear his court minstrels sing of the glorious deeds of his ancestors, and would listen with the avidity of unrestrained pleasure to the lovesongs of his troubadours. He would seem, in a crude sort of way, to have encouraged art and industry; and his court was a simple but a sincere forerunner of those of Louis the Great and Matthias the Just.

The romantic story of the attempt of this wonderful barbarian to subdue Europe belongs to European rather than Hungarian history. Rome bowed to his sway and gave him tribute and a princess to wife, but he was defeated at length at Chalons. He died in 453, and with his death, his kingdom, divided among his sons, fell to pieces and was overrun by the Germanic peoples.

His sons were unable to wield the sceptre he had bequeathed them; Dacia fell into the hands of the *Gepidae*, Pannonia and Moesia into those of the *Ostrogoths*, who were replaced by the Gepidae in 526, when Theodoric the Great led his hosts to Italy. Forty years later the power of the Gepidae was shattered by the allied forces of the *Avars*, coming up the valley of the Danube from the south-east, and of the *Longobards*, who poured into Hungary from the north-west, from Bohemia. The victorious allies divided the conquered territory. The Avars settled east of the Danube, the Longobards occupied the districts west of the river.

The latter need not detain us long; for in 568 they withdrew southwards into Italy, under Albion, and left their allies, the *Avars*, to occupy practically the whole of modern Hungary. Who the Avars were, no one knows for certain. Probably a branch of the Turco-Tatar family, they seem to have intermarried with the Huns and the Magyars (we are told that, ethnografically, they certainly resembled the Huns). It was during the reign of Justinian that they swarmed westwards, under the leadership of their Khagan, *Baján*, occupying first the fertile district between the Tisza and the Danube, and then, after the withdrawal of the Longobards, the whole of the territory formerly ruled over by Attila. Like the „Scourge of God", Baján established his headquarters on the banks of the Tisza; and it was there that he received the Emperor's ambassador and undertook to guard the frontiers of the Empire. He defeated the Gepidae, and conquered Dacia; overthrew and reduced to subjection the various Slav peoples that migrated to Hungary from the East and

settled in the southern districts; and then turned westward to fight the Franks. The Avars seem to have loved pomp and splendour more than territorial conquest. In their fortified „rings" they divided the spoils of their marauding expeditions, and gave themselves over to luxury and riot, Baján himself setting a fatal example.

In 570 the Avars were in receipt of a yearly tribute from the Emperor at Constantinople. Baján let loose his Slav subjects on the frontiers of the Empire, to devastate and carry havoc and misery wherever they went; he captured Singidunum (Belgrade) and Viminatium (Kostolatz); he brought destruction wherever he went. But in 587 he suffered a serious reverse before the walls of Adrianople, and was obliged to relinquish his conquests and beg for peace. In 592 the Emperor Mauritius was able to take the offensive; his great general, Priscus, had returned from Persia. Ten years of fierce fighting followed, but Baján was at last overcome. With his death in 602 the sun of Avar glory had set for ever.

The Avar Empire broke up exactly as that of Attila had done. The Slavs who had been the slaves and subjects of Baján, revolted and withdrew southwards. Who Baján's successor was we know not; nor does it matter. He seems to have attempted to seize Constantinople, where the weak and irresolute Heraclius was reigning: but he contented himself with devastating Thrace and levying a tribute on the Empire. A later attempt on the Capital resulted in much wanton bloodshed and a second fiasco. Heraclius made an alliance with the king of Moravian Bohemia. The prince of Bulgaria inhabiting the region to the east of Avaria, insulted by the Avar Khagan, thirsted for vengeance. Heraclius settled Chorvats (Croatians) from the shores of the Oder and the Vistula on the Dalmatian coast. To complete his „ring of the peoples", his bulwark of defence against Avar inroads, the Emperor encouraged the settlement of Slavs in the territory now called Servia. „The beasts of prey were not killed; they were merely confined in a cage, from which there was no exit". What a cunning policy had begun was completed by degeneration. The Avars gave themselves over, heart and soul, to a life of luxury and debauch.

Budapest. The Speaker's Reception-room in the Houses of Parliament. The picture is the famous „The Coming of the Hungarians", painted by Munkácsy. Csiky fotó.

From the West came a Christian missionary, Rupert, Bishop of Worms. He was allowed to go about in peace; but his mission failed to achieve its purpose. What gentle measures could not accomplish had to be left to the sword. At the close of the eighth century Charles the Great delivered the tottering Avar empire its death-blow. In a campaign lasting eight years (791—799), the mighty king of the Franks destroyed their „ring" fortifications, carried off the now effeminate people to embrace Christianity and pay tribute to their conquerors. Tradition has it that the ancient church of *Ócsa* (now Protestant) was one of the seven originally built by Charles.

The Hungarian dominions of the Franks extended to Belgrade; their eastern frontier was the Danube, their northern frontier was the valley of Vág. All that remained to the Avars, whose Khagan, *Tudum*, had become the vassal of the Frankish king, was the district between the Tisza and the Danube. Gradually this wild people lost all its racial peculiarities and became absorbed. All traces of the Avars disappear in the second quarter of the ninth century. Heraclius's ring had indeed done its work.

For nearly a century before the coming of the Magyars Hungary was under the suzerainty of the Franks. "Divide et impera" seems to have been their motto: so when, about 895 A. D., the first patrols of the Magyar host appeared on the horizon, the land they had come to conquer was a loosely welded conglomeration of heterogeneous units.

And they were destined to do what none of the great conquering peoples before them had succeeded in accomplishing. The heavy hand of an Attila or a Baján was to be replaced by the wisdom of statecraft, the spell of a momentary invincibility by the lasting power of a liberal statesmanship.

CHAPTER II.

THE COMING OF THE MAGYARS.

The Magyars, according to the findings of modern scholars, belong to the Finno—Ugrian branch of the Ural-Altaic peoples. This question has already been decided by philologists, for unfortunately we have no data of an anthropological or racial character enabling us to approach the question from these points of view. The racial characteristics and exterior of the Hungarians of to-day would justify us in including them among the Indo-Germanic peoples. The names for many common things are the same, philologically, as those we find in Finnish and other Finno-Ugrian languages. Natural phenomena, the elements, many common and uncommon, natural products, etc., have names in Finnish corresponding to those existing in Magyar. Proofs of this kind might be multiplied, but would be of little use to English readers. What is important is, that we now know pretty certainly *who* the Magyars were, though the presence of Turco-Tatar elements cannot be denied.

Far more diffcult to answer is the question: Whence did „the people of Árpád" start out on their journey to Europe? In the Caucasus, we are told, on the banks of the Kama, stand the ruins of the town still called Madzsar. Round this town tradition has woven the story of a great people who once dwelt there civilized and urbane, receiving emperors as their guests. They were of fine and noble manners and life and believers in one God. Mysteriously enough they went forth from the city, and no man has since dwelt within it, though its walls still stand and a great part of the town itself, though overgrown with moss and grass. All that is told of its people is that they moved away to the east. Many travellers have endeavoured to find the original home of the Magyars on the slopes of the Ural range; but none has found it yet.

And yet, the part of their wanderings from the valleys of the Kama and the Upper Volga, of the Petchora and the Ural, through Baskiria (or Greater Hungary), the district between the Volga and the Ural to the north of the Caspian Sea, to their second resting-place in *Lebedia* (830—889), can be traced pretty distinctly on the map. They had not yet taken to

Budapest. Statue of Árpád who led the Hungarians into Hungary. This statue forms part of the great Millenium Monument erected in 1896 to commemorate the thousandth anniversary of the Kingdom of Hungary. Erdélyi felv.

agriculture, and lived in tents. Consequently, when, in the last year of the ninth decade of the ninth century, the warlike Petchenegs attacked them as they had done in Baskiria, they struck their tents once more and wandered further westwards, to the district called Etelköz, situated between the Dnieper and the Szereth, and watered by the Bug, the Dniester, and the Pruth. Here they seem to have remained until the year 895, when they turned towards the Promised Land.

Of these two stages in their wanderings westwards we have definite historical records. *Leo Grammaticus* informs us that, in 836, the Bulgarians appealed to the Magyars for aid against their Greek „prisoners", who were endeavouring to escape. In 860, St. Cyril, the Slav apostle, seems to have met and to have been chivalrously treated by some Magyars on his way to the Khagan of the Khazars. The Arabian writer *Ibn Rosteh* tells us that the „Mazsgars" were „Turks", lived in tents on the shores of the Black Sea, and moved about in all directions to find suitable pasture for their cattle. They had about 20.000 mounted warriors, under the leadership of a certain „Kende". They had a large tract of wheat-producing ground. They worshipped idols. They ruled over their Slav neighbours, from whom they exacted tribute and whom they sold to Greek slave-merchants at Kark (Kherson).

It was while in Etelköz, so a legend tells us, that the Magyar chieftains drew up the Blood Compact which established the system of government and the laws of property. This compact contained the following clauses:

1. The prince of the nation was to be chosen from the house (clan) of Álmos, or rather Árpád.

2. Any land conquered was to be equally divided between them all.

3. The chieftains (who had elected their prince *of their own free will)* and their successors were to take part always in the government of the country.

4. Anyone who proved disloyal to the prince or endeavoured to create discord in the nation was to have his blood shed as theirs had been in making the compact.

5. An eternal curse should rest on any one of the successors of Árpád or the chieftains who should break the oath.

In this remarkable compact are the germs of a complete system of government by a limited monarchy, and this three hundred years before the signing of the Great Charter.

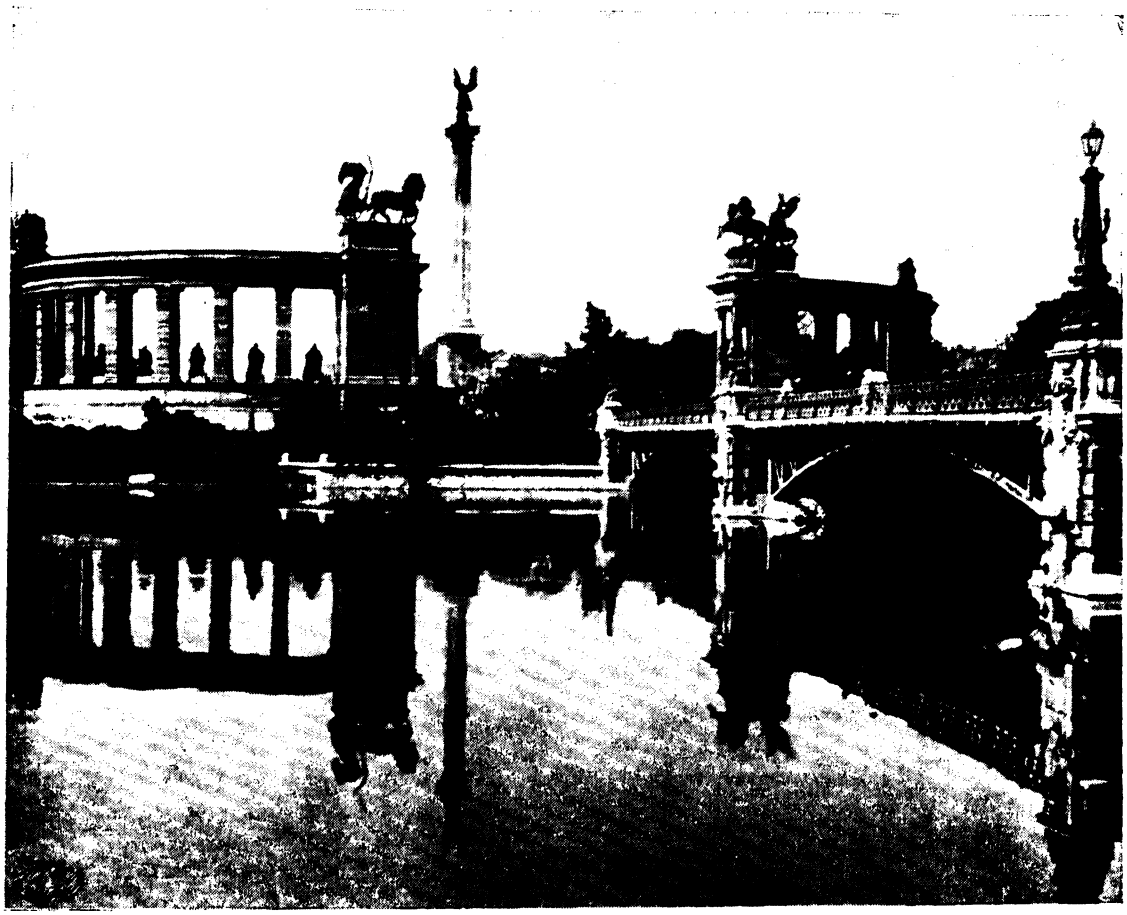
Why did the Magyars come to Hungary?

Here, too, we find numerous romantic traditions which endeavoured to give an answer to this question. There is the legend of Hunor and Magyar, the two sons of Nimrod and Emese, who dreamed that she was to bring forth fire, which should devastate the world. There is the oft-recurring tradition of the „inheritance of Attila" which the Magyars set out to recover. Legend is always invented to attempt to explain history: but the historian is bound to be cautious in the use he makes of it. Particularly must the historian be cautious in dealing with the primitive Magyars. A people of a remarkably poetical disposition — every peasant is a poet as he speaks to you in metaphor and simile. And yet, without dismissing as baseless the tradition of the „inheritance of Attila", the Magyars must have been driven westward by something more material than a mere hereditary claim to a land which they had never seen. Most probably it was pressure from without, the menace of a warlike people such as the Petchenegs, who gave them no rest either in Baskiria or Lebedia.

However that may be, here they were, on the threshold of Western culture, a nation dreaded and respected, as we shall see, by their neighbours. They had brought with them their peculiar tactics, which won the admiration of the Emperor Leo, and their pagan worship.

Riding horses of remarkable speed, using their arrows with extraordinary effect as they galloped to the attack, armed with curved, one-edged swords or with lances, they advanced rapidly in loose (concave) formation, indulged in feigned retreats whereby they entrapped their enemies, and if successful, pursued the flying foe relentlessly. Their various divisions were separated by gaps, behind which were stationed the reserves, behind the latter again the commissariat and the entrenched and fortified camp, with the women and children. Their method of warfare enabled them to attack (they were not defensive fighters) on a very extended front and to throw the closely-formed masses of the European armies they met into confusion. It was a revelation to European tacticians.

We may guess that primitive Magyars worshipped the forces of Nature (there are traces of this worship in the Magyar tongue). Certain traditional customs of the people well known to history seem to confirm this supposition. In time the deities worshipped as idols were reduced in number: and one or other assumed a predominant importance, notably „Terem" (The Creator) and „Eleve" (the ancient God).



Budapest. The Millenium Monument erected in 1896 to commemorate the thousandth anniversary of the Kingdom of Hungary. Csiky foto.

Finally the Magyars became monotheists, the name of their God (Isten) being Persian in origin. They believed in good and evil spirits, in fairies and elves.

They offered sacrifices to their god in the form of white horses slain by their priests, who read the future in their entrails. The word „áldomás", now used to denote a drinking-bout, originally meant „sacrifice" and referred to the custom whereby the priests accompanied the sacrifice by pouring their blood into a common bowl, the „loving cup" of later times.

We are told of „psalms", national songs, sung by Scythian virgins, of lofty „hills of fire" that were never allowed to be extinguished. The graves of the dead were covered with square slabs of stone; and with the corpses were buried their horses, dogs, spurs, coins and jewelry. This is proved by the graves, dating from heathen times, unearthed at Vereb, Pilin, Galgócz, Eger, etc.

Immorality in sexual intercourse seems to have been unknown among the primitive Magyars, who were for the most part monogamists and seem to have treated their wives who styled their husbands their „masters", with due respect.

The primitive Magyars appear to have possessed a fairly high standard of culture. Their principal occupations in Etelköz seem

to have been agriculture, fishing, and hunting. They used „runes" of a peculiar kind, which were known to the Székelys as late as the thirtheenth century. And their songs and sagas have been handed down to us by oral tradition.

Such were the Magyars who, in the last decade of the ninth century, made their prowess in the field a nightmare to their neighbours, and finally established themselves in the very heart of Christendom and Western civilisation.

In 892 the Germans appealed to the Magyars for assistance against the Moravian Slavs. In 895 they were engaged in fighting for the Emperor Leo VI. against the Bulgarian King Simeon. This latter expedition cost the people of Árpád dear; for the Bulgarians vowed vengeance: and, while the army was away, they formed an alliance with the Petchenegs and attacked the home of the Magyars in Etelköz, putting to the sword old men, women and children. Returning to find only a heap of smoking ruins, the Magyar army once more moved westwards, passing through Galicia, and entered Hungary by way of the Pass of Vereczke. Tradition has it, that after crossing the Carpathians, the Magyars rested on the spot where stands the town of Munkács. This was in 895 or early in 896 A. D.

The Slav inhabitants ruled over by the successors of Svatopluk, the prince who in 892 had felt the power of Árpád's people, submitted at once. They knew Árpád had come to claim his inheritance, and they feared his invincible might. The demand for the traditional gift of water, soil and grass was complied with eagerly.

At his seat at Ungvár, so runs the tradition, Árpád received the embassy sent by the Székelys: „thus, after centuries of separations, the two kindred peoples were united again". But another embassy, of a less peaceful character, was on its way to the Magyar headquarters. *Zalán* the Bulgarian prince who ruled over „the inheritance of Attila" the district between the Danube and the Tisza, with his headquarters at Alpár, sent to warn Árpád not to presume to cross the river Bodrog; if he did, he would find himself attacked by the whole force of the Bulgarians and the Greeks! Árpád was not to be intimidated: and his answer was characteristic of that spirit of broad tolerance and conciliation which enabled him to build up a strong state amidst difficulties that seemed almost insuperable, and which has always distinguished the efforts of the ruling Magyars to weld the heterogeneous elements under their sway into one united nation.

Árpád deputed two chieftains, Ond and Ketel, accompained by a brilliant suite, to convey his respects to Zalán, to offer him 12 white horses of superb breed, 12 camels, 12 hides, 12 robes of magnificient texture for his consort. „I could claim the land he occupies", was his message, „as the inheritance bequeathed us by our ancestor, Attila; but — not as afraid of his threats, merely out of feelings of friendship — I would ask only for the strip of land stretching to the river Sajó, for a pitcher of water from the Danube, and a bundle of grass from the field of Alpár". The request was granted: for Zalán was not ready yet for a decisive encounter.

Then Árpád sent other chieftains — Tas, Szabolcs, Töhötöm — to subdue *Marót*, the Khazar prince ruling over the district between the Tisza and Transylvania who had refused to come to a friendly understanding. Töhötöm followed up the victories over Marót by an incursion into Transylvania, then ruled over by the Wallchian prince *Gyalu* (or *Gyelő*), who was killed. His subjects — Wallachians and Slavs alike — submitted and swore fealty to the Magyars at a place still called Esküllő. That meant the conquest of Transylvania and practically the whole country bordered to the west and north by the Tisza, to the south by the, Maros, and to the east by the Transylvanian Alps.

Zalán became alarmed, as he saw the continual expansion of the power of the new-comers. He appealed to the Greeks and to his Bulgarian neighbours, and demanded that Árpád should leave the region watered by the Tisza. The Magyar prince replied that he had bought the soil and the Danube at a price (viz., the horses and other presents), although they were his by right of inheritance. So he refused to move, and made his preparations for war. The decisive battle — turned into a complete rout of Zalán's hosts — was fought on the fields of Alpár, on the right bank of the Tisza. Zalán fled to Bulgaria, beyond the Danube: and his armies were driven into the river.

All the lesser princes submitted to Árpád at once. But Pannonia was still unconquered. Turning west, Árpád established

his headquarters on the Isle of Csepel (just below Budapest). He found the traces of the old Roman colony of Aquincum, and — tradition tells us — of the whilom capital of his ancestor, Attila.

Pannonia was then mainly under Frankish rule. Its definite conquest by the Magyars (who did not destroy the traces of Roman culture so carefully preserved by the Franks) must have been completed by the year 900 A. D. It was then that the national assembly — the Witenagemot of the ancient Magyars, — was summoned to Pusztaszer, to complete the work of distributing the conquered lands and to lay the foundations of that constitutional government which has succesfully withstood the shocks of ten centuries. Each of the eight „clans" or tribes was assigned its place of settlement; the conquered peoples became the serfs of the victorious settlers; in each district the chieftain became the principal judge and the hereditary leader of his people in war: but all cases of dispute between clans were referred to the prince, who, in times of national danger, assumed the supreme command. The national assembly of Pusztaszer (commemorated by a monument erected in 1896) confirmed and ratified the terms of the Blood Compact of Etelköz, and furnished Árpád with the means requisite to the establishment of the firmly-welded State which he handed down to posterity. The central authority, with its convergent ramifications, was not yet clearly defined; but it was there.

It seems extraordinary that the Magyars should not at this period have become Slavised (their language shows considerable traces of the influence of the Christian Slavs whom they conquered), as did the Bulgarians in Moesia and the Normans in Russia. Probably the Magyars, numerically superior, possessed far more vitality than their Slav neighbours, were far more united as a people, and, were endowed with a peculiar aptitude for the advantages of Western culture.

The work of conquest completed, Árpád and his followers went up to the summit of St Martin's Hill and viewed the country. The sight was an inspiring one: to after ages the splendid Benedictine monastery of *Pannonhalma* preserves the tradition of the founder of the Magyar nation contemplating the home he had given his people and looking forward with prophetic eyes to their noble efforts to preserve their inheritance and make it the vanguard of Western culture on the threshold of the East.

Árpád died in 907. It was the year in which the Magyars, at *Bánhida*, routed the Bravarian hosts of Liutpold, who had invaded the country to avenge the inroads of 904. The delight caused by the brilliant triumph of their army was soon overshadowed by grief at the loss of the wise and statesmanlike prince whom they justly regarded as the „father of their country". He was buried at the source of a stream that flowed to the „capital of Attila" (Ó-Buda). Posterity erected a noble church on the sacred spot: but the Turks destroyed every trace of the edifice; the stream has dried up; and none knows the grave of Árpád.

His youngest son, Zsolt (907—944) succeeded. The national assembly appointed regents to govern till the child prince came of age. The Hungarians began that series of marauding expeditions into neighbouring countries which is indelibly connected with the legendary exploits of *Bulcsu*, *Lehel*, and *Botond*, and which, if not stopped in time, must have proved fatal to their existence as an independent nation. They were still of a restless, roving disposition, and could not be brought to reconcile themselves to a settled life. Agriculture was left to the serfs, their passion for the chase and fishing was a fresh incentive to wander farther afield in search of fresh hunting-grounds and rivers, and even cattle-breeding might be practised by a nomad people. Besides the existing generation had been brought up to regard fighting as their trade: and the memory of Bánhida was still fresh. So the call to arms of Bulcsu — „Bloody" Bulcsu, as he was styled — was eagerly responded to. Away they rode, westwards to Germany, plundering the fertile regions of Saxony and Thuringia, crossing the Rhine into France, pushing forwards as far as Bremen, carrying the terror of their name wherever thy went. They penetrated — scattered bands of them — into Spain. They decimated the army of King Berengar on the banks of the Brenta. They levied a war toll on the inhabitants of Pavia, and made even Rome tremble at their approach. The same year (924 A. D.) however, the first serious check to their spirit of adventure was given by Henry of Saxony, who captured one of their chieftains, and forced them in lieu

of ransom, to agree to a truce for nine years. To the great astonishment of the Magyars, Henry actually agreed to continue the payment of his annual tribute.

The Saxons employed the year of truce to build fortifications and organise an army of horsemen that should be able to meet the Magyars on their own terms. But the Magyars, though religiously observing the terms of the compact, could not check their love of roving; they wandered through Southern Germany and France. The story of their visit to the monastery of St Gallen am Bodensee — told us by Ekkehard — the first mention on record of Hungarian poetry, shows us how unfounded were the fables of the early chroniclers, the tales of the Magyars' barbarity and cruelty.

The monks of St Gallen, not trusting in the strength of the monastery walls, fled to Freiburg, leaving only the half-witted Heribald to follow if he could. The record shows the Hungarians, greedy but not ferocious, joining in hearty horse-play with the half-witted monk, who quite regretted parting with them when they rode away.

Under the leadership of Botond, the Hungarians — so tradition tells us — penetrated as far as Constantinople, meeting with no opposition on the way. The Emperor refused the demand for tribute: so, on his way back to Hungary, Botond took by force what he could not obtain by milder measures.

The year 933 marks a fresh stage in the disillusionment of the Magyars. The period of truce was over; and Zsolt's demands for tribute were met, on the part of Henry (the Fowler), by a haughty refusal. At *Riade* (Rietheburg), near Merseburg, the Magyar invaders were utterly routed; their commissariat was taken from them, and they fled in disorder. Their lust for adventure, however, was not yet cured. They continued their expeditions to Spain and Italy, actually appearing on one occasion before Venice.

The reign of Vál or Vaisz (944—947) was uneventful. He was a weak prince, with less individuality even than Zsolt, but Taksony (947—972) — apparently Zsolt's second son — was of an entirely different character. The final blow to the Magyars' lust of adventure — a blow that cured them effectually and led them to think more seriously of consolidating their own polity — was delivered during his reign. In 955 a Hungarian army was despatched to conquer Germany. While engaged in the siege of Augsburg (a branch of military art of which they understood but little), the Magyars were attacked in the rear by King Otto the Great. In the battle of *Lechfeld*, on the banks of the Lech, they were utterly routed; and their leaders, Lehel and Bulcsu, were taken prisoners. Round the death of Lehel there grew up the romantic tradition of his last wish being fulfilled by his being allowed to play on his ivory horn, and as the listeners stood entranced he dashed out the brains of Conrad, the traitorous German who had invited him to Germany. The lesson of this defeat was not soon forgotten. It was brought home to the Magyars, finally and decisively, by their ill-success in Italy and their defeat at Arcadiopolis, in 970, by the forces of the Byzantine Empire. Botond became a hostage at the Court of Constantinople; and the sojourn of his companion, Gyula, „waywode" of Transylvania, under the shadow of the Eastern Church, was, as we shall see, fraught with results of the most far-reaching importance for the future development of Hungary.

The older, warlike generation was passing away: the younger generation preferred the peaceful pursuits of a settled life to the adventures and precarious pleasure of marauding excursions, which threatened to exasperate their neighbours and to brutalise manners at home. The reverses they had sustained weakened their faith in their pagan gods; and the growing power of that Christianity by which they were encircled was beginning to open their eyes to the necessity of peace with those nations who had already embraced its tenets.

It was the instinct of self-preservation that made the Hungarians desist from their systematic raids into neighbouring countries. But the other forces referred to above came into play with the accession of *Géza* (972—997), the son of Taksony. A man of remarkable energy, stern and unbending in his actions, the new prince set himself at once to consolidate both the domestic conditions and the international relations of his country.

An edict was issued forbidding Hungarians to wander beyond the frontiers of their own country. Local interests began to increase in importance, as the various sections of the people settled down to

peaceful pursuits in different districts. The unity of the nation must have suffered disastrously in consequence, without the development of a central authority. It is the undying merit of Géza that he recognised this fact and endeavoured to make the prince the personification of national unity, the representative of common interests. To this end he found it necessary to break the power of individual chieftains, to subject them to his control, and to neutralise the influence of the national assembly by the establishment of the principles of monarchy. From being merely the chosen leader and executive forum of the people, through the measures initiated by Géza, the prince became to all intents and purposes as absolute as Charlemagne. Géza strove to reduce the elective character of the princely office (restricted as that character was by the terms of the Blood Compact) to a mere formality, by impressing upon his people the necessity of training the future prince for the work of his offce and by establishing a precedent for posterity to follow. The National Council was to be confronted with a *fait accompli.*

In his work of organisation and reform Géza found a valuable helpmate in his first wife, Sarolta (Charlotte), a daughter of the Transylvanian „waywode" Gyula, who had been converted to Christianity during the sojourn with her father at Constantinople. Not content with urging her husband to reduce them to the condition of vassals, this woman of energetic and imperious character had no difficulty in obtaining permission for the introduction into Hungary of the Christian faith. In fact, the adoption of Christianity was part of Géza's scheme for conciliating his western neighbours. The Roman Emperor Otto, delighted at the chance of establishing peaceful relations with a people whom he had every reason to fear, and of winning fame as the instrument of converting the pagan Hungarians to the Christian faith, sent Bruno, Bishop of Verdun, to inaugurate the work. Géza in return despatched a brilliant embassy to the German Court (973). A treaty of peace between the two countries was ratified; and Pilgrim, Bishop of Passau, sent Wolfgang with a host of missionaries. But the worthy bishop had political ends in view: he wished to bring Hungary, by means of religious propaganda, under the suzerainty of the Emperor. The discontent fostered by the priests of their ancient faith, who saw the power they had possessed slipping from their grasp, drove the majority of the Magyars to offer a sullen resistance — at times resulting in open rebellion — to the efforts of the foreign missionaries; to the people at large, the severity of this new religion, and the restrictions it imposed, failed to appeal: Géza was compelled to resort to force, but, conscious as he was of Pilgrim's machinations, was fain to entrust the work of conversion to one whose good faith was beyond question. So he invited St. Adalbert, Bishop of Prague. The monks whom the saintly prelate brought with him led the way in civilisation, and made the people realise the value of that culture which Christianity brought in its train. Except in certain districts, where the chieftains persisted in an obstinate attachment to the ancestral worship of that god of vengeance who seemed the living symbol of their warlike propensities, the work of the missionaries — Suabians, Slavs, Italians — was crowned with a success that promised to be lasting in its effects. In 985 Géza and his son Stephen were baptised. The prince did not, indeed, renounce his ancestral faith, declaring that he was „powerful enough to be able to worship more than one god": but the baptism of his son was, as it were, the symbol of his wish that his people should become incorporated in the vast family of the Christian nations of the West.

Stephen was betrothed to Gizella, daughter to Duke Henry of Bavaria; with her came numerous Bavarian nobles, who, while adding to the splendour and dignity of the Hungarian Court, received estates and offices, and thus contributed in no small degree to the discontent growing among the native nobility as a result of the forced conversion to a faith for which so many of them had no liking.

By a series of marriage alliances Géza endeavoured to establish family ties which should secure the position of Hungary as a Christian State.

The foreign knights, with their armed retinues, were of course, a valuable aid to the prince in his efforts to subdue the haughty chieftains: but the scarcely-veiled contempt of these foreign intruders for the semi-barbarism of their rough-hewn compatriots added more fuel to the fire of the dissatisfaction that was the result of the change of conditions.

Géza died in 997. He had succeeded in establishing monarchical principles; but the inheritance he bequeathed his son was one of almost universal mistrust for a dynasty which relied principally upon foreign support. The free Magyars moreover, resented the community of faith with their Christian retainers and serfs; and they feared that their country might become the vassal of a foreign power.

A firm hand was required to meet and overcome the dangers latent in this discontent: luckily for Hungary, Stephen was as strong and as energetic as his father; and those who rebelled against his authority or defied his commands were to learn that the principles introduced by Géza could not be challenged with impunity.

CHAPTER III.

SAINT STEPHEN.

THE new King was destined to be one of the heroes of his nation. Stephen reigned altogether forty-two years, four years (997—1000) as prince and thirty-eight years (1000—38) as „apostolic" king. He was determined to continue the work of his father in consolidating the foundations of the Hungarian monarchy: but his zeal for the cause of Christianity was not based on merely political motives.

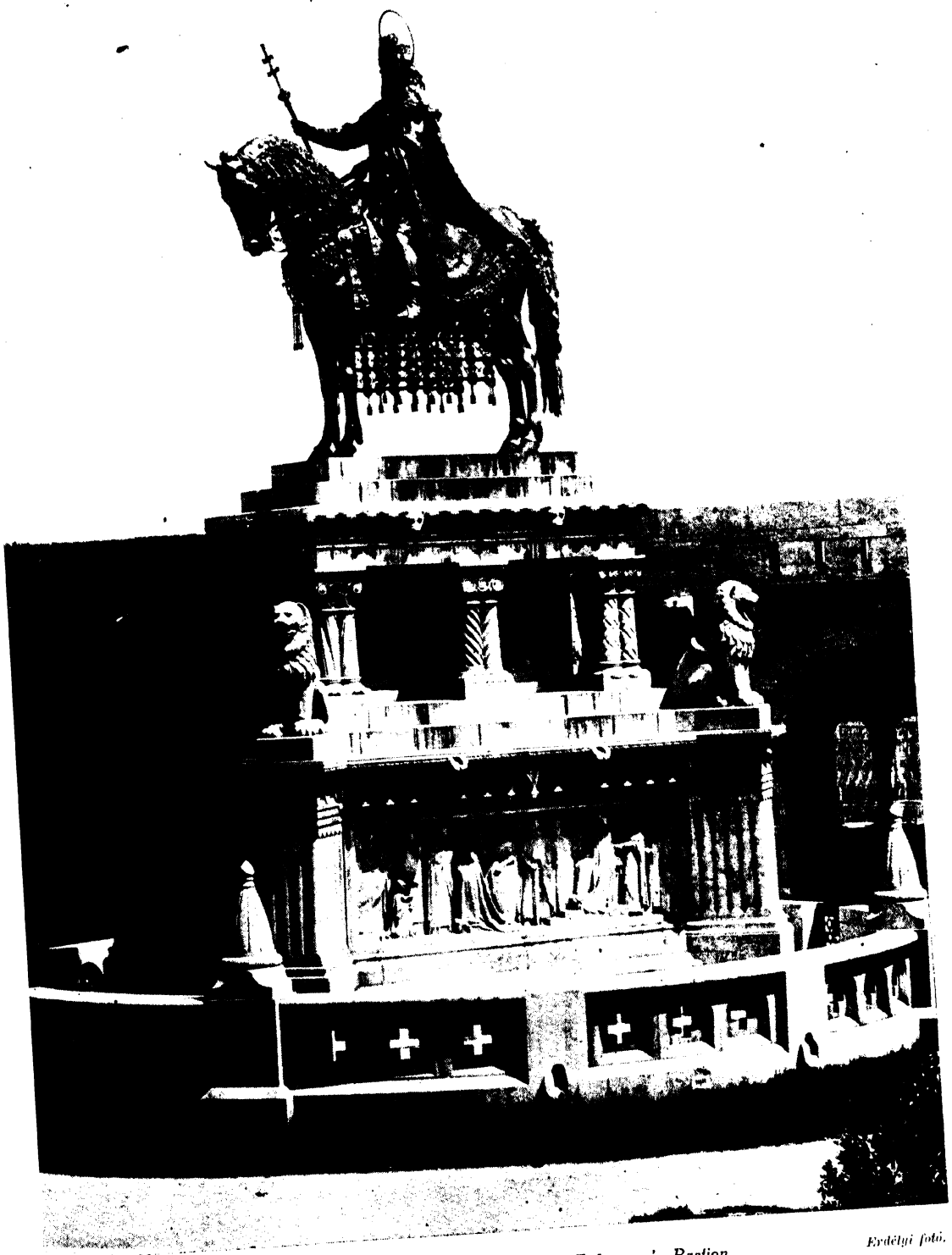
Scarcely had Géza closed his eyes when the discontented section of the population, incited by the dethroned priests of Hadúr, and not realising the strength of the new monarch, a youth of eighteen or twenty years, rose in revolt. Practically the whole of the inhabitants of the trans-Danubian region (Pannonia) rallied to the standard of *Koppány*, the mighty chieftain of Somogy, who resented Stephen's declaration that he would do all in his power to further the protection and spread of the Catholic faith of the apostles, and announced that he would drive out all the foreign nobles and priests, depose Stephen, and restore the ancestral faith. The insurgents had reckoned without their host. The young prince was not in the least alarmed. Gathering round him the retinues of his wife's followers, reinforced by the levies of those Hungarian freemen who had not forgotten their oaths of fealty, or who had been won over to the cause of Christianity and the dynasty by the wide policy of Géza, Stephen met the rebel army near Veszprém. The loyal forces went into battle led by the banners of St Martin and St George, singing psalms and praying for aid to the God who had helped David and Samson against the Philistines. Fighting against enormous odds, they shattered the rebel hosts; Koppány himself fell; and the first of those unfortunate feuds that did so much to weaken the Hungarians' power of resistance to foes from without, ended in a general recognition of the prince's policy and of the principles which he represented. In memory of the victory, Stephen granted a tithe of the produce of Somogy to the Benedictine monastery of Pannonhalma, founded by his father. The vanquished rebels were compelled, under pain of forfeiting their estates and their liberties, to embrace Christianity.

Stephen then accompanied the missionaries through the country, exhorting the people to accept the tenets of the faith preached by Astrik, which had given him the strength and power to overcome his rebellious subjects. He established his headquarters at *Székesfehérvár*, where he had a church built to celebrate the triumph of the Christian cause. He thus paved the way to the fulfilment of his greatest ambition, the creation of a Christian Hungary.

He built new monasteries — superb edifices of stone constructed by foreign architects and foreign skilled labour — at Pécsvárad, Bakonybél, and Zalavár.

Stephen's missionary crusade did more than help him to strengthen the foundations of his Church; it enabled him to get into close touch with his subjects, to study their needs and gather material for his political reforms. What these reforms were we shall see later.

That Stephen appealed to the Pope — following in this respect the lead of his father — instead of the Orthodox Church, was a course dictated by political motives betraying a sound statesmanship. He desired Hungary to be an outpost of Western



Erdélyi fotó.

Budapest. Statue of King Stephen, on the Fishermen's Bastion.

Christendom on the threshold of the East; he did not wish his country to be embroiled in the quarrels between the two Churches at a period when the Western represented far the greater power. He felt, too, that he could use the spiritual power of the Papacy to thwart any attempt on the part of the German Emperor to curtail the independence of Hungary. It was to this end that, in 1000 A. D., he sent Astrik as his ambassador to the court of *Silvester II.* The Pope received Stephen's ambassador with delight; and his appreciation of the Hungarian prince's zeal for the Christian faith took the form of the presentation of a crown (still forming the upper part of the crown of the kings of Hungary). Astrik became the first Archbishop of Esztergom; and it was he who, as primate of the Hungarian Church, crowned Stephen „apostolic" king of Hungary at Esztergom, on August 15, 1000.

It was a distinguished gathering, representing the flower of the Hungarian nobility as well as foreign courts, which assembled on the hill overlooking the Danube where it sweeps majestically southwards. The double (apostolic) cross symbolical of Stephen's mission as the apostle of Christianity in Hungary, a present from the Pope, was borne before the prince as he came to receive the papal blessing and the title of king at the hands of the august prelate who had been his faithful and untiring helpmate.

The distinction conferred on Stephen by the Pope not only raised him to a position of equality with the great monarchs of the West: it enhanced the glory of the kingly office in the eyes of his own people, and contributed in no small measure to the further strengthening of those principles of monarchical government which were Stephen's inheritance from his father.

In 1003 *Gyula,* Stephen's uncle, the powerful „waywode" of Transylvania, having refused to embrace the Christian faith or to allow his „subjects" to do so, replied to Stephen's repeated demands by crossing the frontier with a large army of „malcontents" and Petchenegs. The King hastened to meet the rebels, and defeated them utterly. Gyula and his family were taken prisoners; and Transylvania, to be ruled over by a „waywode" appointed by the King, was annexed to Hungary.

Stephen then attacked Moldavia and reduced to submission the Petchenegs, whose chieftain, *Kean,* was killed.

A third rising of the adherents of the ancestral faith threatened to be even more dangerous to the safety of the realm. Ajtony (Otom or Achtum), whose dominions stretched south and north from the Maros and comprised the counties of Arad, Csanád, and Temes, whose „capital" was Marosvár, and who relied for protection on the Emperor Basil II., raised the standard of revolt. Though a Christian himself (of the Eastern Church), Ajtony took advantage of the dissatisfaction and unrest prevailing among the pagan Hungarians living under his rule, to defy the King and flout his decrees. The disaffected nobles of the district were only too ready to join him; for they too feared to lose the power and privileges which they possessed. One of them, however, Csanád by name, having incurred Ajtony's displeasure, fled to Stephen's Court, where he was baptised. He begged to be allowed to lead the royal army to meet the rebel hosts. The request was granted, for the King felt that the new convert's knowledge of his late master's plans and of the country must prove invaluable. The confidence Stephen thus reposed in a man who might have been a spy in disguise was fully justified by the result. The effect of the crushing defeat at *Oroszlányos* was to cow all those Hungarians who still clung in secret to their ancestral faith. During the rest of his reign, Stephen was not called upon again to defend his Church against the attacks of worshippers of Hadúr.

Ajtony's estates were transferred to Csanád; Marosvár was renamed; and the memory of this overwhelming defeat of the insurgents is still preserved in the name of the county where those estates are said to have been situated.

For nearly twenty years Hungary enjoyed comparative peace, both at home and abroad.

However, the death of Stephen's brother-in-law, Henry I., in 1024 A. D., was followed by the accession of an Emperor, Conrad II., who was by no means peacefully disposed towards his Hungarian neighbours. He revived the claim of the Empire to exercise a suzerainty over Hungary, basing that claim on his imperial prerogative as the overlord of the Roman Church. Enlisting the aid of the Prince of Bohemia, Conrad invaded Hungary in

1031, penetrating down the valley of the Danube as far as Esztergom. Stephen appealed to the nation to defend the independence of their country; and, as so often in their history, the menace to that independence united all Magyars. The whole nation rallied as one man to the King's standard: and the occupation of Vienna and the territory lying between that city and Hungary compelled Conrad to beat a hasty retreat. A treaty of peace made next year between the two countries contained an explicit recognition on the part of the German. Emperor of the complete independence of Hungary as a sovereign state. Conrad, like so many German princes and statesmen of later days, had counted on the internal dissensions arising out of the religious question, on the anti-militarist effect of the conversion to Christianity and probably also on the support of the foreign knights who had followed Queen Gizella. But the traditional attachment of the Magyars to the independence of their country, and the wonderful power of absorption which they posess, saved Hungary, as it was to do on so many subsequent occasions.

Conrad was also compelled to surrender a considerable stretch of territory: and in the following year he sent his son (later, Henry III.) to the Hungarian Court to cement the ties binding the two countries together. The Hungarian King had no particular faith in the German promises; and he was full of anxiety for the future of his country. This anxiety developed into an absolute despair on the death (apparently in the same year, 1032) of his beloved only son *Imre*, or Emerich, whom he had brought up so carefully to fill the office for which he was destined. Gloomy forebodings of domestic quarrels and international complications seem to have unhinged the King's mind; and he became a puppet in the hands of unscrupulous counsellors and a wicked cabal.

There were four Hungarian princes of the house of Árpád—*Vazul*, the son of Stephen's uncle, Michael (Géza's brother), and three minors — *Endre, Béla*, and *Levente*, the sons of Vazul. It was on the first of these (Vazul) that Stephen's choice fell. But the „cabal" was in favour of *Peter*, the son of the King's sister, whose candidature was supported by the Queen. Vazul was seized; his eyes were burned out, and he was presented to the King as unfit for the office of ruler. Stephen was dumbounded at the villainy which he had been powerless to prevent. He advised the young princes, Endre, Béla, and Levente, to flee the country, for he feared the treachery of Peter, whom he had unluckily appointed captain of his bodyguard.

The King — weak alike in body and in mind — at length yielded to the persuasions of the „cabal" and declared Peter to be his successor.

The courtiers found that the King was an unconscionable time in dying; so they hired an assassin to kill him. One evening, as the twilight gathered in around his bed, Stephen heard a rustling sound. Springing up, he drew his sword. The would-be murderer fell on his knees at the sight of the saintly monarch, and craved for forgiveness.

It must have been a rude awakening for the King, who all his life had worked strenuously for the welfare of his country, to discover that even his life was counted of no value by men whose ambition he had fostered. Alone, friendless, trusting in God only, he felt the hour of death approaching. Gathering round his bed the prelates and nobles, he commended to their care his country and his faith; then, raising his eyes to Heaven, he dedicated his kingdom and his Church to the Blessed Virgin Mary. He died on August 15, 1038 (the anniversary of his coronation). He was buried at Székesfehérvár, in the church which he himself had built.

His death was mourned by all the land.

August 20—St Stephen's Day—is still the great national holiday in Hungary. The right hand of the saintly King (canonised in 1083 by Gregory VII.) is borne in procession in Buda: and hundreds of thousands of country-folk make a pilgrimage to the Capital to do homage to the memory of the man who founded the Hungarian kingdom and by his reforms established a system of government as perfect as any to be found in the West of Europe.

Stephen's first concern was for the welfare of the Church he had founded. He established ten dioceses, Esztergom, Győr, Vácz, Veszprém, Transylvania, Pécs, Kalocsa, Eger, Bihar, and Csanád, placing them under the control of the Archbishop of Esztergom. He endowed the bishoprics and monasteries which he founded by the presentation of large estates; and the great wealth of the Hungarian Catholic

Church undoubtedly takes its origin from the generous measures of the first Hungarian King. He endowed a *hospitium* for Hungarian visitors to the Eternal City, and established convents at Constantinople, Ravenna, and Jerusalem. He decreed that every ten parishes should erect a church, and that every one should give a tithe of his produce to the Church.

At the same time, he took good care to provide that the incorporation of the Hungarian Church in the great family of Western Christendom should in no wise prejudice the independence of the kingdom or suggest any subordination on the part of the King.

Stephen was just as concerned to set the royal power on firm foundations. He had to guard against the possibility of a weak monarch fading into insignificance before the powerful „waywodes" or local magnates (the barons of feudal times). The national assembly and the „council of seven" (later the *concilium regale* of *synodus)* were dangerous checks to the legislative authority of the King. The „laws" passed by them became „royal decress", a change involving the principle that no resolutions of the national assembly or its senate could become law without obtaining the royal assent. Stephen amplified his authority in the share of the administration of justice by the appointment of central and local officials to act as his deputies. Such were the „comes palatinus", or Pfalzgraf — a kind of Lord Chief Justice — the „notarius" (Chancellor), the *főispán* (high sheriff). He does not, indeed, seem to have interfered with their jurisdiction: but he certainly appointed a considerable number of them from among the lesser nobility, the gentry, thus providing an effective counterpoise to the power and influence of the magnates or „barons", who later on, during troublous times, assumed the prerogatives of „little kings". Besides, he instituted the system of annual „assizes", held at Székesfehérvár, where all freemen could bring their complaints before the King himself.

Other factors helped to enhance the glamour of the royal power. Stephen's greatness, his personal qualities (almost overshadowed later in the century by the brilliant figure of St Ladislas), the conviction of the whole nation that a strong central authority was required to defend the privileged race against attacks from within and the independence of the realm against assault from without — all worked to the same end. Then Stephen created the nucleus of a standing army. He set free his serfs, distributed them amongst the various fortified positions — where they were put under the control of the „várispán" — and were bound to do military service when required. There was, besides, the national army — formed by the freemen, who paid no taxes, but, in return for their estates, which they held from the King, were to rally round the national standard in times of national danger.

Stephen further added to his prestige by the accumulation of wealth. He possessed enormous estates—partly inherited from his father, partly territory newly acquired, which had not been included in the distribution carried out, on the principles laid down by the Blood Compact, at the national assembly of Pusztaszer. A fixed proportion of the produce belonged to the King. The revenues of the gold, silver, and salt mines, situated within the royal domains, were paid into the Treasury. Stephen was the first Hungarian King to establish a coinage. Customs duties were imposed on all goods imported into the country, and tolls were exacted for the use of bridges, ferries, and booths. Royal officials were appointed to collect all these dues. Towns were established and endowed with special privileges, in return for which the inhabitants had to pay taxes and tribute. The sources of revenue which enabled Stephen to reward his servants so lavishly, and to endow the Church so generously, must have been considerable.

Stephen placed the tenure of land on a new basis. Hitherto the system of land-tenure had been tribal — possession by the tribe or clan as a whole: Stephen substituted the system of individual tenure—freehold possession passing as indisputable birthright from father to son. Hereby the King really created a fresh group of landed proprietors (the lesser nobility), who were to prove of inestimable value as supporters of the Crown. At the same time, all estates, the families of whose owners had become extinct, were to lapse to the King.

The King's estates were divided into districts called *comitatus* (in Hungarian, „vármegye"), the centres of which were the fortified positions under the control of Burggraves („vár-ispánok"). There seem

to have been some forty-five „counties" at this time. The most important was that of Fehér, the capital of which (Székesfehérvár) Stephen made his residence. The system was undoubtedly taken over from the Franks, though the technical terms are Slav in origin. (Stephen made a point of imitating any foreign institutions which seemed worthy of adoption, while taking every care to give them a Hungarian character.) The duties of the *vár-ispán* (the direct progenitor of the *fő-ispán* of to-day, though his powers were far greater) were primarily military; but he was also responsible for the civil administration of his „county", the cultivation of the soil, and the general control of the royal officials and freemen. The system contained the germs of the county administration of later times, which has preserved some of its most significant features (e. g. the appointment of the „high sheriff" or „lord lieutenant" by the sovereign).

„Remember, my son, that the Roman Empire owed its greatness, and its rulers their glory and power, to the fact that noble and wise men assembled there from all countries of the world . . . A land of one tongue and uniform customs is weak and cannot maintain itself long. So I beg of you, my son, to treat strangers kindly and to show a friendly indulgence towards them". These words, taken from Stephen's „Hints" to his son, sum up the policy of the first king of Hungary with regard to foreign settlers, foreign customs and manners, and foreign institutions. He believed that a nation unable or afraid to adopt such foreign customs and ideals as were not detrimental to its individuality, confessed its own weakness and was unworthy of a permanent place in history. He thus established the principles which have ever since guided Hungarian domestic policy and inspired that remarkable liberalism which has opened the ranks of the privileged classes to every comer. Khazars, Petchenegs, Bulgarians have been followed by Germans, Italians, Slavs, and Roumanians. The same spirit of toleration which made Stephen's Court the refuge of the exiled Atheling enabled the Hunyadis to ascend to the highest offices in the land, brought Zrínyi and Frangepán to perish on an Austrian scaffold as the heroes of the Hungarian cause, and transformed the Slav butcher's son, Petrovich, into the immortal Petőfi, the Tyrtaeus of a heroic race.

Stephen deliberately modelled his system of laws on that of the Franks, having recourse to the resolutions of the synods of Mayence (847 and 888 A. D.) and to the decrees of Charlemagne's successors: but he moulded them to suit the individuality of his people.

„Whosoever draweth the sword shall be put to the sword". Stephen aimed a mortal blow at all those excesses which were the natural result of the passions hereditary in men the trade of whose ancestors had been warfare.

The nation was already divided into distinct social classes. The first (and foremost, in Stephen's eyes) was that of the prelates or spiritual peers whose wealth and military forces made them for a long time a most important political factor in the State. Then came the freemen, divided, by virtue of the extent of their estates and consequent political power, into „seniores" and „milites". These three were the estates of the realm. They payed no taxes or other dues; their only duty consisted in supplying feudal levies or *banderia* in times of national danger. They alone enjoyed political rights (attendance at national assemblies.) They were not subservient to anyone save the King himself and his deputy, the „comes palatinus". The Burggraves had no control over them. The other classes — with no political rights — were the „jobbagiones castri", freemen who possessed holdings in fee simple, whose only duty was that of military service and of filling the minor offices in county administration; the „castrenses" (ministriales) *(várnép)*, who held land on lease, paying rent in kind, in money, in military and other service; they were not freemen, but were at liberty to migrate: the „conditionati", those who did the menial work in connection with the Court, offices glorified later into high court dignities, *e. g.* the Mastership of the Horse, etc.; in return for their services they obtained grants of land; but they could be disposed of and were under the control of the „comes palatinus", who received one- third of the produce of their holdings· slaves: the inhabitants of the towns (mostly „strangers" from abroad, foreign settlers from Bavaria, Italy, etc.) who were freemen, enjoyed certain privileges (for which they paid), were subject to the commands of the king only, but were not endowed with the political rights of the three estates.

The chief merit of Stephen's system of government, apart from the establishment of ordered legislation and of a lasting tenure of property, is that he endeavoured to bridge over the gulf dividing the pagan past from the Christian present by accommodating his innovations to the spirit of the ancestral institutions, and thus to render the transition from the confusion of out-of-date traditions to the systematic orderliness of codified statutes, less difficult. He knew that time was required to oust the older conceptions; that years of peace must follow, if the new order he had established was to attain stability and permanence; that the passions which had stood in the way of a ready and universal acceptance of the new faith must be kept in the background. So he encouraged tolerance and furthered equality at home, and laid the foundations of a military force which should not only enhance the royal power, but should at the same time secure peace abroad.

How well-founded his anxiety was, the events of his successors' reigns proved. How providential for his country was his activity as reformer, king, and statesman, the poets of the troublous years of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries recognised when they sung of St Stephen, the national hero. The foundations he had laid so carefully and with such eminent forethought might tremble at the shocks of civil war and foreign aggression: but they stood firm, a lasting proof of the wisdom and political genius of their builder, and still form the basis of the Hungarian polity. The principles he evolved have been the main cause of the surrival of Hungary through the storms of centuries. The Empire of Charlemagne fell to pieces: the kingdom of St Stephen has remained, the same to-day in essence as it was nine hundred years ago.

This was St Stephen's bequest to posterity.

CHAPTER IV

THE HOUSE OF ÁRPÁD.

Stephen's forebodings were only too soon justified by events. The undisguised contempt of the new monarch (Peter I., 1038—41 and 1044—46) for the Magyars and his policy of conciliating his German and Italian friends by the gift of large estates created enormous dissatisfaction, even among those who had been loyal to Stephen. The very existence of the Church seemed jeopardised. His threat that he would reduce Hungary to the position of a vassal of the Roman Empire was the signal for open revolt. *Samuel Aba,* Stephen's brother-in-law, (1041—44) was elected King by the insurgents. The new monarch at once put the wicked counsellors of Peter to death; and the wretched creature fled for refuge to the Court of Henry III. Peter told the Emperor that the Christian faith was in danger in Hungary and that German influence was on the wane. Nothing more was needed to persuade the Emperor, who looked upon the spread of Christianity and the expansion of German power as the two main objects of his life, to invade Hungary. For two years the country had to suffer from the ravages of warfare, until in 1043, when Henry had penetrated as far as the Rába, Samuel craved for peace, which he obtained by the restoration of the territory acquired by Stephen (west of the Lajtha) and by gifts of incalculable wealth. This action of his was looked upon by many of the Hungarian nobles as disloyal and cowardly. Samuel heard of their disaffection and resolved to crush it by cruel treachery. Simulating a desire to accomodate their wishes, he invited fifty of the most prominent to meet him in a house at Csanád, where he had them surrounded and put to the sword. This act of wicked despotism merely added fuel to the flames of discontent. The flower of the Hungarian nobility rose against him and the Emperor was emboldened to invade Hungary once more. At the battle of *Ménfő* (July 5, 1044) Samuel's army was routed; the King himself was taken prisoner; the Emperor withdrew to Székesfehérvár, where he had Peter crowned.

The following year, at Whitsuntide, Peter invited the Emperor to his capital, where

Budapest.
Statue of John Hunyadi, on the Fishermen's Bastion.
Erdélyi fotó.

he took the oath of fealty to the Roman Empire, promising the payment of tribute and presenting Henry whith the golden lance which symbolised the royal power of Hungary. Thus Peter reduced his country to the degrading position of a vassal state.

Stephen's anxiety for the independence of his kingdom and the welfare of his Church had proved to be fully justified. The whole nation rose in revolt against the man who had humiliated their pride; and, when the freemen despatched envoys to the exiled princes of the House of Árpád, Endre and Levente, who were in Russia, they demanded the restoration of the ancestral faith. They had come to regard the Church, with her foreign priests, as a danger to their national existence. It was no difficult matter to impart their hatred to the masses, who dreaded the „foreign intruders" and felt the burden of the tithes inposed on them by Stephen. Peter was taken prisoner; his eyes were put out; and he was cast into prison.

Vatha put himself at the head of the pagan hosts. Levente inclined to paganism; and Endre, while determined in his heart to be true to the principles of Stephen, did not yet possess the power to put those principles, into practice. So he could not for the moment stay the cruel ravages of the pagans, who, incited by the priests of Hadúr, proclaimed, „in the name, and at the behest, of Levente and Endre", that the bishops, priests, and tithe-collectors were to be killed, the churches destroyed, and the foreign knights swept off the face of the earth. No mercy was shown: even Bishop Gerhard, the former tutor of St Stephen's son, fell a victim to the fury of the fanatical pagan hordes. He was on his way to meet Levente and Endre, of whose

approach to Pest he had heard. The road he chose passed the foot of Mount Kelen, where he fell in with the insurgents. He blessed them and called on them to cease doing the work of the devil. For answer they dragged him to the summit of the hill and hurled him down into the depths. To-day the hill is called Mount Gerhard (Gellérthegy); half-way up may be seen a statue of the saintly bishop.

Endre, or Andrew, I. (1046—66) was horrified at the cruel butchery and savage vandalism of Vatha's followers: but it was not until after his coronation at Székesfehérvár in 1047 that he ventured to declare openly his adherence to the faith of St Stephen. The revolting massacres perpetrated by the insurgents had thrilled the better classes with horror. The nation, once more united under the rule of an elected national prince, resolved to break with the pagan traditions of the past and to give their whole-hearted support to Endre in the struggle against German aspirations. For Henry had already sent to demand a renewal of the oath of fealty and the recognition of his ownership.

Levente was dead; so Endre summoned to his aid his brother Béla (Adalbert), a distinguished soldier and the son-in-law of the Prince of Poland. Béla returned home, and received — together with the title of „prince" *cum iure successionis* — twelve counties in the East of Hungary (about one third of the country).

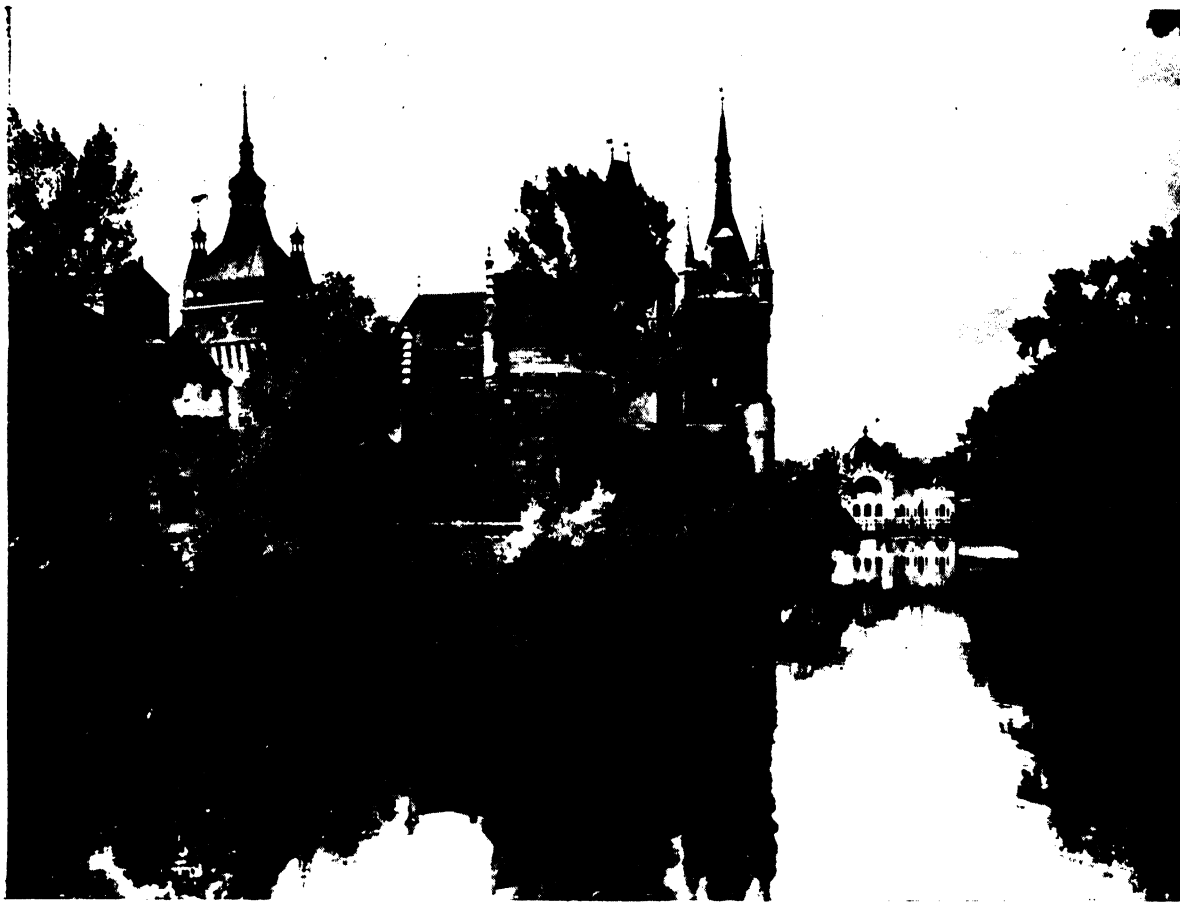
The King's confidence in his brother — which was shared by the whole nation — was well placed: for when, in 1051, Henry invaded Hungary with an enormous host, three armies operating in different points, Béla adopted the tactics of his ancestors. Harassing their flanks continually, cutting off their supplies, intercepting messages, appearing suddenly at unguarded points, he contented himself at first with acting on the defensive. At last the German hosts arrived among the hills lying between Buda and Tata. Hungry and fatigued, they could offer no resistance to the vehement attacks of the Magyars. Throwing away their shields and armour, they sought safety in flight: and the memory of the terrible punishment they received is still preserved in the name of *Mount Vértes* (the hill of armour). Their retreat to Germany developed into a rout.

The following year (1052) Henry again invaded Hungary, but the expedition ended in failure. Never again did Henry venture to put the martial prowess of the Magyars to the test.

However, peace was not concluded until 1058, when Endre's son, Salamon, then six years old, was betrothed to Henry's daughter, Judith. The peace was ratified by Henry's widow — his son, Henry IV., being not yet of age — who acknowledged once more the absolute independence of Hungary as a sovereign State.

Meanwhile trouble was brewing at home. Béla saw his hopes of advancement shattered by the coronation (in 1055) of Salamon; he was also afraid that the alliance with the German imperial house would eventually prove detrimental to the national independence of his country. He made no secret of his solicitude; and flatterers were busy making mischief between the two brothers. Béla thought it prudent to seek safety in flight. He fled to Poland, whence he returned with a large army of Polish supporters. Endre relied upon the protection of Germany: so the bulk of the nation, who were attracted to Béla's side by the glamour of his military achievements for the national honour, rallied to the standard of the „prince". Twice the armies met, first on the banks of the Tisza, then near Moson, on the western frontier of Hungary. In both battles Béla was victorious. Endre, severely wounded, was taken prisoner and succumbed to his injuries. He was buried in the monastery of *Tihany*, which he had founded, and Béla became king.

Béla I. (1060—63) was crowned at Székesfehérvár, whither he summoned the leading men of the villages and townships, that he might hear the complaints of the poor. He was determined to remedy the grievances of his subjects: and at the same time he endeavoured to follow in the steps of St Stephen in his policy of conciliation towards all foreigners. But his efforts to improve the lot of his people seemed doomed to failure. Thousands flocked to the „assizes". Vatha's son, John, seized the opportunity to raise once more the standard of paganism. His followers harangued the crowd, attributed the misery prevailing in the land to the spread of Christianity, and incited them to demand the restitution of the ancestral faith, the banishment of the priests, and the destruction of the churches. A crowd of hungry peasants is easily misled. Béla found himself faced, not by a throng of loyal subjects eager to listen to his explanation of the laws and



Budapest. The Agricultural Museum. This building is in part a replica of the famous Vajdahunyad Castle in Transylvania, the ancestral home of the Corvin Kings of Hungary. Csiky fotó.

measures of St Stephen, but by a clamorous rabble of fanatics. He asked three days' grace. Collecting his army (most of the nobles identified themselves with their King), he surrounded the insurgents, had the ringleaders put to the sword, and sent the poor misguided rabble home „to think the matter over". Here and there signs of local dissatisfaction made their appearance: but the cause of paganism had been finally crushed; and the worship of their heathen deities ceased, once for all, to have any hold on the mind of the Magyar nation.

Béla passed measures to improve the material welfare of his people. He had good coins struck, and regulated the market prices of all wares, thus putting a stop to the unscrupulous machinations of the traders. Poor and rich alike blessed the wisdom and forethought of the heroic King who had saved the country from the two greatest evils, domestic trouble and foreign interference.

But the Germans could not forgive him for the terrible defeats he had inflicted on them. The guardians of the young Emperor (the Archbishops of Cologne and Bremen) had great ambitions; and the Imperial Assembly held at Mayence (1063) resolved to wage war on Hungary and place Salamon on the throne of St Stephen. Béla prepared to meet the Germans; but while staying at Dömös (on the Danube, just above Visegrád), he had an accident that crippled him. However, he had himself carried to the western frontier, determined to inspire his army by his presence; but the news of the surrender of Moson broke his heart, and he died before he could close with the enemy.

His son Géza sent envoys to the German camp, signifying his willingness to recognise the claims of Salamon, who had been crowned, and declaring his readiness to content himself with the title of „prince". Receiving no reply, Géza fled with his brothers László and Lampert to Poland.

Salamon (1063—74) was taken by the victorious Germans to Székesfehérvár, where he was re-crowned and received the homage of the bishops. Scarcely had the German hosts retired when Géza appeared in the country at the head of the Polish army. But he desired peace, and, through the intervention of the bishops, made terms with the young King, who had fled to Moson. Géza received the estates that had belonged to his father, together with the rank and title of „prince". On April 14.1064, the cousins celebrated the Easter festival together in the cathedral city of Pécs.

The generous unselfishness of Géza and his younger brother László (the future hero of innumerable legends) who supported their helpless cousin by lending him the lustre and glamour of their popularity and military prowess, driving back the Bohemian invaders, routing the Cumanian hosts at Cserhalom (1070), and overthrowing the Greeks and their Petcheneg allies at Belgrade (Nándorfehérvár), was neutralized by the intrigues of Salamon's wicked advisers.

His foreign counsellors knew that the influence of Géza was detrimental to the interests of Germany: and the prince's action in giving quarter to the Greeks without reference to the King enabled Vid to work on Salamon's jealousy and to „improve the occasion" provided by the whispered insinuation of the German courtiers. „There is no room", said Vid „for two sharpened swords in one sheath". So Géza sent László to Russia and Poland, Lampert to Bohemia, to solicit aid against Salamon and his foreign mercenaries. An attempt was made to reconcile the cousins, who met at Esztergom in 1073. But the treachery of Vid (who aimed at obtaining the „princedom" for himself) frustrated all peaceful endeavours. The plan discussed by the King and his henchman in the monastery at Szekszárd was revealed to Géza by the abbot.

Géza was surprised and surrounded at Kemej; many of his soldiers turned traitor: but with the remnant of his army he cut his way through and joined forces with László near Vácz.

Vid's self-confidence was unbounded; he affected to despise even László: but the day of atonement was at hand. On the battlefield of *Mogyoród* (near Czinkota) Salamon lost everything he had. The self-sacrificing bravery of his knight *Bátor Opos* saved him from capture: but he was never again able to assert his claim to the throne of his ancestors.

The victory of Géza and László shattered the hopes of the German Emperor. Géza I. (1074—77) did not wish to occupy the throne. as the crowned King was still alive: but the nation was tired of a man who had thrown himself into the arms of his German kinsmen, and looked upon the accession of Béla's son as their only safeguard against German interference. So, against his will, he was proclaimed King. Henry IV. invaded the country, advanced as far as Vácz. Géza repeated the tactics of his father, and the German army was forced to retire. Salamon remained in Pozsony, where he was practically a prisoner. Gregory VII. endeavoured to win Géza's support by openly proclaiming the independence of Hungary. Michael Ducas, the Byzantine Emperor, sent Géza a crown (1075), which forms the lower part of the Holy Crown of Hungary. In the face of these temptations to renounce the independence of his kingdom, Géza maintained the attitude that Hungary must stand alone if she was to preserve her sovereign character. In the meantime (1076) Géza offered to restore the throne to Salamon: but the freemen, who had got wind of the King's intention, used every effort to thwart the scheme, intercepting letters and holding up messengers; and, early in 1077, Géza died, before the scheme could be realised.

The same year saw the humiliation of Canossa.

Budapest. King Matthias home from the hunt. This statue stands near one of the entrances to the Royal Palace.

Erdélyi fotó.

CHAPTER V.

SAINT LADISLAS AND HIS AGE.

On the death of Géza, the whole nation demanded the election of his brother László (St Ladislas, 1077—95), the chivalrous and valorous knight, the darling of mediaeval fancy, the protector of the weak and defenceless, the champion of truth and justice, the Christian hero, probably the prototype of „Lancelot of the Lake".

Quite apart from his personal qualities, which made him the hero of legends innumerable and a favourite subject for Hungarian poetry, László's ability as a statesman and his military prowess gave his country peace at home and saved his kingdom from all fear of interference from without. The King introduced legislation of such severity that the ravages of crime caused by long years of civil strife practically ceased, and order was restored. László's victorious campaigns and conquests, his open support of the enemies of Henry IV., his consistent refusal to subordinate his kingdom to the authority of the Pope (Gregory VII.) — while he lavished benefits on the Church of St Stephen — proved to his subjects that their ruler could be a good Christian without being a bad Hungarian, and to foreign courts that their ambitions to interfere with the independence of Hungary had little chance of being realised.

Salamon accepted the King's offer of an annual allowance and a refuge in his Court. His intrigues, however, forced his cousin to order his confinement in the keep of the castle at Visegrád, which is still known as „Solomon's Tower", from which, however, he was later released. In 1083 Gregory VII. canonised the first King of Hungary (Stephen) and his son (Imre). Preparations were made to celebrate the event with due splendour. The remains of the saintly king were to be removed from their resting-place and reinterred. But no one could lift the stone that covered the coffin. Then a holy nun (Caritas) told the King that the stone could not be removed as long as Salamon was in confinement. The name of the nun suggests that the tradition is allegorical. László ordered his cousin to be set free; the stone was lifted; and on August 20, by the side of St Stephen's mortal remains, the two cousins were reconciled. Salamon swore never to disturb the peace of the realm: but he was incapable of keeping his oath. The same year he fled to the Cumanians in Moldavia, and obtained their help against László. But László had got wind of Salamon's despicable treachery; he routed the invaders near Munkács. Kutesk and his ally fled to the lower reaches of the Danube, where they joined forces with the Petchenegs in predatory raids on the Byzantine Empire. Here Salamon disappears from the pages of history.

László next turned his attention to *Croatia*, then called *Slavonia*. *Zvonimir*, the king who had wedded László's sister, and who had, as vassal, received the title of king and a crown from Pope Gregory VII., had died (in 1087). A period of civil strife had ensued: but, on the death of the ringleader of the opposition, the widowed queen sent for aid to her brother. So, in 1091, at the head of a powerful army, László crossed the Drave, Save, and Kulpa, and entered Croatia. He was received everywhere with acclamations: the people had grown tired of party dissensions and desired peace. No resistance was made to his advance; and Croatia was united to Hungary.

László at once set to work to establish normal conditions. He divided the country into counties with officials appointed by the King, systematised administration, and put his nephew, *Almos*, with the title of viceroy, at the head of affairs. He endeavoured to propagate the Christian faith by founding the bishopric of Zágráb (Zagreb), which he subordinated to the Archbishop of Esztergom, and by sending missionaries to the country districts to convert the pagans. But, in the midst of his work of reform, he was recalled to Hungary to repel an invasion of the Cumanians of Moldavia, who had taken advantage of his absence to overrun and ravage Transylvania and the counties of Bihar and Szabolcs.

László's small army, rushing across Hungary by forced marches, encountered the Cumanian invaders on their way home, laden with booty and prisoners near the point where the Temes joins the Danube. With the red flag of vengeance in his left hand, the King charged the barbarians at the head of his devoted followers. „I had

rather die", he exclaimed, „then see your wives and children taken captive and dragged off to the waters of Babylon". Tradition tells us that only one of the Cumanians escaped: the rest were killed or taken prisoners and compelled to embrace Christianity.

Kapolcs was dead; but Ákos vowed vengeance. So László hastened to Orsova, where a shattering blow was delivered. The King killed Ákos with his own hand; the Cumanian hosts fled in disorder, and for centuries troubled the country no more.

A great number of the legends current in Hungary respecting the great King are connected with his exploits against the Cumanians.

The Russians and the Bohemians too felt the weight of László's martial prowess. But he was summoned back, before his triumph was complete, by the news that the Black Death was ravaging Hungary. So he returned to calm the fears of the people by his presence, and to take his part in stemming the tide of the fell disease. How well his work succeeded is symbolised by the legend of „St Ladislas's Grass", when an arrow shot by the King came to rest where a herb grew which proved a remedy for the disease.

In 1095 the significance of the Hungarian Church and the greatness of the Hungarian King was — if we may trust tradition — demonstrated by an act of homage in which the whole of Christendom took part. The Synod of Piacenza (so we are told), where the prelates and secular knights, fired by the preaching of Peter, had assembled to decide upon a Holy War, elected László as their leader. The greatest distinction of the then Christian world was conferred on the ruler of a country whose pagan horsemen had once been the terror of Western Europe. The deputation sent to the King of Hungary was received with a splendour and dignity that left no doubt in the minds of its members as to the happiness of their choice.

But László was not destined to lead the army of the Cross to reconquer the Holy Sepulchre and drive the Saracens out of Jerusalem. The same year (1095), just as he was preparing to take the field to defend the Prince of Moravia against his rival of Bohemia, he was taken ill. He felt the end approaching, and desired to make the necessary arrangements for the future welfare of his kingdom. When his daughter (Piroska) wedded the Emperor of Constantinople, he took his brother Géza's sons — Kálmán and Álmos — under his care. The latter was appointed viceroy of Croatia; Kálmán — the learned „lover of books" — was destined for the Church. But, weakling as he was physically, Kálmán felt he had a calling to serve his country in a higher sphere. He fled to Poland, whither László's envoys were now sent to bring home. „*My son*", said the King, „I entrust my kingdom to you. Remember that our military prowess has won respect for us abroad, and that severe laws have secured peace at home. Be strong and just, and God will never fail you".

László died on July 29, 1095: and his remains were buried in the cathedral at Nagyvárad, which he had built and endowed.

The Hungarians believe that St Ladislas will always come to help them in their need.

But it was not only his military prowess and his Christian character nor his chilvalric conduct that endeared the memory of László to his people. He was one of Hungary's greatest lawgivers.

The civil strife that rent the kingdom almost without a break from the days of Peter to the ill-starred reign of Salamon had brutalised public morals. Brother's hand was raised against brother; the persons and property of neighbours were not respected; even public property was regarded as a fit objective for the greed of those whose power enabled them to seize it: and the „assizes" of St Stephen had fallen into oblivion. All this László was determined to put an end to. He knew that the corruption of public morals was due, not only to the constant succession of internal feuds, but to the clandestine return of so many waverers to the practice of the ancestral faith. So he summoned the national assembly to meet; and at the famous sessions of Pannonhalma and Szabolcs steps were taken to bring about the restoration of order and the consolidation of normal conditions. At first sight these measures appear cruel in their relentless severity; but they were accommodated to the conditions of the age and the temper of the people. These laws punished rich and poor, high and low, with equal severity — a fact that proves how powerful László was. That he benefited the poor most, is

evident: but the King was conscious of his ability to check the ambitions of the nobility and to coerce them into submission to his will. In fact, it was the prelates and Magnates — the grandees of the land — who were the instruments of that will. He even abolished „benefit of clergy" in his efforts to establish a uniform system of justice. With all his tender solicitude for the welfare of his Church and the expansion of the Christian faith, he was determined that no abuse by the clergy of their favoured position should ever weaken the prestige of Christianity in the eyes of the people. No wonder that the peasantry for ages to come looked upon St Ladislas as the patron saint of the poor and oppressed.

Not until the days of Matthias the Just did any historical figure obtain so complete a hold of popular imagination as that of the King who was canonised by the Church for his piety and goodness, and who, in the words of the chronicler, was „rich in love, abounding in patience, cheerful in his graciousness, overflowing in the gifts of grace, the promoter of justice, the patron of modesty, the guardian of the deserted, and the helper of the poor and distressed".

László was succeeded by *Kálmán* (1095—1116), the elder son of his brother Géza, while the younger son, *Almos* who inherited the warlike qualities and fiery nature of his ancestors, received the title and office of „prince".

Kálmán did not possess the sublimity of character of his uncle: but he was endowed with other qualities, political and military, that make his reign one of the most notable in Hungarian history.

Early in 1096 he had an opportunity of showing his fitness for the office he had desired so ardently. Scarcely had the snow melted, when a host of Crusaders appeared in Hungary. They were under the command of Walter Sansavoir. Kálmán, a good Christian but a better Hungarian, who felt no enthusiasm for the whole movement, allowed the Crusaders to pass through his land on condition that they paid for everything they wanted, did not molest the population, and kept the peace. But they broke the compact, ravaged and pillaged wherever they could, and finally took Zimony by storm. Kálmán was compelled to attack them: the main body was routed; many prisoners were taken; and many others fled the country.

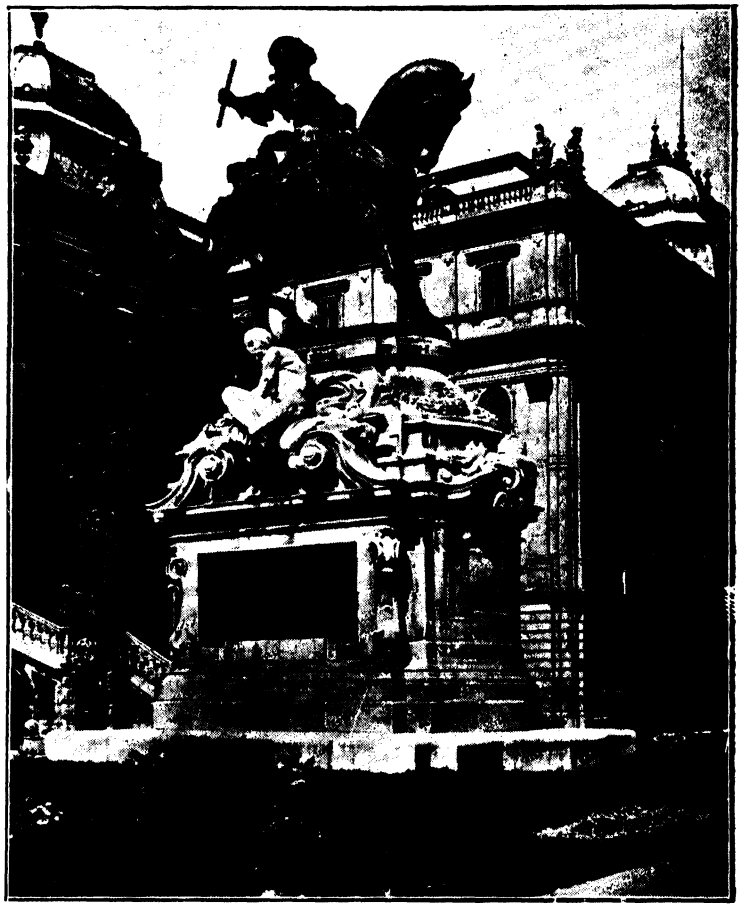
A short while after, *Godfrey de Bouillon's* vast host crossed the frontier. Kálmán met them at Moson, and though convinced of the genuine character of the expedition, accompanied them at the head of an imposing army (for safety's sake) as far as Zimony, where he provided them with provisions to last them for several days. The King's action reconciled the Pope, who had begun to doubt his Christian zeal, and at the same time convinced his people that they had a sovereign who could be trusted to look after their welfare.

The following year (1097) he was compelled to intervene in the affairs of Croatia. A pretender, a Slav noble of the name of Peter, had declared the independence of Croatia, and assumed the title and dignity of king. At the battle of Petrovagora, Peter was defeated: the Croatians submitted at once: Croatia was definitively incorporated in Hungary, but certain privileges vested in the heads of the Croatian nobility (including exemption from taxation) remained intact, but they were bound over in return to contribute their share (as in Hungary proper) to the royal and national armies.

Kálmán was determined to occupy *Dalmatia* too. His alliance with Venice proved of no use, for the Doge himself had need of the coast-line and appealed to the Byzantine Emperor for aid against the Hungarian King's ambitions. So Kálmán turned elsewhere. He wedded Buzilla, daughter of Norman Roger, Count of Sicily; he conciliated the Greek Emperor: and in 1105 he began to occupy the Dalmatian towns. The autonomy of the towns was respected; no fresh burdens were imposed; no foreign settlers were introduced: and Dalmatia became a province of the kingdom of St Stephen. In 1111 Kálmán was acclaimed King of Dalmatia at Zara by an assembly of prelates and nobles, at which, with an eye to eventual struggles with Venice, he took an oath to respect and maintain the ancient privileges and charters of the country.

Henry V. did indeed claim the suzerainty over Dalmatia as a province of the Roman Empire: but his efforts to overawe Hungary proved as futile as those of his grandfather. Pozsony once more saw the retreat of a beaten German army.

Meanwhile intriguers had been busy sowing the seeds of discord between the



Budapest.
Statue of Prince Eugene of Savoy, before the Royal Palace.
Csiky foto.

King and his brother. Álmos had resented his deposition, and was only too ready to rise in revolt against the King. On one occasion the nobles proposed that the two royal brothers should settle the dispute by duel, for their private quarrels were no concern of the country. After the terrible defeat of Kálmán's army by the Russians at Przemysl, Álmos, who had wedded Predzlâva, the daughter of Svatopluk II., Prince of Kiev, endeavoured on several occasion to invoke foreign aid: but his schemes failed, and he was compelled to crave for forgiveness. This comedy was repeated several times. In the end Kálmán had Álmos and his son Béla arrested, and their eyes put out. His orders to kill the latter were not obeyed: the poor blind child was hidden away from his wrath.

The eve of Kálmán's life was closing in. A terrible disease was wasting his body, causing him unutterable pain: the fear in which he had lived for years seems to have unhinged his mind. The brutality which deprived his brother and nephew of their sight was capped by the cruel heartlessness with which he drove his second wife, Euphemia, a Russian princess, from her home, to wander as an outcast with the son (Borics) whom his father had refused to recognise.

He died in 1116, and was buried at Székesfehérvár.

The ferocity of his treatment of his brother and wife, due without doubt to the ravages of incipient madness brought on by bodily suffering and the mental strain of those years of harassing fear and intrigue, cannot overshadow Kálmán's greatness as a legislator and statesman, or the brilliance of his military exploits.

His laws are a striking proof of his intellectuality and of an enlightenment unparalleled in the history of the age. He forbade the persecution of witches. The use of the „ordeal" was permitted only in the case of the most heinous crimes: but the other forms of punisment introduced by St Ladislas were maintained in force. False witnesses were to be branded. The difficulty

of appearing at the annual „assizes" was to be overcome by local (county) courts holding sessions twice a year. An endeavour was made to restrict the King's power of granting estates: for Kálmán felt that the ultimate result must be to weaken, not to strengthen, the authority of the Crown (history has proved how well- founded his solicitude was).

Kálmán restored celibacy among the clergy, who had been allowed to marry once under the rule of László, and renounced his exclusive right of appointing bishops. He established ecclesiastical courts for the trial of priests; demanded the strict observance of fasts; encouraged the building of churches; and founded the bishopric of Nyitra.

His defiance of the oligarchy, which was beginning to make its influence felt, made Kálmán unpopular with prelates and magnates alike. Once more a people's King had striven to improve the lot of the poorer and unprivileged classes. His treatment of the Crusaders, his unwillingness to add to the wealth of the Church by rich endowments (he merely confirmed the gifts of his predecessors), led the monkish chroniclers of later ages to belittle his actions and his services to his country, while they extolled men like Álmos and Endre (Andrew) II., that puppet king who brought so much misery and suffering on his people. But those who hated Kálmán, feared his power and respected his statesmanship: and posterity has shown a full appreciation of the man whose enlightenment carried Hungary a stage farther on the road towards her ultimate goal — recognition as a champion of Western culture.

Stephen II. (1116—31), Kálmán's son, was but fifteen years of age when he succeeded to the throne. Hotheaded, selfconfident, arrogant, ambitious without ability, he succeeded in undoing much of the work that his father had achieved. He was the first of that unfortunate series of puppet and child kings whose helplessness was for nearly a century the cause of untold misery and suffering to their country. Much of Kálmán's legislation had been in anticipation of the years of misrule which followed.

The new reign opened with a magnificent coronation ceremony — and the loss of Dalmatia, which fell into the hands of Venice. Stephen went to war with Bohemia, and interfered in the disputes of the Russian princes, with consistent ill-success.

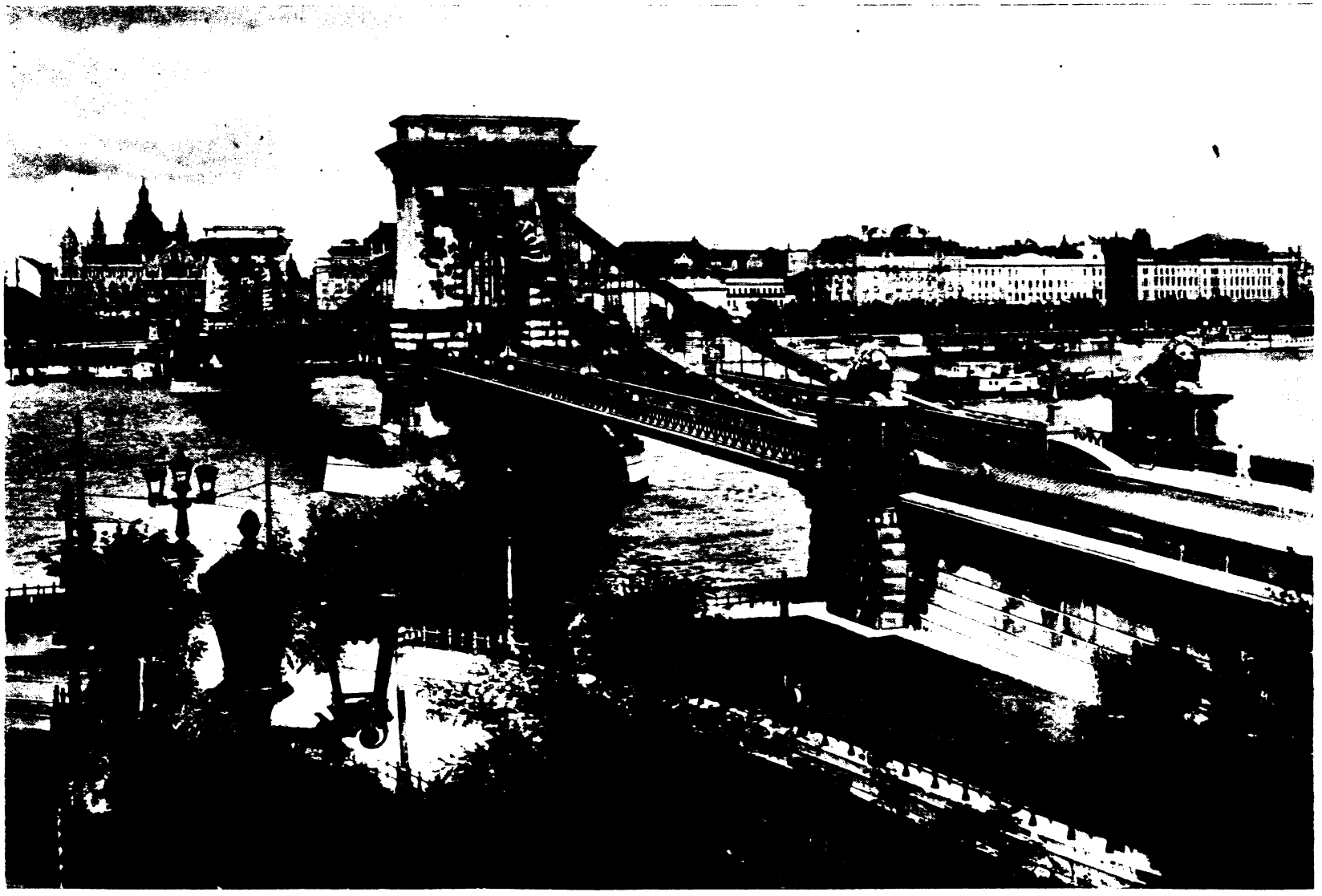
Then he attacked the Byzantine Emperor, John, who — so we are told — had insulted his consort, Piroska, and had declared that he was the overlord of Hungary. The Hungarian army invaded the Empire as far as Philippopolis: but John repulsed Stephen and shattered his host in a bloody battle on the banks of the stream Karas.

Stephen was overcome with grief at the thought that he was the last surviving representative of the House of Árpád. But those who had hidden Béla, the son of Álmos, to save him from the vindictive wrath of Kálmán, now came forward and revealed their secret. The King was overjoyed; he married Béla to Ilona, the daughter of Uros, Prince of Servia; he designated the blind prince as his heir; and then turned monk and died in a monastery in 1131.

„Blind" Béla II. (1131—41) was the victim of his own vindictiveness. There was a party in the country which favoured the claims of Borics, the son of Kálmán by his second wife. It was to make away with the leaders of this party, and to avenge the blinding of Álmos and her husband, that (so the tradition runs) Ilona summoned an assembly of the estates of the realm to Arad. The seeds of innumerable subsequent feuds were sown. Borics in vain endeavoured to win the crown by force: he was twice driven back.

Béla added to the territory of Hungary by the subjection of Bosnia and part of Herzegovina. He assumed the title of „King of Ráma" (Bosnia).

When Béla died, in 1141, the country was face to face with a new danger — the ambitions of the Eastern Empire. Géza II. (1141—62) was but eleven years old when he succeeded his father. He was brought up by his uncle, Belus, a Servian by extraction, who, however, proved a most able guardian and regent. Before long the intrigues of Borics brought a German (Bavarian) army into Hungary: but it was driven back, and completely routed on the banks of the Fischa. With no hope of assistance from Russia (Géza had been betrothed to Fruzhina, daughter of the powerful ruler of Kiev), the pretender endeavoured to court the favour of the leaders of the Second Crusade; but they were conscious of the necessity of keeping on friendly terms with the King of Hungary. However, Louis VII. of France offered to escort Borics to Constantinople.



Budapest. The Széchenyi or Chain Bridge. Csiky fotó.

Manuel, the grandson of St Ladislas, was the Emperor. He seized the opportunity for realising the dreams of the House of Comnenos, and bringing Hungary under the suzerainty of Byzantium. Within the short space of twelve years (1150—62) ten separate campaigns were fought to this end. After defeating the Prince of Servia (Blatchin) in 1150, two years later Manuel sent Borics with a large army to lay waste the Temes district, while he himself seized Zimony. Géza, who was fighting in Russia for his brother-in-law, made a truce with Manuel, who retained the possession of Servia. In 1154 the Byzantine Emperor offered a refuge to the Hungarian King's brothers, László and Stephen. Géza in his turn supported the claims of Manuel's cousin, Andronicus. The internal dissensions thus created in both countries led to a fresh outbreak of hostilities. Peace was made, and Stephen fled to the court of Frederich Barbarossa, who was, however, pacified by the promise of support in his Italian campaigns. In 1160, Géza acknowledged the claims of the Pope (Alexander III.); and Frederick was too busy in Lombardy to interfere.

Géza died at a very early age, in 1162. He had succeeded in preserving the independence of his country by a wise policy of conciliation, and by his energy in war. He followed the advice of St Stephen and invited foreign settlers, chiefly Flemings and Saxons, to people the uninhabited districts of Hungary.

His son, Stephen III. (1162—72) succeeded at the age of fifteen. But Manuel declared that the law expressly provided for a „successio gradualis", and claimed the throne for his protegé, László, the younger brother of Géza. In Hungary, too, there was a party which favoured this interpretation of the law of succession. The Greek army could not be resisted, in view of the want of unity in the country itself; László II. (1162—63) was chosen King; Stephen III. was compelled to flee to Pozsony. The Archbishop of Esztergom, Lukács (Luke), refused to crown Manuel's portegé, whom he regarded as a usurper. After László's death, his brother, Stephen IV., appeared on the scene as pretender (1163) and was crowned by Mikó, Archbishop of Kalocsa. The real king by this time had collected an army, and, after occupying the Trans-Danubian districts, defeated the pretender near Székesfehérvár. But the Eastern Emperor had designs on Hungarian territory in 1165, and invaded Hungary, even after the death of the pretender (April 11, at Zimony). In fact he did not relinquish his endeavours to conquer Hungarian territory and to bring the kingdom under the suzerainty of the Empire, until the death of Stephen III. in 1172.

The great majority of the nation favoured the claims of Stephen's brother, Béla III. (1172—96). But the Archbishop of Esztergom, Lukács, the King's mother and a small party suspicious of a man trained in the athmosphere of the Byzantine Court, would have preferred his younger brother, Géza. Béla's energy in suppresing all attempts at insurrection, soon gave him a powerful hold over the country; and the wisdom of his legislation, the undeniably national character of his policy and his great ability as a military leader, calmed all fears and allayed all suspicions.

He kept his promise not to attack the Greek Empire during Manuel's lifetime: but he put an end to the domination of that Greek influence which had reacted so banefully upon the internal conditions of the country. Hungary had passed through another period of severe trial; it was surely the irony of fate that it should have been left to Béla, the son-in-law of Manuel, to show that the independence of Hungary was as proof against the wiles and power of Byzantium as it had been against Germany.

Géza and his mother fled, first to Germany, and then to Constantinople, where they ended their days. The powerful oligarchs were subdued; and the prelates were forced to acknowledge that Béla was no enemy to the Roman Church.

In 1180—81 Béla was engaged in the reconquest of Dalmatia and in protecting that province against attacks from Venice. His second wife was Margaret, the sister of Philip Augustus of France: as a result of this marriage, a lively intercourse began between the two countries; Hungarians were sent to the University of Paris; and Béla settled French Cistercians at Eger, Pilis, Szt. Gotthard and Zircz, with considerable benefit to Hungarian culture.

In 1189 the Third Crusade, under Frederick Barbarossa, passed through Hungary; Béla received the Crusaders with every distinction and contracted an alliance with the German Emperor.

Béla's daughter was married to Isaac (Angelos), the Byzantine emperor, who strengthened the ties of relationship by the gift of the stronghold of Belgrade.

The King further increased his dominions by the conquest of the principality of Halics (Galicia), and assumed the title of „Rex Galiciae".

In 1192, at his request, the Pope canonised the great King László.

Béla died in 1196 and was buried at Székesfehérvár; but in 1898, a grateful posterity removed his mortal remains to the Coronation Church in Buda.

Béla added to the territory and prestige of his country; but he did far more than that; he re-established normal conditions, advanced culture, and by wise and enlightened measures, put the administration of Hungary once more on a sound basis. He renewed the laws of St Ladislas and Kálmán relating to theft. He gave his kingdom a welcome respite from the ravages of internecine warfare. He organised a *Chancellery* (a Public Record Office), where the decisions of the King were committed to writing (thus anticipating any disputes concerning the authenticity of royal judgments) and the laws were codified: this was equivalent to the establishment of a regular system of law and a definitive centralisation of the administration of justice. Finally, he founded schools, which he entrusted to the care of the Cistercians; and he encouraged the building of hospitals.

It was indeed a fortunate circumstance for Hungary that she was always blessed with a wise and energetic King at the most critical periods in her history. Long years of anarchy and civil strife were succeeded by domestic peace and the opportunity afforded by the same for the consolidation of the political and social conditions of the country.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

In 1189 Béla had made a vow to visit the Holy Land and fight for the Cross. Illness prevented him, however: but on his deathbed he charged his younger son, Endre, to fulfil the vow, leaving him to that end considerable treasures, while he bequeathed his throne to his elder son, Imre.

Imre I. (1196—1204) was soon embroiled in a quarrel with Endre who, having squandered his treasures, demanded a third of the kingdom and the title of „prince". He was granted Dalmatia and Croatia; but that did not satisfy his ambition; and he tried to win the crown, but was defeated near *Rád*.

The Pope, Innocent III., persuaded the brothers to become reconciled and he bound Endre, under pain of excommunication and exclusion from the right of succession, to renounce his ambitions and fulfil his vow. He soon broke his promise and was exiled. In 1200 the King left Hungary, to aid Vuk, Prince of Servia, to recover his throne (it was on this occasion that Imre assumed the title of „King of Servia").

But his thoughts soon reverted to Hungary, for Endre had risen in revolt against him and had secured the support of a powerful party. The King's army was so small that his counsellors advised him to flee: but he resolved to try the effect of audacity. Unaccompanied, with only a stick in his hand, he entered Endre's camp, walked up to the pretender's tent, and exclaimed: „Let us see who is bold enough to raise a finger to shed royal blood!" Endre's followers were dumbfounded and stood before their King bowed and silent. Imre then seized his brother by the arm, led him away to his own camp, and had him thrown into prison. Endre's ambitious wife, Gertrude of Meran, was exiled to Germany.

The King's health had been undermined by the incessant feuds. Feeling death approaching, he begged the Pope to permit the coronation of his son, László. The request was granted, on condition that Imre should (in the name of his son) take the oath of allegiance to the Papal See. Endre was set at liberty; and Imre, who died in the autumn, appointed him guardian to the youthful King.

The regent appointed to guard over the interests of László III. (1204—5), however,

abused his power. His intention was evidently to usurp the royal authority: so the queenmother, taking her son and the royal insignia with her, fled for refuge to the Court of Leopold VI., Duke of Austria. Endre threatened the latter with war, but the death of László, early in 1205, intervened to prevent a conflict.

Endre II. (1205—35) lost no time in recalling his wife, and recovering the Holy Crown. At his coronation an innovation was made. The freemen compelled him to take an oath to respect their rights and to further the welfare of the country and of the Church. But the „prodigal son" and ambitious regent proved a wicked and unscrupulous king. He had neither the will nor the ability to observe the terms of his oath. Under him the power of the Crown sank to a depth hitherto unknown; while the power of the oligarchy rose to a height of uncontrolled despotism that, while it reduced the monarch to the merest shadow, involved both the gentry and the lower classes in untold misery. The reign of Endre (Andrew) II. is one of the blackest pages in Hungarian history, despite the glamour of the Charter *(Bulla Auera)* extorted from him, which forms the basis and contains the cardinal points of the present Hungarian Constitution. Endre lavished gifts of land (sometimes whole counties) on his favourites, and thus laid the foundations of the petty kingdoms which later in history became the curse of the country: these gifts reduced the King to pecuniary straits; so he debased the coinage and robbed the people to enable him to continue his riotous living. He gave the oligarchs the means to curtail the rights of the lesser nobility (the gentry). Acting upon the advice of his wife, he showered favours upon foreigners, more especially upon those who had followed in Gertrude's train. The licentiousness of the Court reached a height of excess without a parallel in Hungarian history: the welfare of the realm was sacrificed to a riot of dissipation and debauchery that deafened the cries of dissatisfaction and distress.

The wicked queen obtained the appointment of her brother, Berthold, to the archbishopric of Kalocsa, and later to the offices Ban of Croatia and Waywode of Transylvania. The doors of the palace, closed to the oppressed Hungarians, were thrown wide open to welcome the never-ending stream of visitors from Meran. Among the new-comers was Gertrude's elder brother, Egbert, Bishop of Bamberg, in whose house Philip had been assassinated by Otto of Wittelsbach.

In 1213 Endre endeavoured to calm the growing disaffection by leading an expedition to Galicia: but the Galicians would have none of his faith or his suzerainty.

The same year, however, the revenge for which the sufferings of the people and the grievances of the nobility had cried in vain was accomplished. On September 28, in the woods of Pilis, conspirators took Gertrude by surprise and killed her. Her brothers fled at the first alarm: but the conspirators were overpowered and thrown into prison.

Endre was in the monastery at Lelesz, on his way back from Galicia, when he heard the news. He returned home at once; he had Peter, the high sheriff, and one or two of the less important of the conspirators executed: but then he stayed his hand; he had not the courage to claim full vengeance for the murder of his consort. The cowardly monarch, aware of the instability of his throne, elected to pass the tragedy over in silence, and wedded Yolanda Courtenay, the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor, Henry.

The following year, his elder son, *Béla,* was crowned.

In 1217 his ambition to become the heir of Baldwin, Count of Flanders, and obtain the title of „Latin Emperor", prevailed upon Endre to organise a Crusade to the Holy Land. Hungary was groaning under the despotism of the prelates and the „barons"; the Treasury was empty; practically no army was forthcoming; the sources of revenue had become exhausted: but all this was but a trifle where glory and a „change of air" seemed likely to prove beneficial to the King and to satisfy the spirit of adventure of his favourites. The King had no money: but he could borrow from usurers and chapters, and the country could pay. He wished to travel by sea; he had no ships: but Venice could lend him some; and Zara could be pledged. So the expedition started, laden with provisions and luxuries. The Crusade was a farce. The Saracens did not take Endre seriously, and did their best not to worry him and his „army" too much. Nothing was done: but Endre returned home bearing the pretentious title of „King of Jerusalem", arriving in Hungary *via* Constantinople towards the close of 1218. He declared

Budapest. The Statue of Louis Kossuth. *Erdélyi fotó*

that the state of the country had, during his absence, relapsed into a misery „beyond imagination". The details are reminiscent of the state of mediaeval England under weak or absentee kings.

It was left to the lesser nobility (gentry) to champion the cause of liberty and equality and to deliver the first assault against the stronghold of the barons and prelates, and the impotence of the King. They put themselves under the leadership of Prince Béla, who had been crowned in 1214, and bore the title of Prince of Croatia. The result was the „Golden Bull", the „great Charter" of Hungarian liberty, but contrasting with the English charter in that it strengthened the power of the sovereign in addition to defining the rights of his subjects.

The Golden Bull was ratified by the „golden seal" of the King at one of those „assizes", whose chief object was originally the administration of justice. The Hungarian Charter, by establishing the permanency of the „assizes", contained the germs of modern Parliamentary system: these „assizes were to include the discussion of all political grievances and thus developed into the national assembly contemplated by St Stephen. Further restrictions on the King's power for evil were contained in the clause providing that no noble could be condemned by the King or the „powerful" (prelates, barons) without a hearing, by the provision that no foreigner could be appointed to any dignity or office without the consent of the national council; by the clause forbidding the grant of whole counties or dignities to foreigners or others as hereditary possessions; by the injunction respecting the minting of *good* coins („such as were in circulation in the days of Béla III."); and by the famous clause containing the *ius resistendi*, which gave the bishops and the nobles the right to resist singly or jointly injustice projected by the King.

The Golden Bull exempted the nobility from taxation and billeting, their disposal of their property was released from all restriction except that referring to the portion due to daughters; no noble could be

Budapest. The Tomb of Louis Kossuth. *Erdélyi fotó.*

compelled to follow the King to war outside of Hungary, but all nobles were to supply their levies for national defence; in all cases of crimes involving capital punishment or confiscation of estates, the Palatine could not pass judgement without the King's knowledge and consent; the offices of treasurer, money-changer, salt-vendor, and tax- collector could be filled by nobles only, not by Ishmaelites or Jews. The lesser nobility found special protection in the clauses providing for the dismissal of any „comes" (sheriff) abusing his power and practising extortion on the feudatories under his control and for the exclusion of all persons except the Palatine, the Ban, and the Court „justiciars" of the King and Queen from the privilege of holding two offices simultaneously.

The unprivileged classes — the *plebs* — were also provided for. „Tithes shall not be commuted but must be paid in kind as the land yields corn and wine". This clause put an end to one of the most crying abuses practised by the prelates and clergy. „The nobles shall follow the

Court and travel wherever they may go so as not to oppress or rob the poor".

But the Golden Bull „did not by its form humiliate the King. It was so drawn as to appear to be a favour freely granted by the King. It was not a contract between the King and nobles, like Magna Charta, but a decree by the sovereign".

No doubt Prince Béla's espousal of the cause of the discontented nobility was inspired primarily by his ambition to enhance the royal authority. He must have played an important part in the negotiations preceding the granting of the Charter, and his presence must have inspired confidence in both parties.

Prince Béla, who seems on this occasion to have been advanced to the dignity of *„junior rex"*, helped by his brother, Prince Kálmán, and by the lesser nobility and clergy, took measures for the enforcement of the Golden Bull. But Endre, who had never thought seriously of his obligations, used every means in his power to frustrate the prince's endeavours. So, in 1231, he was compelled to issue a second Golden Bull, which, while in other respects practically identical with the first, gave the Archbishop of Esztergom the right to put the country, the King, and his sons under a ban, if the terms of the Charter were not observed. The work of recovering the royal estates (by force, if necessary) was continued energetically. The King's friends endeavoured to concentrate the energies of the reformers on the Church and the prelates. So Archbishop Robert put Hungary under a ban. Endre was alarmed and appealed to the Pope (Gregory I.) to remove the interdict. This was done; but, by the Agreement of Beregh (1233), the King bound himself to compensate the Church for the losses it had incurred. He renewed his solemn promise to dispense with the services of Ishmaelites and Jews, whose extortions had been continued and had resulted in the oppression of the Christian population. But the Agreement involved the confession that Hungary was governed by Rome: and the last remnants of the King's prestige were shattered. Endre cared but little about the fulfilment of his obligations. He gave himself up once more to riotous living; after the death of his second wife he wedded Beatrice d'Este: and not even the repeated excommunications of Rome could prevail upon him to carry out the work of reform which the nation had forced him to inaugurate.

Endre died in 1235, soon after the betrothal of his daughter Jolán to James I., King of Arragon.

Thus ended one of the saddest and most inglorious reigns in Hungarian history. It is strange to reflect that posterity cherished the memory of Endre as that of the King who had made the Hungarians great and glorious. He was given credit for having established the foundations of Hungary's constitutional liberty. His licentiousness, his follies, the impotence of his government, were forgotten in the glory of the fabric which his weakness had helped to rear. Posterity forgot the bitter lamentations of the helpless victims of his infidel tax-farmers, and the cynical flouting of oaths and the sanctity of inherited privileges.

It may be that other reasons besides the ultimate triumph of the cause which his unwilling acquiescence had helped to victory contributed to enhance his reputation with posterity. It was surely the irony of fate that made Endre II. and Gertrude the parents of St Elizabeth of Hungary.

Posterity forgot the wickedness of the father, the woe and misery which his impotence and vanity brought on his unhappy country, and the helpless despotism which exhausted even the patience of a long-suffering nation, in the saintly goodness and beneficent self-sacrifice of the daughter, and the benefits which the Golden Bull ultimately secured for a people who had moulded their own destinies.

placed in groups to act as „ninepins" for the Tartar boys, who were thus taught the art of warfare. Only the Trans-Danubian districts were able, for the moment, to escape the ruthless fury of the invaders; the Danube proved impassable.

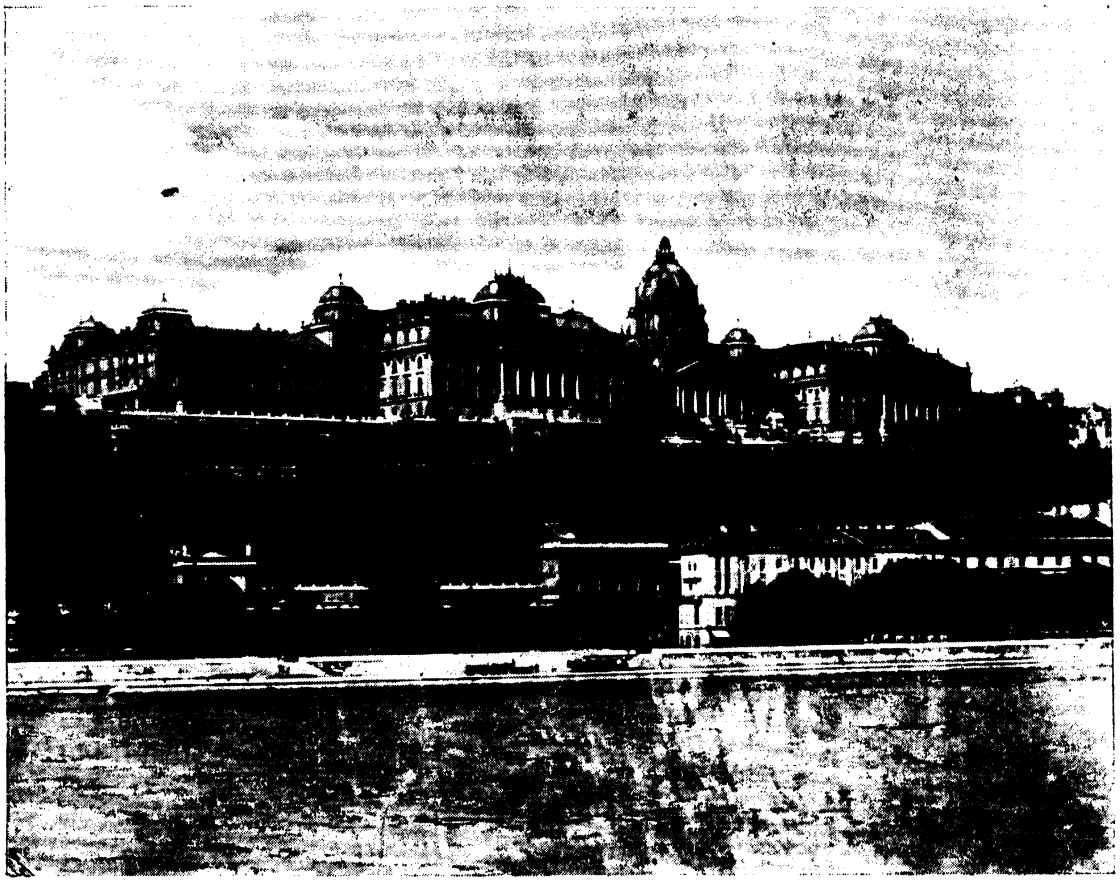
Béla had sent his family for safety to Dalmatia, while he himself proceeded to collect a fresh army in Trans-Danubia, appealing for help to the Christian kings of the West. But winter came; and about Christmas (1241) the Danube was frozen over. The Tartars crossed the ice and continued their work of pillage and destruction in the only part of Hungary which had hitherto remained unscathed. Only three strongholds — Esztergom, Székesfehérvár and Pannonhalma — defied their attacks, defended — so the legend ran — by the shadow of St Stephen. The Tartars then determined to pursue Béla, who had fled for safety to Dalmatia and was in the fortified town of Trau. The last hopes of the Hungarian nation seemed doomed to be shattered; the siege of Trau was in progress; the last outlet of escape for the King had been cut off. But suddenly, without a word of warning, the Tartars retired; and before long, Batu's hosts were far away beyond the frontiers of Hungary, rushing back to the banks of the Volga. Oktai, the Great Khan, was dead; and the Mongol leaders were anxious to have their share in settling the question of succession.

The lessons of the Tartar invasion were not easily forgotten. „Great deeds spring up in noble souls harrowed by misfortune". It was a sad home-coming which awaited Béla, as, accompanied by a few trusty followers, he traversed the country laid waste and depopulated by the Mongol hordes. He wept when he saw the horrors produced by a short year of savage devastation — the blackened ruins of quiet homesteads, the fields white with piles of bleached bones, the roads overgrown with grass and weeds. Now and then timid groups of awe-stricken refugees would creep from their hiding-places and stare with eyes of incredulous astonishment at the King and his followers. In many places the outcasts, deprived of the means of subsistence, formed roving bands of thieves. Packs of wolves broke from the forests and added to the general misery. Terror and uncertainty reigned. But the great qualities of the King overcame even these difficulties. He encouraged the rebuilding of cities and towns; invited settlers from Germany and Italy; re-established the Cumanians in their old homes; imported seeds and cattle from neighbouring countries; encouraged the country-folk to return to their old pursuits of agriculture and cattle-breeding; reorganised the military system, and built castles and fortresses at all points where experience had shown they were required; reinstated the former landowners in their estates, and, where that was not possible owing to the extinction of families, made grants of land to new possessors, particulary to such as had distinguished themselves during the crisis; regulated once more the system of land tenure; confirmed the autonomy of the counties and put county administration on a modern basis; adopted a more conciliatory policy towards the nobility, whose privileges he confirmed afresh; established a fresh system of taxation for increasing the resources of the country; and had new coins struck.

The country was able to breathe freely again. All classes of the population received a new lease of life. No wonder that Hungarian historians speak of Béla as „the second founder of the Hungarian state".

Having completed the work of reform at home, Béla turned his attention to neighbouring countries. He strengthened his hold on Bosnia, but was compelled to cede Zara to Venice. He subdued the Bulgarians and made Uros, the Servian King, acknowledge his suzerainty. In 1246 he attacked the Duke of Austria, whom he desired to punish for his treachery five years before. In the battle of Wienerneustadt, Frederick was killed: and the House of Babenberg became extinct, a fact of immense importance for the future of Hungary. The three „pledged" counties were recovered; but the jealousy of his Bohemian neighbour was to involve Béla in a new conflict.

Meanwhile Béla had done something which was very foolish and disastrous in its consequences. He had his son, Stephen, crowned and dignified with the title of „junior rex". No doubt the prime political motive underlying the *definitive* establishment of this institution was the conciliation of the Cumanians, whose princess, Elizabeth, was Stephen's consort. But the sphere of authority of the „junior rex" was dangerously wide. He could have coins of his own struck; had a Chancellory and Court of his own; could grant gifts of land, maintain an army, and administer justice. In short, the country had two kings and suffered in consequence. The institution was a



Budapest. The Royal Palace. *Csiky fotó.*

continuous danger to that unity of the nation which every strong king had striven to bring about, Stephen was crowned „junior rex" in 1254, when, by the Treaty of Pozsony, Hungary received the province of Styria (of which Stephen was appointed viceroy).

However, in 1258, Béla was again at war with Ottokar, King of Bohemia, over the possession of Styria. After the disastrous battle of Kroissenbrunn (1260), on the plain of the March, Béla was compelled to renounce his Austrian ambitions; for civil war had broken out in Hungary between the two kings — the father and son — over the division of the country.

A terrible struggle ensued, with varying fortune, until, in 1265, Stephen routed the King's army at Isaszeg.

In 1267 Béla reissued the Golden Bull in a new (3rd) edition: this edition is the first to make specific mention of the order of „barons" or magnates, the first step in the establishment of feudalism.

In 1269 the King's favourite son, Béla, died: the father did not survive the blow long. In 1270 he died on the Isle of Hares, where his daughter, Saint Margaret, was a nun, and the ruins of whose monastery remain still.

One of the most important of Béla's fortified positions was the castle of *Uj-Buda,* or *New-Buda,* a stronghold which was later to become the scene of many heroic struggles and to compel the transference of the capital of the kingdom. Ever since Béla's days the history of Uj-Buda has been inseparably interwoven with that of the Hungarian kingdom; while Ó-Buda has never entirely lost its importance. Among other towns which began to establish their prosperity under Béla were: Beszterczebánya, Késmárk, Korpona, Lőcse, Zólyom.

Of the Cumanian settlers and the German and Italian colonists, mention has already been made: it was during Béla's reign that the Roumanians, who had begun to settle there under Endre II., fleeing from

the tyranny of the Cumanians, established themselves finally in Transylvania. The Saxons, too, seem to have settled down definitively in Transylvania after the Mongol invasion, and to have inaugurated the thriving town life which is still one of the outstanding features of that province. The „hospites" who established themselves in the towns and started a prosperous industry, received special privileges and a kind of municipal autonomy.

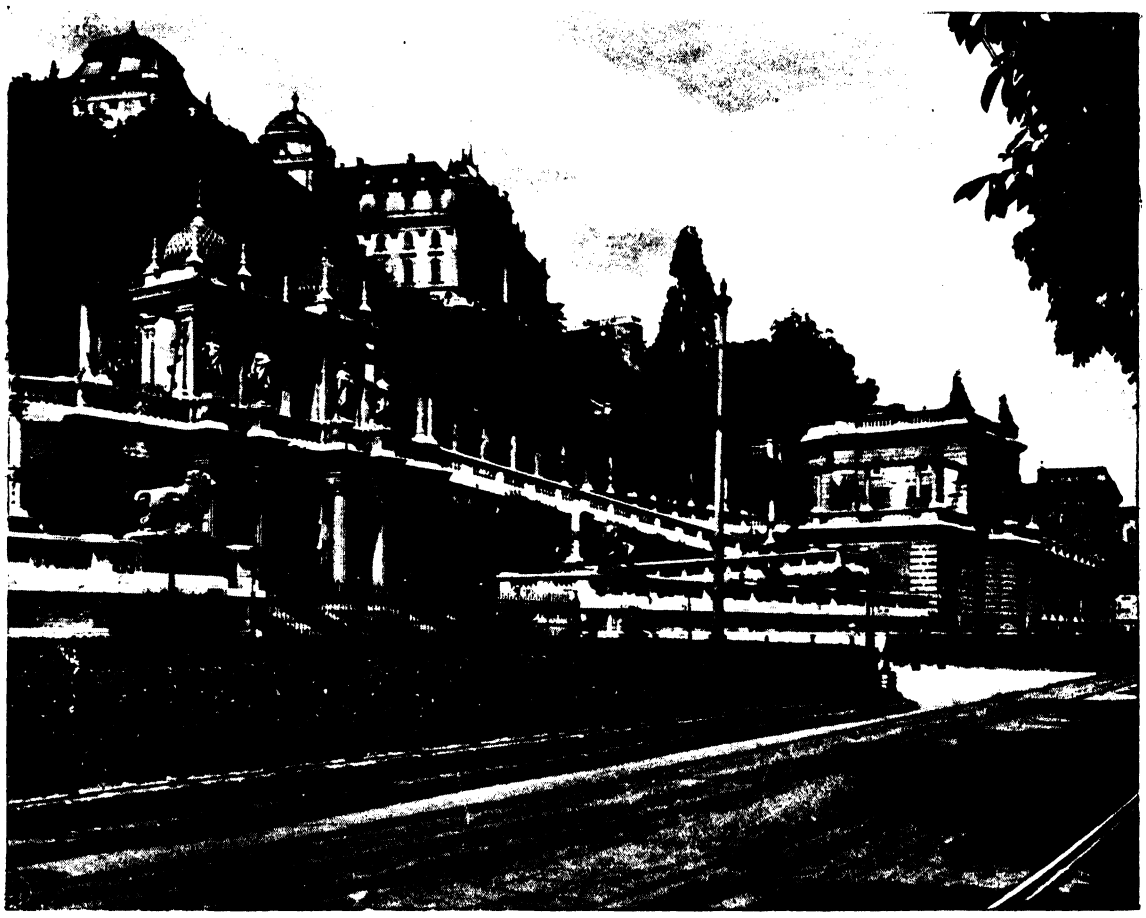
However, by the new Golden Bull already spoken of, Béla created a powerful nobility, which was interposed „between the Crown and the lesser nobility". The legal expression „barons of the land" now began to be used. Large powers of government were granted permanently to certain barons. Under the rule of the weak kings who followed Béla, certain families obtained undue power and prestige. The abuses against which the Golden Bull had been originally directed were now rife. But Béla had no intention of upsetting the balance of power in the state. He had reconfirmed the rights of the gentry, who now began to organise their power by counties. It was left to one of his successors (Endre III.) to realise the importance of a sincere *rapprochement* between the lesser nobility and the Crown and of a definite union of their forces for the overthrow of the political power of the oligarchy; but unfortunately his efforts, like those of Edward I. in England, proved unavailing to bring about a definitive and satisfactory settlement.

The nation was filled with hopes of great things when Stephen V. (1270—72) ascended the throne. His accession meant a reunion of the two halves of the country and harmony of sentiment as between the Cumanians and the Magyars; his military prowess had been proved in his wars against his father: and the nobility welcomed him as a strong king, able alike to stem the tide of oligarchy and enforce the the respect of neighbouring states.

Immediately after his coronation, Stephen declared war on Ottokar, King of Bohemia, who was finally overtaken and routed at Moson (1271). For the moment the Bohemian danger ceased to threaten the integrity of Hungary.

The following year, Joachim Pektári, Ban of Slavonia, acting on the instructions of the Queen, kidnapped the King's eldest son, László, and carried him off to the castle of Kapronca. Stephen, who was engaged at the time in putting an end to disturbances in Servia, returned in hot haste and endeavoured to overtake the treacherous Ban. But he died on the Isle of Csepel, on August 1, 1272. He was buried beside his father, in the church attached to his sister's convent.

László IV. or „Kún" László (1272—90) was but ten years old when his mother and the Ban had him crowned at Székesfehérvár. Elizabeth's regency (controlled by the wicked Ban, Joachim) was the cause of much misery and distress. The lawless magnates, who had been kept more or less under control by the strong government of Béla and Stephen, were able once more to assert their power and to profit by the provisions of the (third) Golden Bull of 1267. Some of them, wih the connivance of Ottokar, King of Bohemia, attempted to kidnap the young monarch and get him into their power. The *coup* failed, owing to the vigilance of Joachim and his Cumanian followers: but the country was once more divided against itself; and Ottokar was not slow to take advantage of the confusion and discord to attempt to carry out his scheme of extending the confines of his Slavic empire at the expense of Hungary. In 1273 he occupied Pozsony and Nagyszombat and penetrated as far as Pannonhalma. Civil war had been doing its work of destruction in other parts of the country; villages and towns had been razed to the ground, and the inhabitants, nobles and commoners alike, reduced to the condition of serfs. Luckily, however, on Oktober 1, the German Electors chose Rudolph of Habsburg to be their emperor. Ottokar withdrew from Hungary at once, determined to vindicate his claim to the hereditary provinces. He even offered to conclude a treaty of alliance with Hungary. But the Hungarians had been taught by experience to distrust him; Joachim threw the whole weight of his influence into the scales against him: and national interest pointed to an understanding with Rudolph against the common enemy. In 1276 the new Emperor compelled Ottokar to renounce his claims on Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. But the ambitions of the Bohemian King would not let him rest; he prepared to renew the struggle. So, in 1277, at Hainburg, László (now of age) made a formal alliance with Rudolph, the first of many compacts made between Hungary and the House of Habsburg, the object of which was mutual defence against the dangers of a Slavic empire. But Rudolph



Budapest. Gardens of the Royal Palace with escalier. Csiky fotó.

had trouble at home, and in 1278 Ottokar determined to make a fresh attempt. On August 26, on the field of Dürnkrut, the Hungarian army of László turned the tide of battle. Ottokar himself was killed: and the trial of strength ended in the complete and decisive triumph of Rudolph — thanks to the assistance of the Hungarians, who thus helped to lay the foundations of the greatness of the House of Habsburg. László contented himself with his share of the booty and the restoration of his own possessions. In memory of the victory, the beautiful Gothic church of the Franciscans at Pozsony was completed.

But days of sorrow and distress were in store for the Hungarian nation. The King who had shown such prowess on the battlefield proved helplessly weak and irresolute at home. Instead of compelling the Cumanians to adopt Christian culture, he abandoned himself to their pagan customs and mode of life. He confined the Queen in a convent; lavishly bestowed the Crown estates on his favourites; persecuted those who presumed to warn him of the consequences of his conduct. The Papal legate (Philip of Fermo) sent to admonish him and proclaim a ban, was imprisoned and submitted to indignities. The Palatine, Finta, and his adherents laid their hands on the King, who was confined and promised to reform. Then the Cumanians turned against László, who defeated them in 1280 near the Lake of Hód (the site on which Hódmezővásárhely stands to-day) and passed stringent measures for their control (which, of course, were not carried out).

The two invasions by Tartars (1285 and 1287) were left to others to beat back.

Meanwhile the power of the barons had been increasing beyond measure. One family in particular, that of the Counts of Németújvár, had established a veritable petty kingdom in the Trans-Danubian district. The whole countryside was at their

mercy. The King did not dare to challenge their forces; but Albert, Duke of Austria, came to the rescue of the distressed inhabitants and drove the haughty oppressors from their strongholds. This intervention of a foreign prince still further incensed the nation against their King; and the malcontents had little difficulty in securing popular approval of the claims of Prince Endre of Venice, whose ambitions were fostered by the Counts of Németújvár.

Once more László promised to reform, but he soon relapsed; and it was a relief to the country when, in the summer of 1290, he met his death at Kőrösszeg, in the county of Bihar, at the hands of three of his Cumanian followers.

„A man of no honour", was the verdict of his contemporaries, who lost no time in proclaiming Endre, the last prince of the House of Árpád, King of Hungary. He reigned eleven years (1290—1301), as Endre III. No sooner had he been crowned, and taken the coronation oath, than his troubles began. The Emperor Rudolph, who had presented Hungary as a vassal state to his son Albert, claimed that Béla IV. had, in return for the promise of assistance, sworn allegiance to Frederick II. War was declared; Endre's army penetrated Austria as far as Vienna and compelled Albert to make peace; Endre wedded Albert's daughter, Agnes, and helped him to overcome his rival, Adolphus of Nassau.

The terms of the treaty having injured the interests of Count Ivan of Németújvár, civil strife followed; the King was taken prisoner: but the quarrel was patched up; and the country seemed destined to enjoy a period of peace and order, when a new pretender appeared in the person of Charles Martell, the son of Mary (daughter to Stephen V.) and of Charles II. of Anjou, whose place was taken, on his death in 1295, by Robert Charles, who in 1300 actually penetrated the country, advancing almost as far as Zágráb (Zagreb).

The situation was critical, and unfortunately Endre was not equal to it. The recalcitrant barons once more asserted themselves and continued their work of ravage and tyranny. However, weak as he proved in facing the lawlessness of the magnates in the field, Endre did his best by legislation to anticipate the evils arising from that lawlessness. In 1290 laws were passed which imposed severe penalties on the robber knights. The King ..revived the alliance with the gentry, and formed a coalition directed against the oligarchs similar to that which had led to the issue of the Golden Bull".

So the Diet summoned to meet at Ó-Buda in 1298 — at which the magnates were not represented — passed laws increasing the power of the gentry and enhancing the autonomy of the counties, directly by confirming the negative and positive privileges of the lesser nobles, and indirectly by imposing restrictions on the barons.

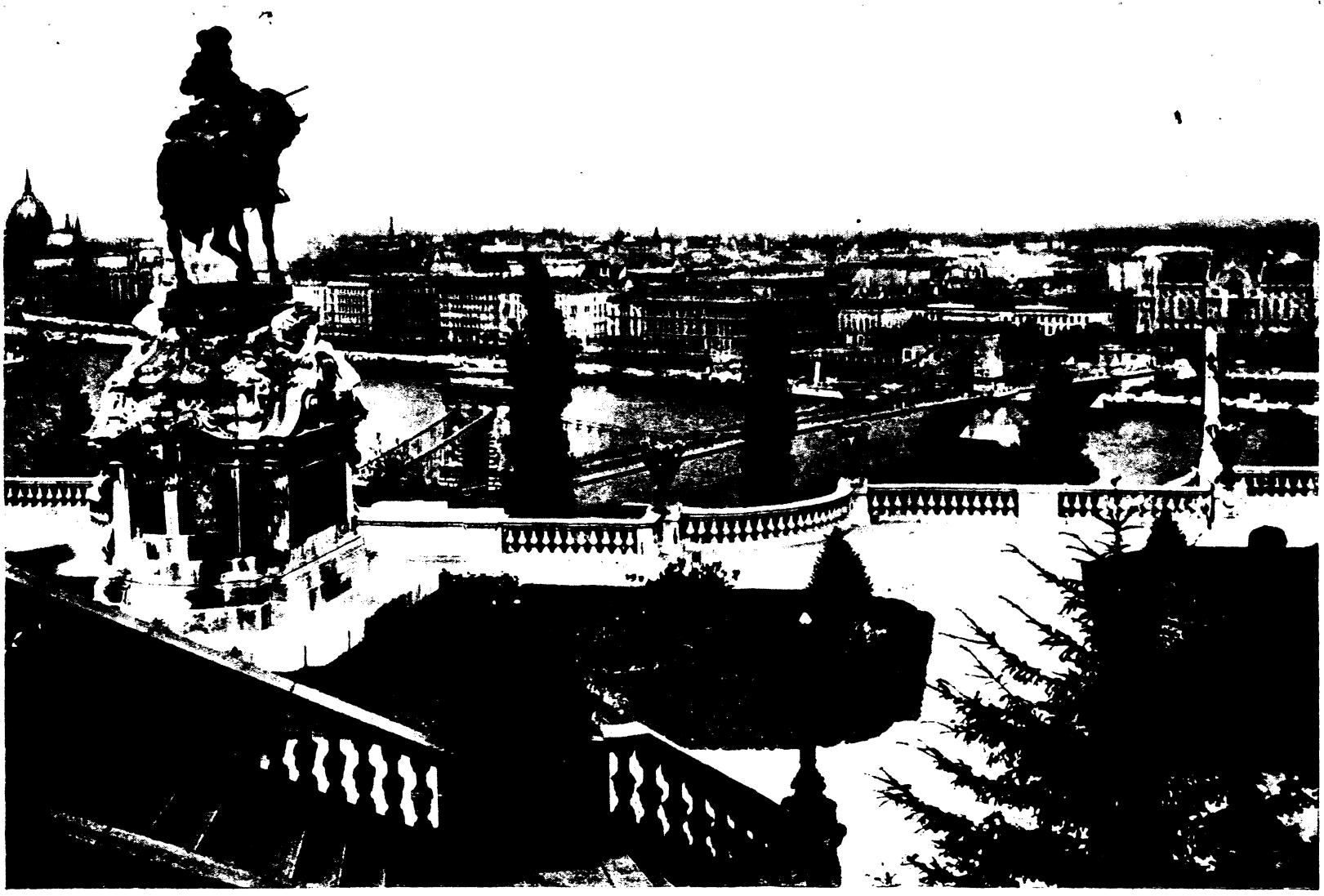
But Endre owed too much to the barons — above all to the Counts of Németújvár — to be able to carry his good intentions into effect. In 1292 Count Iván had made him prisoner and kept him in confinement for four months. He knew their power, and feared it. So the good intentions had to remain as the germs of future development in the hands of a strong monarch who knew how to use the gentry to his own and the country's advantage.

Endre did, indeed, endeavour to increase his authority by the aid of foreign (matrimonial) alliances. But the foreign aid he expected never came. The gentry showed themselves incapable of holding the barons in check. Sick in body and in mind, seeing his throne itself in jeopardy, Endre passed away suddenly (poisoned, tradition avers, by the adherents of the Angevins) on January 14, 1301, and was buried in the Franciscan church at Buda, the main part of which is still standing.

The male line of the House of Árpád was extinct.

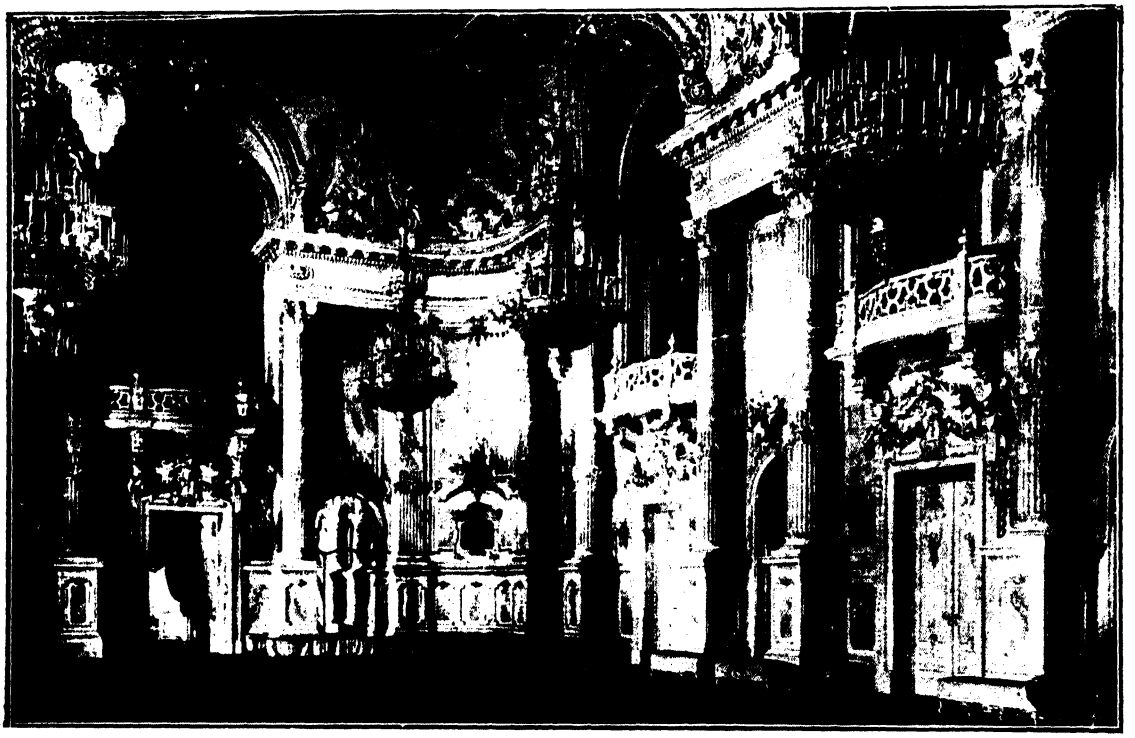
„Probably no ruling dynasty ever gave the Church so many saints as the House of Árpád: — Stephen, the founder of Christianity in Hungary, his prematurely deceased son Imre, King Ladislas, Elizabeth and her niece Margaret, the daughter of Béla IV." These facts speak for themselves. The Árpád dynasty, generally speaking, was imbued with lofty ideals, which its greatest members put into practice; it was during the rule of this House that the foundations were laid of that constitutional system of government and that individual liberty which have enabled the Hungarians, by the aid of a political sagacity paralleled in the history of England only, to build up that national state which is one of the few strongholds in Europe of democratic liberalism.

The earliest monument of Hungarian literature — the „Funeral Speech" (Halotti beszéd) — dates from the opening of the



Budapest. View of Pest from the Royal Palace.

Csiky fotó.



Budapest. Royal-Palace. (Marble-room.) Csiky foto

thirteenth century. But Hungarian literature in the vernacular could not flourish except in the songs of minstrels and the oral traditions of the people: Latin was the language of the Church and of those whose province was literature. The two principal products of the Latin-Hungarian literature of the age were the chronicles of *Master Siman Kézai*, a priest writing during the reign of László IV. (1280—83), whose work treats principally of sagas and the „heroic" age (he was the first to relate the history of the Huns, whom he regarded as kinsmen of the Magyars), and of the days of László up to the year 1280, where his narrative has the value of being that of an eyewitness, and of the „anonymous scribe of King Béla" *(Anonymus Belae Regis notarius)*, who, like the Old English historians of the same date, has recourse to Dares Phrygius for inspiration when writing of the beginnings. „Anonymus" has been described as „the Livy of Hungary": his work must be read with due caution, except when he is dealing with the events, ethnography, topography, and political conditions of his own time (early thirteenth century), in respect of which he is a first-class authority.

All the intellectual and artistic creations of the age of the Árpáds which have come down to us, were inspired by the Church. It was the priests who acted as educators of the people. To the parsonages were attached elementary schools; the secondary schools were maintained by the chapters and the University of Veszprém was a religious foundation. For a century and a half the cathedral built by St Stephen at *Székesfehérvár* was one of the architectural wonders of Europe. Having no style of their own, the Hungarians were naturally very receptive of ideas imported from both East and West. This cathedral, with its strong fortresslike towers at each of the four corners, was the result of *Byzantine* influence: it also symbolised „the two prevailing sentiments of the time — the religious and the warlike — cathedral and fortress in one". From the same period date the oldest parts of the Cathedral of Esztergom and the Abbey Church of Pannonhalma. We can distinguish two periods of *Romaic* influence, the early (eleventh to middle of twelfth century), with its monuments in the churches of *Tihany* and *Örs*, and the later (1150—1300); numerous examples of the latter style of architecture are still found in Hungary, the finest (indeed, one of the most perfect specimens

Budapest. The Throne-room in the Royal Palace. Csiky fotó.

in Europe) is undoubtedly the Benedictine Abbey Church of Ják (county of Vas), consecrated after the Tartar invasion of 1241. The *Gothic* style began to make its appearance in Hungary in the second half of the thirteenth century: it was introduced by the German immigrants, particularly by the Franciscan Friars. Apart from the Lowlands, there is scarcely a town in Hungary which does not possess a church showing traces of the influence of this style. The golden age of Gothic architecture in Hungary, however, was that of the Angevins and Hunyadis. The Cathedral of *Kassa* is the finest specimen of this style: it was begun by Stephen V. and completed by the Angevins. Other superb examples are the cathedral (restored) and Franciscan church of *Pozsony* (the latter with its Chapel of St John, built to celebrate the victory at Dürnkrut in 1278), and the pentagonal tower of the Church of St Clare at *Pozsony,* which is unique. The decorative art of the age was also on a high level. A fine specimen of this branch of art is the altar *(diptychon)* now in the Museum at Berne, which once belonged to the widow of Endre III.

We have referred, here and there, to the policy of colonisation followed by the kings of the House of Árpád. We have seen how German knights followed Gizella, the consort of St Stephen, to Hungary; these men introduced Western armour and Western chivalric ideas, of which, unfortunately, we have practically no traces in the Hungaro—Latin literature of the age, which was predominatly religious in character. It was Géza II., however, who first resorted to a systematic colonisation of the uninhabited parts of the country by settling German burghers, artisans and farmers. These „hospites", were recruited more particularly from the Saxons, who occupied the mountainous districts all over the country, from Pozsony to Brassó. They did signal service to their new home, cutting down the trees of the primeval forests and building prosperous towns, working the mines, teaching crafts and founding guilds. In return they obtained autonomy; the Saxons of Transylvania could be judged by their own „comes" only; and the other German burghers had courts presided over by judges elected annually from their own ranks. Beyond the „census" paid yearly to the King, they were exempt from all taxes except customs dues. They could maintain their ancestral habits; and they used their own tongue, a custom main-

tained to this day. The greatest privileges, however, were enjoyed by the inhabitants of Pest (Ishmaelites and Germans), Buda (Germans), and Székesfehérvár.

About 1050 French settlers from the district of Liège came to Hungary and took up their residence in the valley of the Eger. They were followed by Spaniards and Italians. In 1162 many of the inhabitants of Milan (sacked by Frederick Barbarossa) settled in the Szerém district and founded two towns, Francavilla (Nagy-Olaszi) and Kabul.

The Petchenegs were favoured by Stephen II., who employed them as his bodyguards: they have disappeared as a separate race, having been completely absorbed by their neighbours.

Of the Cumanians we have already spoken. It may be the Palócz people, with their strange dialect, are remnants of a Cumanian tribe. We have heard how Béla IV. favoured the Cumanians, and endeavoured to make them permanent settlers.

The Roumanians (Wallachs) came to Hungary in the first half of the thirteenth century, settling in Transylvania. Later they spread over various parts of the country. Their chief occupation was that of shepherds. Wallachians from the country of Fogaras migrated southwards and founded the „waywodeship" of Wallachia (Bucharest: 1295).

Of the Ishmaelites (or Saracens) mention has already been made. They were engaged mostly in work of a financial character, or as receivers of stolen goods. The first mention of Jews in Hungary is in connection with the Ishmaelites, whose work — and unpopularity — they would seem to have shared.

Socially, the condition of the people in Hungary in the age of the Árpáds shows a steady improvement. A settled life induced the wealthier classes to exchange their tents for houses of wood or reeds, though very few private residences were of stone. The continual advance of commerce and industry increased the comfort of living: and it would seem that, socially and economically, if not politically, the nation was fully equipped to understand and enjoy the blessings of the splendid system of culture which the Angevins were to bring in their train.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ANGEVIN KINGS OF HUNGARY.

The extinction of the male line of the House of Árpád involved a question of the gravest importance. The nation was convinced that the right of choosing a ruler had reverted to them: unfortunately, however, the Pope thought differently. The nation based their claim on the Blood Compact; the Pope based his on the Holy Crown: he declared that the dignity conferred by his predecessor had returned to its giver, who could dispose of it as he thought best — for the Papal See.

Besides *Robert Charles* of Anjou, who was the candidate of Rome, two other claimants appeared, the Bohemian *Wenceslas* and the Bavarian *Otto*.

The Neapolitan party actually brought young Robert Charles to Esztergom, where he was crowned — though not with the crown of St Stephen — on Febrary 21, 1301. But the majority of the nation, led by the powerful Matthew Csák, elected *Wenceslas* (1301—5), the twelve-year-old son of the King of Bohemia. He was crowned at Székesfehérvár, on August 27. But the young King, showy and debauched, soon found his party decreasing. In 1304 his father entered Hungary with a large army; but, finding himself unable to make any headway, he retired to Bohemia, taking his son, the Holy Crown, and the royal insignia with him. The following year the old King Wenceslas died; so his son renounced his claims to Hungary in favour of the Bavarian prince *Otto* of Wittelsbach, to whom he gave the crown, The latter was crowned in 1305. He withdrew three years later.

The nation, which had had enough of weak and impotent rulers, had already declared in favour of *Robert Charles* (1308—1342). Even the „petty kings" — Matthew Csák, the Counts of Németujvár — had been won over by the arguments of Cardinal Gentilis, the Papal legate, who, however, was compelled (at the Diet held at Pest in 1308) to admit that the Pope had the right merely to *confirm the choice of the nation.*

Budapest. Royal Palace. Saloon of the Roses. Csiky fotó.

Thus *the right of the nation to elect their own king was formally re-established.*

Robert Charles — usually known in history as *Charles* — was crowned (for the second time) at Buda in 1309. But the Holy Crown was in the possession of the Transylvanian waywode; and the nation refused to acknowledge the coronoation as valid. So the Cardinal put the waywode under a ban: he yielded up the Holy Crown; and in 1310 the King was crowned for the third time.

Might had become right. The policy of Béla IV. — taught by the lessons of the Tartar invasion — in encouraging the building of strong fortresses, had led to the establishment of numerous petty sovereignties. Perched on the summits of precipitous rocks, these „eyries" became the strongholds of robber knights who maintained large armed forces and intimidated the whole countryside. Not content with the possession of a whole county, some of these magnates — like Csák or the Counts of Németujvár — brought neighbouring counties, too, under their sway. They passed their own laws, minted their own coins, and administered „justice" to great and small within the confines of their respective „kingdoms". Trade was at a standstill from Kassa to the Danube, from the West to the counties of Bereg and Ung. Even Amadé, the Palatine, had joined the ranks of the robber barons and terrorised the inhabitants of the counties of Abauj, Sáros, and Zemplén. But the most powerful and most ferocious of the petty sovereigns was Matthew Csák, the lord of Trencsén, who ruled over twelve counties in the N. W., and possessed no fewer than thirty-two fortresses. Indignant at the office of Lord High Treasurer (tárnokmester) being conferred on another, Csák imagined he could with impunity defy the King. He thought he had to deal with another Endre II. or László IV. But he was mistaken. Charles intended to be the master in his own house.

There was a new alliance between King and gentry, but now these lesser nobles were content to give the King more power, this being the only hope of prevailing against the magnates. In the result the King became more powerful than the English kings, but less absolute than the French sovereigns. Charles defeated Csák's army: though the power of this oligarch was never completely broken; the Counts of Németujvár, the Counts of Brebir, László, waywode of Transylvania, and others, persisted in their opposition; but Charles at last suc-

ceeded in restoring order. Many new families rose into prominence, receiving the estates of the rebel oligarchs as a reward for their loyalty.

The work of controlling the despotism of the oligarchs having been completed with the help of the people, Charles set himself to reform the whole system of government. The people's mistrust of autonomy enabled him to establish a kind of absolutism: he but rarely summoned Parliament to assemble, and substituted *decrees* for laws. To give force to his will, he introduced the system of feudalism. This system was to serve at the same time as the basis of national defence. The prelates and magnates were compelled to maintain armed bands *(banderia)* in proportion to the number of „sessions" or „potae" comprised in their estates. All nobles maintaining a band of not less than forty were permitted to lead their men into battle under their own standards (thus becoming „bannerets"). Further impulse was given by the foundation of knightly orders, such as those of St George and the Golden Spur, and the institution of tournaments and jousts. Thus family pride and the love of display inherent in the Magyar were exploited for national purposes. Yet this system of feudal levies, while ensuring the existence of a standing national army, without burdening the people at large, was calculated to give the nobles a power which they would not fail later to use against the Crown.

Charles improved the coinage and the system of taxation.

He encouraged mining and industry, colonised Upper Hungary, and gave charters freely to towns in that district. The domestic peace he brought to his country enabled the people to resume their fairs. At these the various nationalities appeared in their respective national costumes: Magyar, Saxon, Slovak, Roumanian, Serb, all met on the friendliest terms and learned to respect and understand one another. That was undoubtedly one of the reasons that prompted Charles to encourage the resuscitation of this national institution.

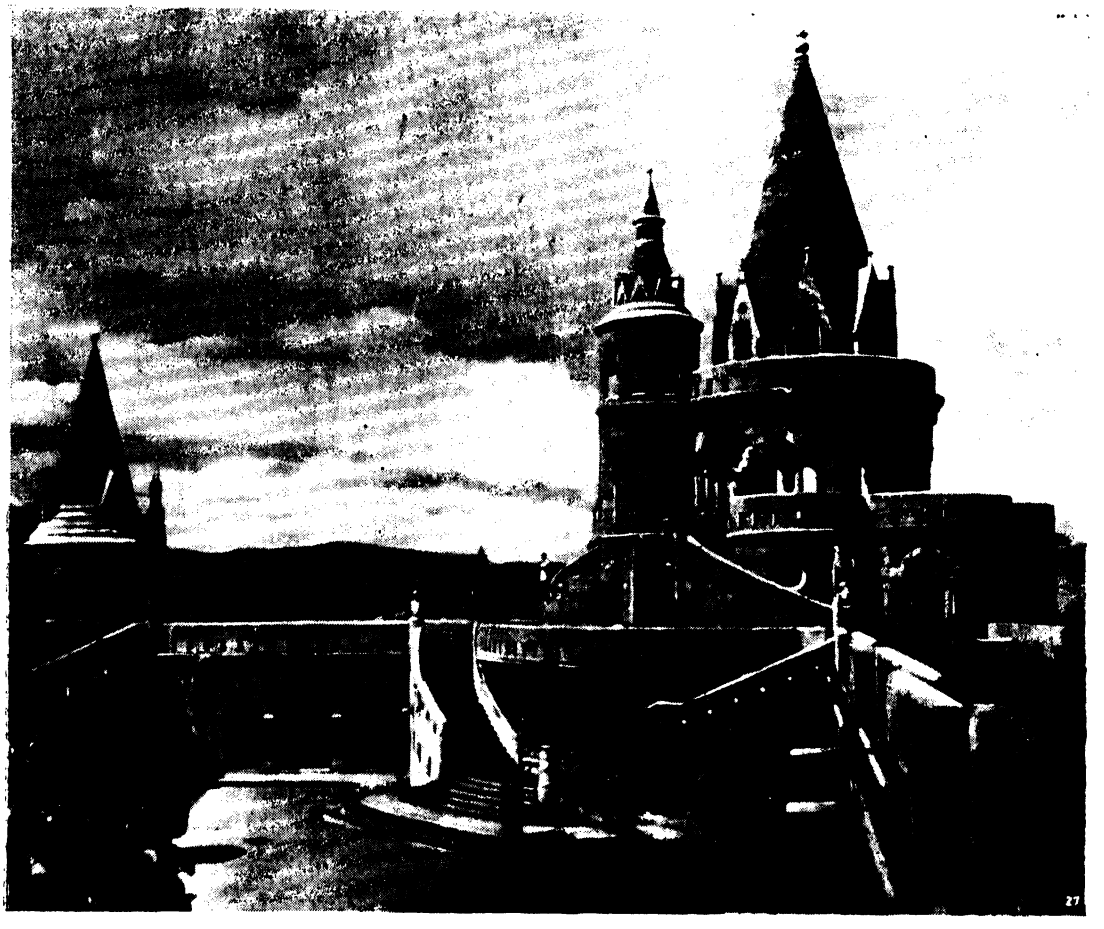
As soon as the struggle with the oligarchs had been brought to a successful conclusion, Charles removed his headquarters from Temesvár to the Castle of Visegrád, whose ruins still remain. Here he surrounded himself with a brilliant assembly of knights and nobles: the Court became a kind of educational institute for the children of the nobility. Personal service was made the basis of the military power of the Crown: the allegiance due from the knights to their feudal lord became the new bond of union between the members of the „nation".

But in 1330 Visegrád was the scence of a terrible tragedy. Felician Zách had been one of the devoted adherents of Csák, but had been compelled to accept the bounty of the King. Stung by the insult offered to his daughter Clara, the smouldering embers of disappointed vanity were fanned to a flame of uncontrollable fury. Sword in hand, he dashed into the dining-room, where the royal family was assembled, attacked the King, who was wounded slightly, hacked off the Queen's right hand, and would have killed the young princes but for the timely intervention of their tutors. With difficulty the old man was overpowered; and his body was cut to pieces by the enraged attendants. A terrible punishment was visited on the sons and daughters of Felician; the whole family was extirpated, and all the members of the Zách clan were deprived of their property and degraded to the position of servants. The sentence was a terrible one: but it was in accordance with the crude ideas of justice then in vogue and was intended to serve as a warning to all who might presume to raise their hands against their sovereign.

Charles conducted several campaigns outside the confines of Hungary. In 1319 he reconquered the Banate of Macsó (N. W. Servia) from Milutin, the Servian King, whose son, Uros, swore allegiance to him. In 1328 he subdued Bosnia, though he was compelled to allow the Dalmatian coast-towns to accept the suzerainty of Venice.

Charles died at Visegrád in 1342.

The first act of the new King, Louis the Great (1342—82), who ascended the throne at the age of seventeen, was a visit to the tomb of St Ladislas at Nagyvárad. The young monarch desired thereby to symbolise his intention of imitating the example of his sainted predecessor and of devoting his life and energies to the consolidation of the power of Hungary. The condition of the country was still far from settled. Luckily for Hungary, Charles had been endowed with all the qualities necessary to enable him to impose his will on his subjects. The reforms he introduced put an end to the state of chaos; and the inheritance he bequeathed to his son was a country accus-



Budapest. The Fishermen's Bastion. Csiky fotó.

tomed to the blessings of domestic peace and settled order.

Great as he was as a commander in war, Louis was still greater as a man. Important as his military and diplomatic successes were, the wisdom of his domestic policy was of far greater and more permanent importance to the development of Hungary as a national state. He began by initiating the system of *entail*. Property was all regarded as held by its owner directly from the Crown: it could not be escheated except on the extinction of the family of the owner; but it could be inherited only by direct or indirect male descendants of the original grantee, and could not be disposed of at will. Louis desired hereby to prevent the impoverishment of the nobility, and to enable them to perform their duties in respect of the royal and national army without difficulty.

A similar purpose was served by the *„ninth part" (Kilenczed)*, the tax introduced in 1351. The law in question, while permitting the free dependants of the nobility to migrate at will, ordered them to pay one-ninth of their produce in corn and wine to their feudal lords, who were to employ the taxes thus collected to maintain their feudal levies.

These two institutions bolstered up the privileged position of the nobility; and it was on them that that position rested until 1848.

Rights and duties — Louis established the privileges of the nobility (magnates and gentry alike) on an inseparable combination of the two. The banderium army system assigned duties as well as rights to the nobles.

Prominence was given by a law of 1308 to the sanctity of the King's person, *if crowned with the Sacred Crown*. Thus the symbol of the nation and its privileges became the symbol of royal power and prerogatives.

The *membra Sacrae Coronae* were divi-

Louis had to fight against Venice too. He did not enter into diplomatic negotiations but demanded the cession of the whole of Dalmatia and the adjacent islands as his rightful possessions. His campaign against Naples, however, prevented his taking energetic steps until 1356. He was supported by Genoa, while Dushan came to the aid of Venice. Making a feigned attack on the „Czar" of Servia, Louis succeeded in taking possession of Dalmatia. The Republic sued for peace (1358): but twenty years later the terms of peace were broken, and the King once more attacked Venice; his success by land was, however, counterbalanced by the victory of the Venetian fleet over that of Genoa at Pisani; and on August 8, 1381, the belligerents signed the Peace of Turin, by the terms of which the Republic ceded Dalmatia to Hungary, and, by way of indemnity, agreed to pay the Hungarian King an annual tribute of 7000 ducats.

Louis continued his father's policy with respect to Poland. He aided King Casimir in his struggles against the Tartars, the Lithuanians, and the Emperor Charles IV.; he renounced all claim to the money due to him (100,000 ducats); and he used the influence of his mother and the Palatine to secure his reversion to the throne. So, after the death of Casimir, the Polish nobility elected him King; and he was crowned King of Poland in 1370.

The power of Louis had reached its zenith. His dominions stretched from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea and the Adriatic; practically the whole of the Balkans acknowledged his suzerainty. The crown of Germany was offered to him by the enemies of Charles IV.; and, though, like St Ladislas before him, he refused to accept it, as such a step would have involved a menace to the national independence of his country, the Emperor became a bitter enemy. He spoke insultingly of Elizabeth, Louis's mother. Louis sent envoys to demand satisfaction; the Emperor swaggeringly refused: but, when events threatened to assume the aspect of armed intervention, Charles repented, and at Brünn renewed the compact between the houses of Anjou and Luxemburg. His son, Sigismund, was betrothed to Mary. Louis's daughter. The affair contributed in no small measure to enhance the reputation of the chivalrous Hungarian King in the eyes of Christian Europe.

It was during Louis's reign that the first signs of the Turkish menace to Europe began to appear. Osman's followers had taken Adrianople, and were threatening Constantinople itself; the Emperor, John Palaeologus, came to the Court of Louis, at Buda, and, by pretending he desired to join the Western Church, persuaded the Hungarian King to aid him against the barbarian invaders. Louis —whom the Pope had designated „Banner-bearer of the Church" — accepted the trust. He was chiefly concerned to prevent the Turks extending their power over Wallachia and Bulgaria, whose rulers were endeavouring to throw off their allegiance to Hungary by joining hands with the newcomers. More still was Louis determined to nip in the bud what seemed to him a foreign growth that threatened with extinction the fruits of Christian culture and Christian civilisation. On the banks of the Maritza, though outnumbered by four to one, the Hungarian army completely shattered the Ottoman forces, and established the prestige which stood Europe in such good stead during the fifteenth century. In memory of this victory, Louis built and endowed the church at Mariazell (Styria) and the chapel at Aachen. Unfortunately, however, as so often when acting in defence of a European cause, Hungary was left to fight her own battle; the promised help never came; and the opportunity of anticipating the sufferings and troubles of more than five centuries had gone.

And yet, the King who had raised the power of his house and his country to such an eminence, the greatest monarch of the age, who had initiated the rôle of saviour of Europe which so many of his successors were to fill with glory and renown, who had constituted Hungary the impregnable bulwark of Western civilisation against the inroads of barbarian tyranny and unenlightened vandalism, the great King was not happy. No son had been born to him; and he feared for the inheritance of his daughters. He used every effort to secure their birthright; but when, on September 12, 1382, he passed away, the future of the dynasty his father had founded and of the country which he loved so well was uncertain. As they escorted the mortal remains of their great sovereign to their last resting-place at Székesfehérvár, the Hungarians involuntarily thought of the phenomenon that had preceded his death, the

Budapest. The Elisabeth Bridge looking accros the Danube to Pest.

Csiky fotó.

comet which seemed to be the presage of some coming disaster.

The rule of the Angevins was of paramount importance to Hungary, not only politically, but as laying the foundations of that culture which rose to its zenith in the days of Matthias and has survived the horrors and sufferings of Turkish dominion and German imperialism.

The Neapolitan campaigns familiarised the Hungarian nobility with Italian art and Italian culture. A striking improvement in the structure and decoration of private mansions was one important result. Gardens sprang up everywhere. Viticulture was developed on new lines. Sculpture flourished as an art side by side with fresco-painting. We know the names of two at least of the most celebrated Hungarian sculptors of the age, Martin and George Kolozsvári, who were responsible for the statue of St. Ladislas at Nagyvárad and also, probably, for the statues in the cathedral at Kassa. The school of Hungarian silversmiths, always famous, now became the most prominent representatives in Europe of their craft.

Louis the Great, besides, was a benefactor of the Church and a liberal patron of letters and learning. He built and endowed churches.

Louis established a system of schools under the control of ecclesiastical orders; he founded the second Hungarian „university", that of Pécs; and he encouraged the settlement in Hungary of foreign scholars.

Unfortunately the Magyar literary productions of the Angevin age have almost all disappeared. The only Magyar chronicle to survive is in verse, and deals with the „Conquest of Pannonia". It was the age when Nicholas Toldi, the almost legendary hero of Arany's immortal epic, held court and people enthralled by his martial prowess and his superhuman strength.

The Angevin Kings were the pioneers in Hungary of that peculiarly Hungarian type of Western culture which has enabled the country to hold its own in the unceasing rivalry of nations, and to rise triumphant over the barbarism which later on threatened it with extinction. They fostered the national pride and national consciousness of the Hungarians and raised the country to a height of greatness beyond which it could never hope — or wish — to scale. And the authority and prestige of the Hungarian King became a European factor.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REIGN OF SIGISMUND.

„A Nation's future is the logical outcome of its past". The constitutional struggle was bound to go on in Hungary, and the fact that Louis was succeeded by a series of weak men led to just such a situation as marked the fourteenth and fifteenth century England. The royal power inevitably declined.

So deep was the gratitude of the nation for the great services of Louis that, on the day following his funeral, they elected his daughter Mary (1382—95) as their Queen; and she was crowned the same day. The Hungarians thus made the foreign Angevin dynasty a concession which they had denied to their own royal house of Árpád. The regency (Mary was only eleven years of age) was entrusted to the queen mother, Elizabeth, who refused to allow even Sigismund, Mary's fiancé, the son of Charles IV., to participate in the affairs of government. But the Polish nobles refused to accept the principle of „personal union"; so Louis's other daughter, Hedvig, was offered to them. They accepted the offer; and Hedvig was crowned Queen of Poland in 1384. After considerable hesitation (seeing that she was engaged to Albert, Duke of Austria, whom she loved), Hedvig, for political reasons, gave her hand to Jagello, Duke of Lithuania, who embraced the Christian faith. Thus Poland became separated from Hungary; and the marriage became of disastrous importance for the latter country, for the Jagello dynasty were able to set up a claim which involved national disunion and led indirectly to the disaster at Mohács.

Nor was the loss of Poland the only blow that fell on Hungary after the death of Louis. Croatia was entrusted by Elizabeth to the care of the powerful palatine,

Csiky felv.

Budapest. The Art Galleries.

Garai. The queen mother's arbitrary government, however, drove many of the Croatian nobles into revolt, under the leadership of Paul Horváti, Bishop of Zágráb, and the Ban John Horváti. The dissatisfied Croatian nobles persuaded Charles of Durazzo to break the oath which he had taken never to dispute the claims of Louis's children. Charles seems to have been only too ready to fall in with the idea of uniting Hungary with Naples.

But there was another opposition party in Bosnia, headed by Tvartkó, the self-appointed „King", who courted the favour of Venice with the idea of uniting Croatia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia under his rule.

Charles's party succeeded in winning the day; so in August 1385, the King of Naples started for Croatia. On December 31 (1385) he was crowned King of Hungary at Székesfehérvár. He is known to history as *Charles the Little*. He ruled for a month, was wounded by an assassin February 7, 1786, and died seventeen days later.

The deposition and death of Charles united the two opposition parties of the Horváti's and Tvartkó. The former feared retaliation, the latter saw the chance offered them by united action. Garai, accompanied by the two queens, marched south of the Drave, hoping to quell the insurrection by promises and threats. But the rebels surprised the royal party; Garai and Forgács were killed; and the two queens were taken prisoners and confined in the fortress of Novigrad. Elizabeth was strangled by John Horváti, the Bishop, in the presence of her daughter, who was kept as a hostage. But the nation was tired of anarchy and of the consequent reign of terror; and, faced as they were by a prospect of a disputed succession and by trouble from without, they agreed to accept *Sigismund* (1387—1437) as King of Hungary, *to rule conjointly* with his consort,

Mary. He was crowned at Székesfehérvár, on March 31, 1387, by the Bishop of Veszprém; but — fact is significant — he was compelled to agree to certain conditions which practically formed the terms of a contract between the nation and the monarch. He was to consult Hungarian advisers only, to appoint only Hungarians to high offices, to grant a general amnesty to all who swore allegiance to him and his consort, *to defend the nation's liberty.* Any failure to comply with these conditions was to give the sufferers (whether the grievances were general or particular) the right to take up arms against the King.

Luckily for Mary, whose royal consort still hesitated to procure her release, the jealousy of Venice (fearful lest the „Naples" party might gain the upper hand) and the heroism of John Frangepán, shattered the power of the rebels; and the gates of Novigrad were opened (June 4, 1387).

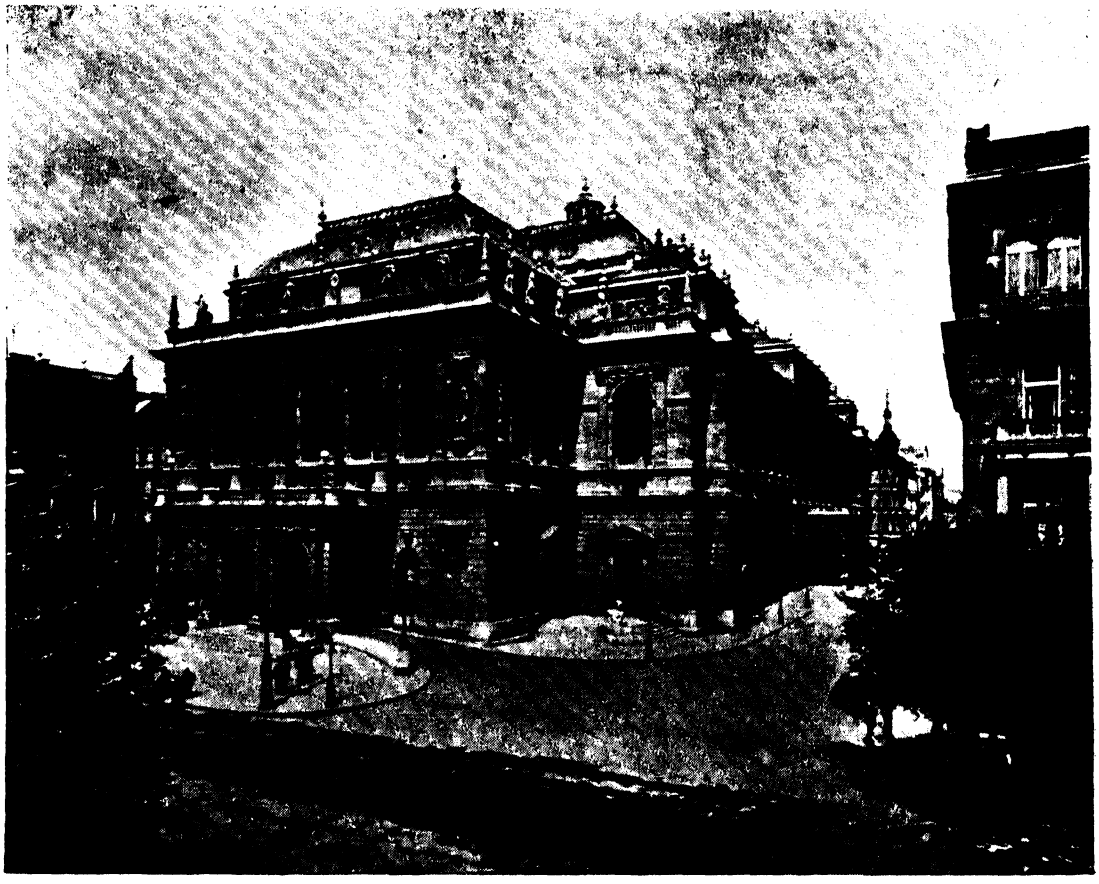
Luckily for Sigismund the cause of Naples was championed by the Pope, whose interference was an insult to the pride of the nation.

But the dream of a Southern Slav kingdom was already haunting the minds of the lords of Bosnia. Sigismund did not at first display any particular energy in suppressing the revolt which, first under Tvartkó and then under Hervója (Duke of Spalato), united the disaffected elements of both Slav provinces. Finally their time-serving policy threw them into the arms of the Turk. The last alliance roused the whole of Hungary, and in 1394 the rebellion was crushed. Stephen Kont of Hédervár and his thirty-two companions, the last of the insurgents to hold out, were cajoled by treacherous promises to surrender their impregnable fortress of Dobor: they were taken to Buda, where, in St. George's Square, after refusing to bend their knees in homage before the foreign ruler, they were executed. This ruthless act, followed as it was, almost immediately (May 1395), by the death of Mary, brought the country to the verge of a revolution. As in 1387, so now, the nation considered that there had been good grounds for the insurrection: Kont and his comrades were looked upon as martyrs. Moreover, Sigismund of Luxemburg had forgotten the terms of his coronation contract: his Court was full of Bohemians, Germans, Poles and Italians; and the Hungarians saw that they were being overshadowed by foreign favourites.

For the moment, however, Fate intervened to save the King. In 1389 on the „field of blackbirds" (Kossovopolje), Sultan Murad's hosts had met the army of Lazarus, Prince of Servia. Both rulers fell, but the Servian army was shattered, and the independence of Servia was destroyed. Murad's successor, Bajazet, „the lightning", subdued Wallachia, and crossed the Danube. The nearness of the catastrophe united King and nation once more. In 1396 Sigismund appealed for help to the Christian Powers of Europe and contracted an alliance with Manuel II., Emperor of Constantinople. In the summer, at the head of 80,000 Crusaders (comprising, besides Hungarians, English, French and German warriors), the Hungarian King started to meet Bajazet. He occupied Widdin and Silistria; but on September 28, at the gates of Nicopolis, owing to the rash ardour of the French knights, Bajazet was enabled to inflict a serious defeat on the Christian army. The King escaped viâ the Black Sea to Constantinople, whence he returned, six months later, to Ragusa.

His enemies reported that he was dead, and demanded that Parliament should be summoned to elect a new king. Sigismund hastened home (1397) and called a Parliament at Temesvár. Meanwhile Bajazet had been compelled to abandon his European schemes in order to meet the attacks of Tamburlaine: there being no longer any national danger, the spirit of opposition was revived. The lavish generosity of the foreign King to his foreign favourites, his arbitrary appointment of his brother as his heir, his injustice, and, above all, the cruel manner in which he had the leaders of the opposition, the Laczfis and their followers, cut to pieces, alienated any sympathy which the Hungarian nobles may have felt for him. So they conspired against him; they invited Ladislas of Naples to come to Hungary; and on April 28, 1401, they broke into the palace at Buda and took Sigismund prisoner.

A short time afterwards, thanks to the exertions of his adherents, and in consideration of a vow (which he actually kept) not to wreak his vengeance on those who had risen against him, and to restore the castles presented by him to foreigners. Sigismund was released. The estates renewed their oaths of allegiance. And Sigismund rewarded his followers for their devotion: Grai was created Palatine and the King wedded Czillei's daughter, Barbara.



Budapest. The Royal Hungarian Opera House. Csiky fotó.

However, though he faithfully adhered to his promise not to molest those who had rebelled against his authority, Sigismund did not respect the laws of the country. In 1402 he entered into a contract with the House of Habsburg, ensuring the succession to the Hungarian throne to Duke Albert, to whom his daughter Elizabeth was betrothed. This open and cynical flouting of the most treasured privilege of the nation incensed the malcontents. They joined hands with the Pope: at the assembly held at Nagyvárad (January 1403) they declared the dethronement of Sigismund and decided to elect Ladislas of Naples king in his place. He was crowned at Zara (with a crown manufactured for the purpose) by John Kanizsai, Archbishop of Esztergom.

Sigismund hastened back from Bohemia whose crown he coveted to meet the advance of Ladislas and his adherents; his followers collected a powerful army and defeated the insurgents at Pápócz (near Győr). Fearful lest he should share the fate of his father, Ladislas took to flight, not pausing until he was safe again in Naples. The insurrection dissolved in smoke. A few of the rebel Croatians were beheaded; peace was restored; and, to celebrate his victory and, at the same time, to symbolise „the relations existing between King and magnates, linked as they were by common knightly duties and common aims", Sigismund founded the Order of the Dragon.

The King's policy was transformed; henceforth internal dissensions practically ceased, and Sigismund devoted himself to an endeavour to improve conditions at home and to consolidate the power of the country abroad.

However, the insurrection involved a loss of valuable territory. Dalmatia was ceded to Venice by Ladislas; and in 1409 the Republic took final possession of that province (with the exception of the towns of Ragusa and Spalato). As we shall see,

Sigismund (in 1412) made an attempt to recover the lost property: but Hungary had to abandon her position as a maritime power and even the Calais of Hungary, the faithful Isle of Veglia, passed into the hands of Venice during the reign of Matthias.

After the death of his brother, Wenceslas, Sigismund became King of Bohemia; and in 1419, as a result of the deposition of Ruprecht, he was offered, and — forgetting the warnings of St. Ladislas and Louis the Great — accepted the imperial crown of Germany. This decision had important and unfortunate consequences, raising the prestige of the Hungarian King, but dividing his attention to the detriment of Hungary. The hopes encouraged by this access of power were doomed to disappointment; the Emperor overshadowed the King, and the affairs of the Holy Roman Empire became of more significance than the expulsion of the Turk.

In 1412 Sigismund declared war on Venice: the money required he obtained by pledging sixteen towns of the Szepes district to the King of Poland. However, notwithstanding brilliant victories on land obtained by his famous general, Philip Scolari (Pipo Ozorai), he did not succeed in reconquering Dalmatia.

In 1415, the Council of Constance, convened by Sigismund in his capacity as German Emperor, condemned Huss, the Bohemian reformer and follower of Wiclif, to be burned at the stake. The Hussites rose in anger to avenge the death of their leader; for nearly twenty years they ravaged the dominions of the Emperor; Hungary, too, suffered considerably from the fury. In 1432 the Hussites seized Körmöczbánya; in 1433 they razed Késmárk to the ground. The Bible was translated into Hungarian (Magyar) by Hungarian disciples of the Hussites. It was not until dissensions broke out in the Hussite ranks that Sigismund was able to restrain the movement: even then it was not by force that the Catholics won the day, but by the Compact of Iglau (1436).

In the next year the peasantry of Transylvania rose in revolt against their masters. The causes of this revolt were both political and religious. The peasants rose to vindicate their right to migrate at will and to ensure liberty of conscience. After a year's mutual cruelty and incendiarism the revolt was crushed; but the seeds of the Transylvanian Reformation had been sown; the Hussites were crushed but not exterminated. Another result of this revolt was that, for the first time in history, the Magyar and Székely nobles and Saxon burghers joined the „Union of Torda" for a mutual defence of their interests against the peasantry.

In 1426 Sigismund, who had been expected to bring all the resources of Germany and Bohemia to the aid of Hungary, at last determined once more to attack the Turk. That year Scolari won a brilliant victory at *Galambócz* over the Sultan's hosts; but on the death of this famous general, the Serb commander of that fortress surrendered it to the enemy. In 1428 Sigismund made a desperate attempt to recover the fortress; but he was defeated by the overwhelming forces of Murad. Sigismund was compelled to make a truce; and the Servian and Wallachian princes, as well as the Ban of Bosnia (Tvartkó) submitted to the Sultan and became his vassals.

It was not until the year of Sigismund's death (1437) that the desultory warfare against the Turks took a favourable turn. The Ottoman hosts were besieging the fortress of Szendrö (Semendria); they were driven back by the heroic courage of a band of Transylvanian horsemen, led by a knight whom neither friend nor foe had known much of before. This knight was John Hunyadi.

Sigismund died at Znaim on December 9, 1437. He was buried at Nagyvárad, by the side of his first consort Mary.

As we have seen, Sigismund's reign divides naturally into two periods. During the first, the absolutism of the King had tended to weld the greater and lesser nobility together.

During the second period, Sigismund made an effort to improve the social and political conditions of the country. He convened Parliament four times and endeavoured to pass good laws for the strengthening and extension of constitutional rights and the consolidation of national defence.

By his action the direct influence of the Pope on the affairs of the Hungarian Church ceased: and that Church became a truly national one.

At the Parliament of 1405, a fourth estate (that of the *burgesses)* was added to those already existing. The royal bo-

roughs were invited to send representatives to Parliament. They were endowed, collectively and not individually, with the rights and privileges of the nobility.

The admission of the burgesses within the pale of political influence was an important step: but they do not seem to have realised its importance, for they continued to form a separate class of their own, with separate ideals and aims.

The Parliament of 1435 (Pozsony) strengthened the position of the *counties* as autonomous corporations: this was a measure intended to control the arbitrary action of the feudal barons and their powerful levies. However, in fact the legislation proved abortive; the most powerful magnates were not subject to the authority of the counties.

Of greater significance were the laws relating to national defence, of which the first was passed at Temesvár (under the pressure of the Turkish danger). A new militia *(militia portalis)* was instituted. The King undertook the defence of the border fortresses at his own expense: but his army — the nucleus of Matthias's standing army — was quite inadequate to the task of protecting the country. So fresh burdens were imposed upon the nobility; and these burdens were willingly accepted. By a law passed in 1435 the militia maintained by the magnates and prelates was to march under the colours of the respective lords, that of the gentry under the colours of the respective counties. Besides the whole nobility was liable to be called out for military service (insurrectio) whenever and wherever the territorial integrity of the country was threatened.

But Sigismund's endeavours to place the military system of the country on a firm basis also proved unsuccessful for lack of discipline, and owing to the independence of the greater barons.

Sigismund established a university at Buda, but forgot to provide for its endowment: and the greater number of Hungarian students went abroad.

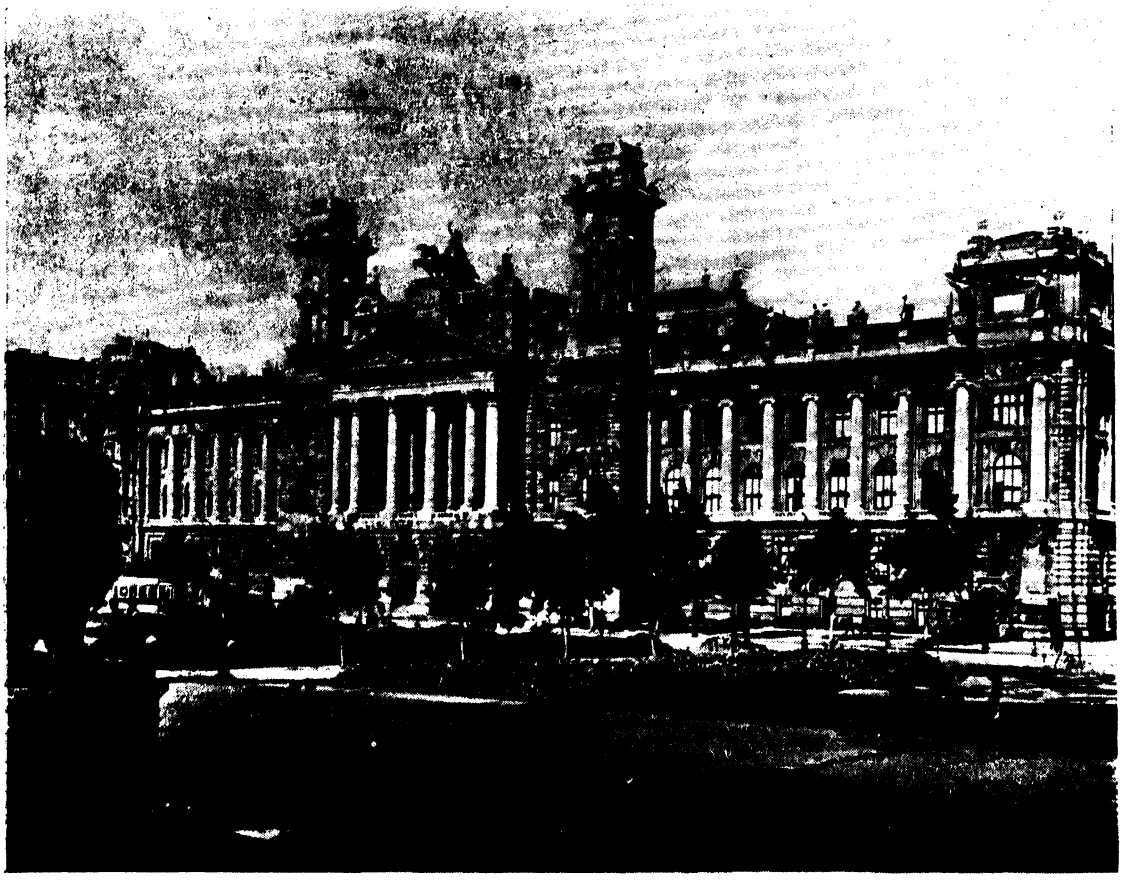
Sigismund also began to build the new palace of Buda, which was reconstructed and completed under Matthias.

CHAPTER X.

JOHN HUNYADI AND THE TURKS.

A few days after Sigismund's death *Albert* (1438—39), Duke of Austria, the husband of Sigismund's daughter, Elizabeth, was elected King. The first Habsburg sovereign of Hungary was crowned at Székesfehérvár on January 1, 1438. The estates stipulated that the King should reside at Buda and that he should not accept the imperial crown of Germany without their consent. At the same time they agreed to secure to Elizabeth, or to any son whom she might bear to him, the succession to the throne of Hungary. Bohemia followed the example of Hungary; and a short while after Albert became Emperor of Germany too. However, the latter event drove the Hussites of Bohemia into rebellion; they invited Casimir of Poland (brother of Wladislas III.) to occupy the throne, and Albert was compelled to leave Hungary in order to defend his interests, entrusting the government, during his absence, to his consort and the magnates. Northern Hungary suffered once more from the ravages of the Hussites; in Transylvania the Turk, taking advantage of the still smouldering flames of peasant discontent, which divided that province against itself, was devastating at will; the magnates whose power had been growing enormously, were on the verge of insurrection. Albert hastened home. The Parliament held at Buda in 1439 introduced fresh and more stringent measures to prevent the influence of foreign councillors and to safeguard the independence of Hungary, whose interests seemed likely to be subordinated to those of Albert's other dominions. The King was fain to yield to the demands of the magnates, for his consort had joined hands with them.

George Brankovitch, the Prince of Servia, had sought the friendship of the Sultan Murad, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. But he now saw the danger of this alliance; and, when Murad invaded Servia (September 1439) and prepared to subdue the country by force



Budapest. The Royal Curia. *Csiky fotó.*

of arms, Brankovitch appealed to Hungary. The appeal was heard; for Szendrő (Semendria), the possession of which was of vital importance for Hungary, was in danger. The „generalis insurrectio" was called out; but the nobles refused to obey the summons. Thus the King was compelled to trust to his own resources; Hunyadi had no time to collect a large army, and only 20.000 men marched with Albert to Titel, where they heard the news of the fall of Szendrő, and of the terrible fate of Brankovitch's two sons, whose eyes were put out by order of the Sultan. Murad then turned westwards, to Bosnia; and the Hungarian army, decimated by dysentery, was disbanded and went home. Albert was overcome with grief and illness. He deid at Neszmély and was buried at Székesfehérvár.

The widowed queen, Elizabeth, had the best claim to the throne. But the magnates, in view of the Turkish menace, preferred to have a man on the throne: the majority, who were supported by John Hunyadi, already a power in the State, decided to invite Wladislas, King of Poland, and the grandson of Louis the Great's. Elizabeth agreed to this decision, but stipulated that Wladislas should wed her, and that if she gave birth to a son (she was *enceinte)*, that son should succeed. *Wladislas* I. (1440—44) was then elected King. But Elizabeth repented her decision. She had the Holy Crown stolen from Visegrád and shortly afterwards she gave birth to a son (Ladislas). She then openly repudiated the agreement and sent her adherents to Cracow, to prevent its ratification. However, the Hungarian estates formally acknowledged Wladislas as their King, stipulating only that he should wed Elizabeth and receive her infant son as his heir.

Elizabeth still refused, but Wladislas was crowned.

The cause of the civil strife was a point of constitutional law. Elizabeth and her party insisted on the hereditary character

of the succession; the other party — to which John Hunyadi belonged — insisted on the purely elective character of the monarchy.

Yet there was something more important than the point of constitutional law — viz., the menace of the Turks. Among those who felt need for a strong arm in this hour of national danger was John Hunyadi.

Wladislas was crowned at Székesfehérvár on July 17, by Denis Széchi, the crown used on this occasion being that taken from the bust of St Stephen in the crypt of the cathedral.

Elizabeth appealed to the Emperor Frederick III., to whom she entrusted the care of Ladislas and of the Holy Crown, and to the Hussite leader, John Giskara. The Emperor seized several of the western frontier towns as a pledge; while Giskara repeated the ravages of Sigismund's days. Wladislas himself undertook to overcome the Bohemians: the campaign against the Hungarian insurgents was entrusted to Hunyadi. The latter endeavoured to conciliate his foes: but his magnanimous overtures were repulsed. The two armies met. That of the insurgents was cut to pieces: but Hunyadi refused to follow up his victory; and the ringleaders escaped with their lives.

Hunyadi and his lieutenant, Ujlaki, were created waywodes of Transylvania.

The civil trife was, however, protacted until December 1442. when a reconciliation was made at last. Shortly afterwards Elizabeth died. Frederick still continued a desultory warfare, nominally in support of the infant prince Ladislas: but in 1443 he too concluded a truce.

Meanwhile the resources of the country had been organised for defence against the threatened Turkish invasion. In 1440 Murad had laid siege to Belgrade. The whole country, and the King, turned to John Hunyadi. Hunyadi belonged to a noble family, lords of Hunyad in Transylvania, and was early in life attached to the Court of Sigismund.

In 1441, as Captain of Belgrade, he attacked the army of Ishak Pasha, the commander of Szendrő (Semendria), who had crossed the Danube into Hungary and ravaged the countryside. Though outnumbered by two to one, Hunyadi's soldiers struck so terrible a blow that Ishak fled for shelter to the walls of his fortress. The following year (1442) the Sultan sent an army of 80.000 men, under Mezid Bey, to avenge the defeat of Ishak. Again Hunyadi, unable to obtain help from the King and magnates, led his own men against them. He threw himself on the Turkish invaders at Szent-Imre. Here the heroism of George Lépes, the gallant Bishop of Gyulafehérvár, enabled Hunyadi to carry out his favourite tactics. His system was to draw the attack of the Turkish light cavalry and infantry by placing a small force of Hungarian cavalry at a conspicuous point under the command of a trusted subordinate, while he himself with a force of light and heavy cavalry took up a position on the flank and attacked the attackers, when they had spent their force, from both flanks and from the rear. The bishop threw the Turkish army into disorder, and gave the Hungarian general time to retire to Nagyszeben, where he joined forces with Ujlaki and administered a crushing defeat.

On the eve of the battle, one of Hunyadi's most trusted followers, Simon Kemény, begged his leader to exchange horse and armour with him. Hunyadi was at last persuaded. Kemény was placed in a conspicuous place, surrounded by a band of 500 picked warriors, while, Hunyadi himself withdrew to the background, with the reserves.

Next day the flower of the Turkish army attacked the band of devoted warriors surrounding the person of the pseudo-Hunyadi, who strongly resembled Hunyadi, whose features and accoutrements had been so accurately described by the Osman leader. A terrible struggle ensued: the Hungarian knights, who knew that the issue of the battle depended on their resistance to the Turkish onslaught, fought like demons; and when at last the superiority of numbers swept them away, and the Spahis threw themselves on the lifeless body of Simon Kemény, fighting among themselves for its possession, from another part of the field the real Hunyadi dashed into the fray. His appearance struck terror into the hearts of the Turks; the victorious army became suddenly a disorderly rabble; 20.000 pagans, including Mezid Bey and his son, were slaughtered; an immense store of booty was captured; while those Osmanlis who escaped from the rout told of the invincible prowess of Hunyadi and his Hungarian followers. The devoted heroism of Kemény and his

Budapest. The Royal Stock Exchange. *Csiky fotó.*

comrades was commemorated by a monument and by the establishment of a convent and a chapel in the Valley of Tövis.

One of the political results of the victory was the renewal of the oath of allegiance to Hungary of the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia.

In the same year Hunyadi won another great victory against the Turks in the Vaskapu Pass.

Hungary was indeed fighting the battles of Christendom; and the sympathy and admiration of the Christian world was lavished on her soldiers. A Crusade was suggested, with Hunyadi to command the Christian host, but unfortunately it came to nothing. Europe — as so often in Hungarian history — left Hungary practically to her own resources.

Hunyadi's appeal to Europe was followed by the famous Diet of Buda (1443), which voted men and supplies for an *offensive* campaign against the Turkish intruders. Polish cavalry, French, Bohemian, and German knights joined in the Hungarian army of Hunyadi and Wladislas, which, when it crossed the Danube at Szendrő (Semendria), numbered about 40.000. Hunyadi advanced with his own men as far as Nish, leaving the King to cover his rear. After defeating two Turkish armies which endeavoured to effect a junction, he scattered a third, only to find a fourth army of overwhelming numbers concentrated between him and the King. Hunyadi inflicted a severe defeat on the Turks; and the army now advanced, despite the severity of the winter, as far as Sofia. The Hungarians, then endeavoured to pierce into the heart of the European possessions of the Turks. But his men were so exhausted, and the positions occupied by the Sultan's hosts on the southern slopes were so strong, that Hunyadi decided to retreat. On the plain near Sofia he engaged the army of Kazin Bey, which

Budapest, Liberty Square. *Csiky fotó.*

had been sent to intercept him, and cut it to pieces. The victory was complete; and, when Wladislas entered Buda in triumph on February 2 (1444), he was accompained by a huge procession of Turkish prisoners.

Europe once more tendered homage to the prowess of Hungary. A brilliant cavalcade of foreign legates rode into the courtyard of the palace of Buda, bringing with them the congratulations — and promises — of their royal masters. Once more the name of Hunyadi was on everybody's lips; and the whole of Christian Europe rallied round his standard — on paper!

Vast preparations were made for a Christian League against the Turk: but the Sultan (Murad) was warned; and he sent an embassy to offer terms of peace. Wladislas met the Turkish ambassadors at Szeged; and in July the *Peace of Szeged* was ratified. The conditions included the cession of Servia, the acknowledgment of Hungarian suzerainty in Wallachia, a ransom of 100,000 ducats for Turkish prisoners, and an alliance for ten years.

Julian Cesarini, the papal legate, used every effort to persuade Wladislas to break the treaty. He declared that an oath given to the pagan was null and void, and, in the Pope's name, absolved the King from the sin of perjury. The Doge of Venice and the Genoese announced that their fleets were in the Hellespont and had cut off the Sultan's only route of return to Europe. All Europe, he said, was looking to Hungary to rid her of the Turkish curse.

Wladislas hesitated: he took his oath seriously; but the opportunity of winning fresh laurels was too tempting. Hunyadi advised him to be careful: but the nation was eager for war. So the King finally decided to break his faith; he left Szeged with an army of 25,000 men and proceeded to Nicopolis, where he was joined by Hunyadi and 5000 followers. Drakul, the waywode of Wallachia, also came with an

army of 10,000: but he warned Wladislas of the folly of his adventure. „Sire", he said, „Murad has already returned from Asia. The Genoese fleet has brought his army back to Europe: its promises of help have been frustrated by — Turkish gold. Scanderbeg cannot come to your aid, for your ally, Brankovitch, has forbidden him a passage through Servia. What can you do with an army than which even the Sultan's retinue is larger?" It was in vain that Drakul (already, no doubt, planning treachery) endeavoured to persuade Wladislas to turn back. Nothing could prevail on him to abandon the enterprise.

The Hungarians were left alone in a hostile country. The Albanians could not join them; the two Emperors forgot their promises; the Italian ships had sold their Christian honour; the Burgundians were belated; Brankovitch was waiting to see developments; and the Wallachians were cowed by the dark forebodings of a Bulgarian fortune-teller. Yet Wladislas and Hunyadi pressed on and did not halt until they had reached the plain between Varna and Kavarna. Here, on November 10, 1444, they joined issue with the Turkish army, which consisted of 100,000 picked warriors.

Hunyadi placed the King in a position which was practically unassailable, leaving him in the company of his Polish knights. He himself assumed the supreme command. The victory was practically won, when the jealousy of Wladislas's Polish bodyguard intervened. „See, Sire", they cried, „how Hunyadi advances, while you remain idle. His will be the victory, not yours. Come, follow us. Yonder stand the Janissaries of the Sultan. Sovereign against sovereign, a worthy match!" Wladislas was young and ambitious. He forgot his broken oath; he did not see the treaty displayed conspicuously by Murad as a warning; and, forgetting the promise he had given to Hunyadi not to court danger, he rode into the fray. Murad saw him and his heart rejoiced. „God of the Christians!" he exclaimed, „avenge the insult to Thy name!"

Hunyadi too saw, and rushed to save the King. But in vain — Wladislas fell, and with him some of the flower of the Hungarian nobility. A desperate fight ensued for the possession of the King's body; but when Wladislas's pale head, crowned by his silver helmet, was raised aloft on a Turkish pike, the Hungarians wavered and fled. The tide of victory had turned; the Hungarians were no longer invincible; but the Turkish army, too, was broken; and the Sultan exclaimed, as he surveyed the battle-field where 32,000 Ottoman warriors lay lifeless, „Such a victory I wish only an enemy!"

Hunyadi escaped from the rout; but as he was returning home in disguise, Drakul, the treacherous waywode of Wallachia, took him prisoner and — so we are told — offered to sell him to the Sultan, who refused the offer. The threats of the Palatine, Hédervári, however, compelled Drakul to surrender his captive, who returned to Hungary, and then deposed the traitor, putting in his place Dan, the son of the prince whose power Drakul had usurped.

The country was again without a king. *Garai* and the adherents of the late queen Elizabeth claimed the throne for Ladislas, her son, who was then a „guest" (really „captive") at the court of the Emperor Frederick. A third party desired a national King.

First, provision had to be made for the protection of the country against the danger which menaced it from the South. So the Parliament held on May 7, 1445, decided to divide Hungary into seven districts, each to be under the control of a Captain. Hunyadi was to be Captain of Transylvania and the trans-Tisza districts. The scheme was, however, a dangerous one, and Hunyadi persuaded the estates to acknowledge the claims of Ladislas and to request Frederick to surrender the young prince. But the Emperor desired to retain a certain political influence over the country, and demanded a large ransom under the head of „educational expenses". For the moment, therefore, the nation resolved to adopt a waiting attitude; and the estates assembled at Rákos in 1446 (Whitsunday, June 5) elected Hunyadi to act as Governor of Hungary in the name of the „prince" Ladislas, who should become „King" as soon as he was crowned. Hunyadi's power as such was practically unlimited.

Hunyadi's first aim was to overcome the opposition of Frederick and procure the release of Ladislas. He had to face intrigue at home too. The Czilleis, and even Garai, openly sided with the Emperor, whom, though he could not bring him to his knees, Hunyadi compelled to make a truce for two years. After overcoming the rebel magnates the Governor turned his attention once more to the Turks.

Budapest. Calvin Square.

Csiky fotó.

The campaigns against the Hussites, the Emperor and the insurgent nobles, had taught Hunyadi that the prevailing military system (that of *banderia* or feudal levies), though excellent, was not sufficient for the defence of the country. The nobles either refused to join the army, or elected to leave him in the lurch. So Hunyadi resolved to employ *mercenaries*. He wanted a trained *infantry* to withstand the attacks of the Turkish Janissaries. The Parliament of 1446 approved of Hunyadi's plan and voted him one ducat for every five portae.

Drakul, who had again unsurped the throne of Wallachia, was driven out: then Hunyadi started with a small army to liberate Macedonia and Albania from the Turkish yoke (1448). He penetrated into Servia, despite the indifference (amounting to treason) of Brankovitch. The Sultan assembled his troops at Sofia and marched to meet his foe. The two armies met on the northern fringe of the Field of Blackbirds *(Kossovopolje: Rigómező)* on October 18. The battle that ensued was fought with a fury unexampled even in the annals of the Turco-Hungarian feud. For two days the contending hosts were locked in a death-embrace. Neither side could claim any advantage. Then, at the critical moment, Dan, the waywode of Wallachia, turned traitor. With his 8000 horsemen, who had been kept in reserve, he went over to the enemy. This act of treachery decided the issue. For hours the Hungarians fought valiantly against overwhelming odds; but the fall of their commanders disheartened them, and they were practically annihilated.

Hunyadi was a fugitive once more. In the forest of Kladova he fell into the hands of two Turkish marauders; but escaped. His adventures were not over yet. Tired and exhausted, he found his way to the cottage of a Servian peasant, who offered to guide him to Belgrade. Instead, he took Hunyadi to Szendrő (Semendria) and handed him over to Brankovitch. The Prince of Servia threw him into prison and offered him to the Sultan for „thirty pieces of silver"; but the Sultan refused the dastardly offer, declaring that he had no mind to take „the greatest hero in Europe" by treachery. The Hungarian Parliament demanded Hunyadi's release. Brankovitch was compelled to set him free, though he made his own conditions.

Hunyadi returned to Hungary determined to forget the injury done to his person in a renewed effort to drive out the Turks. But Parliament was not of the same opinion. The Diet of Szeged (1450) annulled the agreement with Brankovitch and declared war on him. The Servian prince escaped a heavy penalty by releasing Ladislas Hunyadi and renouncing all claims to his former Hungarian estates.

Meanwhile Hunyadi had started a campaign against Giskra and the Hussite robbers: but the treachery of some magnates and hostile influences in Parliament compelled him to conclude peace.

Hunyadi could not yet carry into effect his plan of campaign against the Turks; he had to deal first with intrigues at home. The ringleader was Ulrich Czillei.

Hunyadi had striven to liberate Ladislas. The Emperor, working hand in hand with Czillei, Garai, and Giskra, endeavoured to poison the young prince's mind aginst the Governor, whom he accused of aspiring to the throne of Hungary and of having conspired for that purpose against the life of Wladislas. When, in 1452, Ladislas was at last set at liberty, he unfortunately came under the influence of Czillei and his confederates, who fostered hatred of Hunyadi and wormed themselves into the affection of the youthful King by pandering to his taste for debauchery and frivolity. Ladislas refused to reside in Hungary, dividing his time between Prague and Vienna. He appointed Hunyadi Captain-General; but the real power was delegated to Ulrich Czillei.

In 1453 the occupation of Constantinople by the Turks threw all Europe into consternation. The Sultan (Mohammed II.) was determined to conquer the world; it was Hungary's turn next. Hunyadi alone remained calm and undismayed by the intrigues of foreign foe and domestic enemy. Czillei attempted to entice Hunyadi into a trap by having him summoned to Vienna: he set his personal ambition before the interests of his country and Europe. Hunyadi obeyed the summons, accompanied by a band of chosen warriors. Czillei was dumfounded; for the moment his villainous schemes were frustrated.

In 1454 Hunyadi marched to meet the Turks besieging Szendrő (Semendria). He returned victorious, but he was disheartened; his personal enemies left no stone unturned to undermine his position at home.

Budapest. Apponyi Sqare looking towards the Elisabeth Bridge. Csiky foto

At the Diet of Buda (1455) he appeared before the King, unarmed and unattended. He tendered his resignation: but László would not accept it, and, on the unanimous demand of the estates of the realm, the King took an oath not to heed the insinuations of intriguing sycophants and, as a token of his favour, asked that he might welcome Hunyadi's younger son, Matthias, to his Court.

But danger was approaching. Brankovitch sent messengers to Buda to announce that the Sultan was marching against Belgrade. Even Czillei and Garai were silenced. László Hunyadi was betrothed to Garai's daughter. The former Governor magnanimously forgave his enemies, surrendered all his castles to the King, raised an army of 10,000 mercenaries at his own expense, provided Belgrade with munitions and food, and sent his brother-in-law, Michael Szilágyi, and his son László to assume the command of the fortress. John Capistrano, the Franciscan friar who had been sent by the Pope to preach a crusade in Europe, recruited an army of 60,000 peasants, artisans, and students, and armed them with scythes and pitchforks. At the Diet of Buda the King commanded a general levy of the nobility and then — hastened back to Viennna.

News came that the Sultan had arrived before Belgrade with a host of 150,000 warriors and 300 guns, and had 200 galleys at Zimony. The thunder of the cannon — we are told — could be heard at Szeged: but Hunyadi was not dismayed. With his motley host he marched to the banks of the Danube. He first scattered the Turkish fleet, in order to cut his way through to the besieged fortress (July 14). The Turkish artillery had made numerous breaches in the walls of the outher fortifications; through these breaches Hunyadi's warriors and Capistrano's undisciplined fighters, dashed into the town, leaving a rearguard entrenched at Zimony. On the evening of July 21 the Sultan commanded a general assault. Three times the Turks surged forward; three times they were repulsed. On

one occasion an Ottoman nearly succeeded in planting the crescent on the walls of the inner fortress; but Titus Dugovitch saw him, closed with him, and, locked in a deadly embrace, threw him down into the depths below. When morning broke, the Christians determined to assume the offensive. Armed with burning faggots, the crusaders threw themselves on the pagans, who fled in terror, many of them perishing by fire. Thereupon Hunyadi assembled his picked horsemen and charged the broken ranks of the foe. The Turks were routed; the Sultan himself was wounded and took to flight. The following day 50,000 Turkish corpses showed the victors the fullness of their triumph. All the Turkish cannon and many galleys fell into the hands of the Hungarians.

Belgrade was saved. Hungary, and Europe, could breathe freely again. The European courts hastened to express their admiration and their gratitude; and the Pope ordered the bells to be rung every day at noon in all churches. But the price Hungary had to pay for the victory was a heavy one. Hunyadi was infected with the plague. He was taken to Zimony, where, on August 17, after receiving extreme unction at the hands of Capistrano, he breathed his last in the parish church. This church still stands a monument to the great hero.

His remains were buried in the church he himself had founded at Gyulafehérvár.

All Europe mourned Hunyadi's loss; even the Sultan exclaimed: „He was my foe, but I grieve for his death! The world has lost its greatest man". Only Czillei rejoiced: a powerful rival was dead. He hastened to persuade László to Summon the Diet to assemble (at Futak), and to appoint him Royal Governor. Ujlaki was appointed Captain-General: while László and Matthias Hunyadi were commanded to surreder all their fortresses (though their father had already done so voluntarily).

Elizabeth Szilágyi (Hunyadi's widow) and her sons seemed friendless indeed; and Czillei determined to rid himself for ever of the menace which their presence in the country involved. The King paid a visit to Belgrade. László Hunyadi received his royal master with all the ceremony and respect due to his exalted rank; but he suspected foul play on the part of Czillei, and left the German soldiers outside.

The following day László Hunyadi showed Czillei proofs of his treachery. Czillei drew his sword and would have killed his former rival's son. But the Hungarian nobles, who had been expecting foul play, rushed into the room and quickly despatched the traitor.

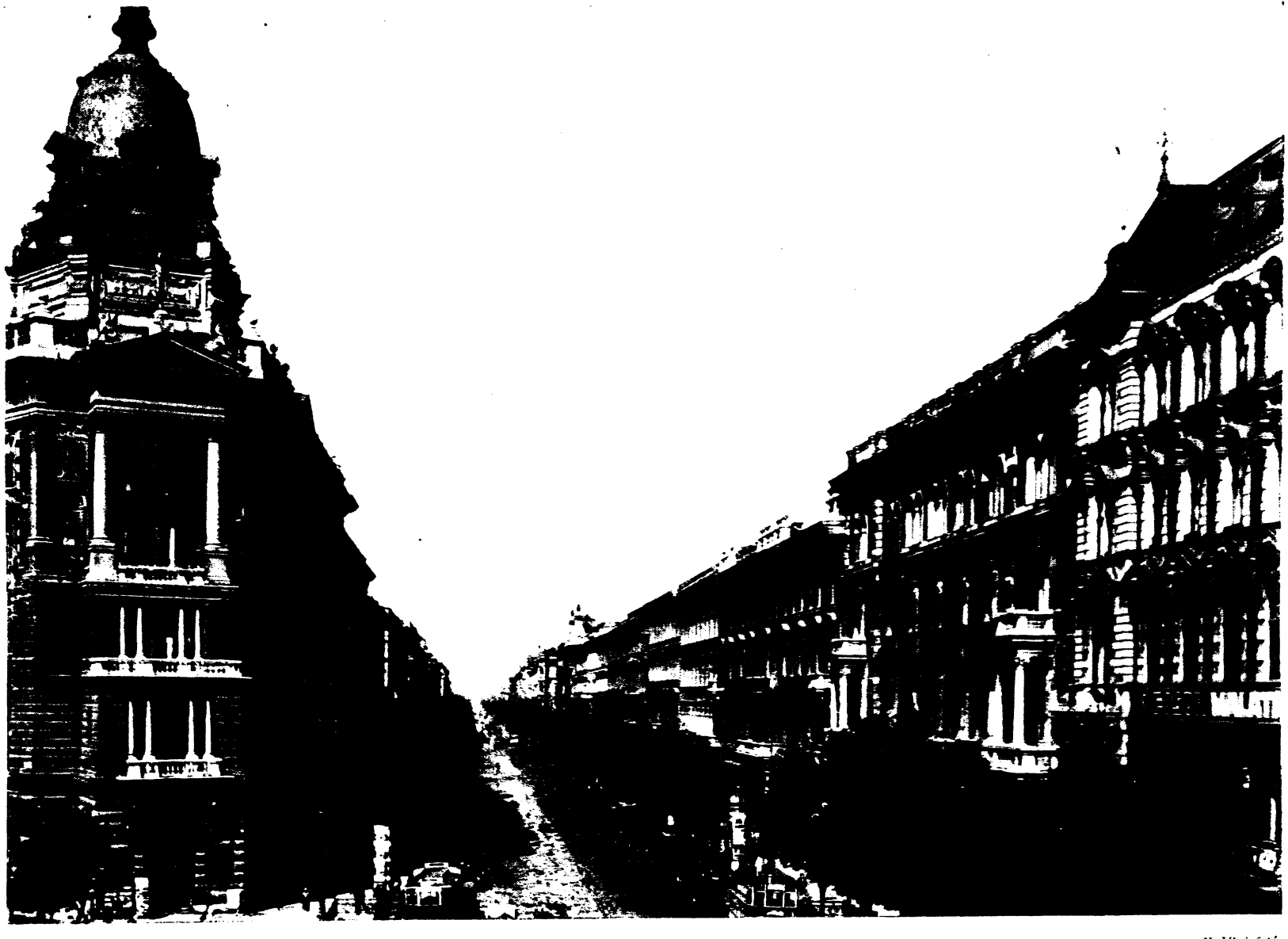
The Hungarian leaders hastened to tell the King. Dumfounded at the sudden death of his uncle, László V. hastened to conceal his indignation. He took an oath to forgive and forget.

But Garai, the Palatine, could not rest. He prevailed on Brankovitch, the Servian despot, to attempt the murder of Michael Szilágyi; but Brankovitch was caugtht in his own trap; he was taken prisoner and died of the wounds he had received. Garai strove to make László Hunyadi responsible for the fate of his country's enemy. But he went further still; he accused young Hunyadi of a conspiracy against the life of the King. In March (1457) the two brothers were summoned to the palace of Buda. László Hunyadi was condemned to death by a tribunal consisting of his father's personal foes. The King confirmed the sentence; and on March 16 László Hunyadi was beheaded in Buda, in St George's Square.

Thrice did the executioner strike at the innocent victim's head; thrice he failed. „The law allows but three strokes", said László Hunyadi in a voice faint with the loss of blood. But the King motioned to the executioner, and at the fourth blow the head was severed from the body.

Elizabeth Szilágyi heard the news at Temesvár: her brother took up arms to avenge his nephew's death; the whole country was in a ferment; the gentry rallied round Szilágyi's standard; and it would have gone hard with László if he had not fled to Austria, taking Matthias Hunyadi as his hostage. His inglorious reign soon came to an inglorious end. He was at Prague awaiting the arrival of his bride, Margaret, daughter of Charles VII. of France, when, on November 23, he passed away suddenly. Some say that he was poisoned, but he probably died from the plague.

László V. is best known to history as the murderer of his greater namesake, László Hunyadi. As such he has been immortalized in literature.



Erdélyi fotó.

CHAPTER XI.

MATTHIAS THE JUST.

There were claimants to the throne of Hungary enough and to spare: *Casimir*, King of Poland, *William*, Duke of Saxony, *Ladislas Garai*, Palatine of Hungary, *Nicholas Ujlaki*, Capitan-General of Hungary, and *Matthias Hunyadi*.

The nation had had enough of foreign rulers; they desired a *national* King. Luckily for Hungary, the inability of the foreign claimants to secure adherents in the country was followed by disunion in the ranks of the anti-Hunyadi party. The supporters of the Hunyadis were thoroughly well organised under the leadership of Michael Szilágyi and his sister, John Hunyadi's widow, who were joined by John Vitéz, Bishop of Nagyvárad, and Denis Széchi, the Primate. Practically the whole of the prelacy followed the lead of the Primate and the Papal legate in supporting the claims of the young noble whose accession to the throne Capistrano had prophesied two years before. Podiebrad, now King of Bohemia, released Matthias from captivity but retained him at his court as his guest, begging him to accept his friendship and the hand of his young daughter Catherine.

Podiebrad persuaded Ujlaki to withdraw his claims: and Garai, realising the hopelessness of competition, retired from the contest, and became reconciled to the Hunyadis, promising to support them on condition that Matthias should wed his daughter, Anne. The condition was accepted, though Matthias was already betrothed to Catherine of Bohemia.

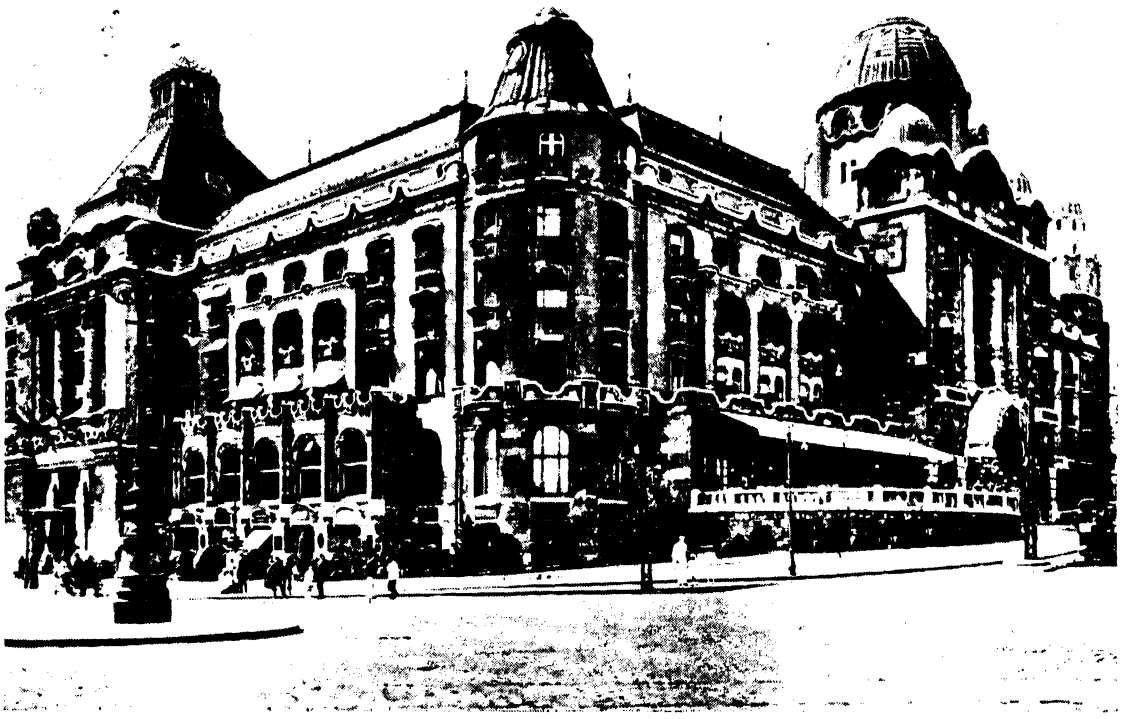
The Diet had been summoned to meet at Pest on January 1, 1458; but the negotiations between the rival parties delayed the opening of procedings until January 20. The gentry were assembled on the field of Rákos; the magnates held council in the palace of Buda. There was no question of a dispute. Matthias was elected King on January 23, amid the enthusiastic acclamations of the people, and reigned for thirty-two years (1458 90).

The task which confronted Matthias when he at last entered his kingdom was a formidable one: but, thanks to the training he had received and to the great qualities of statesmanship and martial prowess which he had inherited from his father, he was quite able to cope with it.

The oligarchs, whose power had grown once more under the weak rule of Ladislas V., viewed the accession of John Hunyadi's son with apprehension mingled with contempt. They believed his youth was an asset in their favour: but his first act disillusioned them. Michael Szilágyi, his uncle, had been appointed Governor. Matthias, however, refused to be a mere puppet and despatched his uncle to Transylvania, declaring that he would look after the affairs of his kingdom himself. This energy was as alarming as it was unexpected: his enemies, acting in concert with the Emperor Frederick, incited the Hussites to ravage the northern districts of Hungary and thus weaken the hold of Matthias on the Country. The diversion failed in its object. The King's followers, notably Sebastian Rozgonyi and Ladislas Hédervári, the Bishop of Eger undertook a guerilla campaign aginst the „beggar army" of Giskra and his adherents, and, in 1462, after the robber strongholds of Galgócz, Gálszécs, Sárospatak, and Mislye, had been reduced, Matthias became reconciled to the Hussite leader, whom the Hungarian King's generosity converted into a faithful friend.

Meanwhile Garai and Ujlaki had approached the injured ex-Governor Szilágyi, whose vanity prevailed on him to join a conspiracy against Matthias in favour of the Emperor Frederick. The King acted at once. He summoned Szilágyi to his presence at Szeged, ordered his arrest, and had him confined in the fortress of Világos. This further display of energy and uncompromising force of will alarmed the other conspirators, who fled to Wienerneustadt, to confer with the Emperor. Here, in February 1459, they elected Frederick III. King of Hungary. The Emperor, though accepting the title, decided to postpone his coronation until he had secured possession of the country; for the moment he contented himself with an application to the Pope, the famous Pius II., for recognition of his claim. But the Pope refused, persuaded to do so, no doubt, by the knowledge that the support of Matthias was indispensable to a prosecution of the proposed campaign against the Turks.

The nobles who had joined the conspi-



Budapest. St. Gellért Hotel and Baths. Csiky felv.

racy were deposed from office: and their places were taken by trusted followers of the King. Matthias had offered to with draw; but Parliament refused to hear of such a step, assuring the King that he was in complete possession of the nation's confidence. Szilágyi had been set at liberty: but he could not rest, and was continually scheming for retaliation. Matthias ordered a general levy of the military forces of the country; and his success compelled Frederick to accept the Pope's proposal for a truce. So the famous Treaty of 1462 was concluded between Matthias and Frederick, as representing the House of Habsburg. The Emperor was to surrender the Holy Crown and the town of Sopron in lieu of a payment of 80,000 ducats; but the frontier towns (Kőszeg and four others) were to remain in Frederick's possession until his death, when they could be recovered by payment of a sum of 40,000 ducats; the Emperor could continue to use the title of King of Hungary; and, if Matthias died without male heir, Frederick or his direct descendants were entitled to succeed to the Hungarian throne.

Matthias was delighted to have secured the crown: the nation was so overjoyed at the success of the King's diplomacy and military genius that it forgot the injury to its privileges inherent in the terms of the treaty, and assembled in unprecedented numbers at Székesfehérvár, where, on March 25, 1464, the Archbishop of Esztergom, Denis Szécsi — for the fourth time in his life — performed the ceremony of coronation.

Matthias's throne was now secure; he had once more recovered his suzerainty over Servia and Wallachia. The victorious campaign against the Turks in Bosnia in 1463 had shown the Sultan that John Hunyadi's son was a worthy successor to his father; the band of insurgents got together by the traitorous Bohemian knight, Dzwela (Švehla), who ravaged the surrounding districts from their „robbers' nest" at

Kosztolány, and by their methods inherited the title of „Zebrak", conferred on their predecessors, were routed and their leaders put to death: but the death of his consort, Catherine Podiebrad, was a terrible blow to the King. Had she lived, his relations with the King of Bohemia would probably have continued to be cordial.

After his coronation, Matthias determined to prosecute the war against the Turks with renewed vigour. At the congress of Mantua (1464) the Pope strove to prevail on the representatives of the Christian Powers to proclaim a crusade, and designated Matthias as the leader of the Christian army. But the scheme failed; the Christian princes refused to take part; only the Pope sent money — 40,000 ducats. Matthias, who had planned the establishment of a special order of knights (that of the Passion) in connection with the new crusade, was forced — partly by the apathy of Europe, partly by the troubles that threatened him on the West — to abandon all thoughts of an offensive campaign against the Turks: but it was only a postponement, not a final abandonment.

The history of his father's achievements and failures had shown Matthias that Hungary without the aid of Europe was incapable of executing the grand task he had inherited — the expulsion of the Osmanli pagans from Europe. He had himself been taught by experience that the King of Hungary was not strong enough to convert the passive apathy of Europe into an active sympathy. That was a task which only the Emperor of Germany could accomplish the highest dignity of the day, the imperial sceptre. His attempt proved disastrous in its results, both for his country and for her people: but it was inspired by a genuine desire for the ultimate triumph of the Christian cause, not by any personal vanity.

Paul II., the Pope who had adopted the watchword of „death to the heretics", declared George (Podiebrad) of Bohemia, the protector of the Hussites, a usurper, and called upon Matthias to defend the dignity of the Roman Church. The Emperor Frederick, who did not suspect the Hungarian King's ultimate aims, offered him Bohemia as a fief and promised financial aid. The Catholic nobles of Bohemia were ready to support Matthias's claims. The Diet of Eger voted the necessary supplies, the nobles yielding, despite their conviction that the Turkish danger was more pressing, to the King's arguments and eloquence. But in Transylvania there was disaffection. Matthias, with the energy and courage so characteristic of him, hurried to Transylvania, and put an end to rebellion.

To the Turkish embassy, which came to offer a truce, Matthias proudly replied that, as King of Hungary, he could not enter into a definite compact with pagans, but that, if they let him alone, he was content to treat them likewise.

Matthias then invaded Moravia, took possession of Brünn and Olmütz (1468), and entered Bohemia. Podiebrad endeavoured to negotiate with his son-in-law; but the Emperor, whose promised aid dwindled to 100 horsemen, left no stone unturned to frustrate all such endeavours: and in 1469 the Catholic nobles of Bohemia had Matthias crowned King at Brünn.

Podiebrad replied by making an alliance with Casimir, King of Poland, whose son, Wladislas, he adopted as his successor to the exclusion of his own sons. Podiebrad died in 1471: and Wladislas became King of Bohemia.

Matthias's ambitious schemes already threatened to prove a fiasco. The country was tired of the sacrifices of men and money for what everybody except the King regarded as a foreign cause. In 1470 the estates refused to vote the taxes demanded; the King's former tutor and counsellor, John Vitéz, now Archbishop of Esztergom, told Matthias openly that the nobility refused to shed their blood any longer to further his ambitions and to gain a shadow. When the King persisted they even offered the crown to Casimir, the thirteen-year-old son of the King of Poland. However, the personality of Matthias once more proved his salvation. Meeting the estates at Buda, he persuaded them to renew their allegiance.

The Emperor (Frederick III.) had simulated friendship, and had promised his support against the Bohemians: Matthias's claims to the succession to the imperial throne had received the approval of the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria; in 1470 Frederick engaged to accept Matthias as his successor. But in 1472 Hungary was again at war with Bohemia. The King of Poland entered the lists in defence of his son. Frederick acknowledged Wladislas's claims and openly joined the alliance aga-

Budapest. Széchenyi Baths. Csiky fotó.

inst Matthias. In 1474 the Hungarian King appealed for aid to Charles the Bold of Burgundy, who, however, preferred to continue his struggle against the Swiss. The same year, at Breslau, though hopelessly outnumbered, the strategy of Matthias and their daring heroism enabled the Hungarian army to force Casimir and Wladislas to conclude a truce for four years. This was followed by the definite *Peace of Olmütz* (1478), the chief conditions of which were: Both Matthias and Wladislas could use the title of „King of Bohemia", Wladislas was to retain Bohemia proper, Matthias Moravia, Silesia, and Lansitz; after Matthias's death the Bohemians were to have the option of redeeming the provinces held by him by the payment of a sum of 400,000 florins in gold.

In 1476 Matthias wedded Beatrice, daughter of Ferdinand, King of Neples. Her reception at Székesfehérvár, in the presence of the King of Bosnia, the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria, the ambassadors of Venice, and all the highest dignitaries of the land, gave a unique opportunity for a display of that sumptuous pomp and luxurious magnificence which led a contemporary writer to speak of the castle of Visegrád as „an earthly paradise".

By his marriage with Beatrice, Matthias entered into an intimate connection with Italy. Beatrice endeavoured to persuade her consort to give up his plan of humiliating the Emperor and to devote his whole energy to the expulsion of the Turks. In 1481 Matthias did aid his father-in-law to recover Otranto from the Osmanlis; but he became involved in the local quarrels of the Italian Courts. Venice was his chief adversary: Veglia, the Calais of Hungary, fell into the hands of the Signoria through the treachery of one of the Frangepáns; it was never recovered, because Frederick refused the Hungarian troops permission to pass through his territory. So Matthias

had to content himself with an alliance with Florence and Milan.

His relations with the Papal See became strained, notably because the popes (in particular Sixtus IV.) endeavoured to exercise an influence on the appointment of Hungarian bishops. Matthias repudiated all attempts at interference with his royal prerogatives, and in 1488 he sent troops to assist his father-in-law against the Pope. He supported Ancona in its endeavour to shake off the yoke of Papal suzerainty, and permitted the use by the citizens of the Hungarian flag.

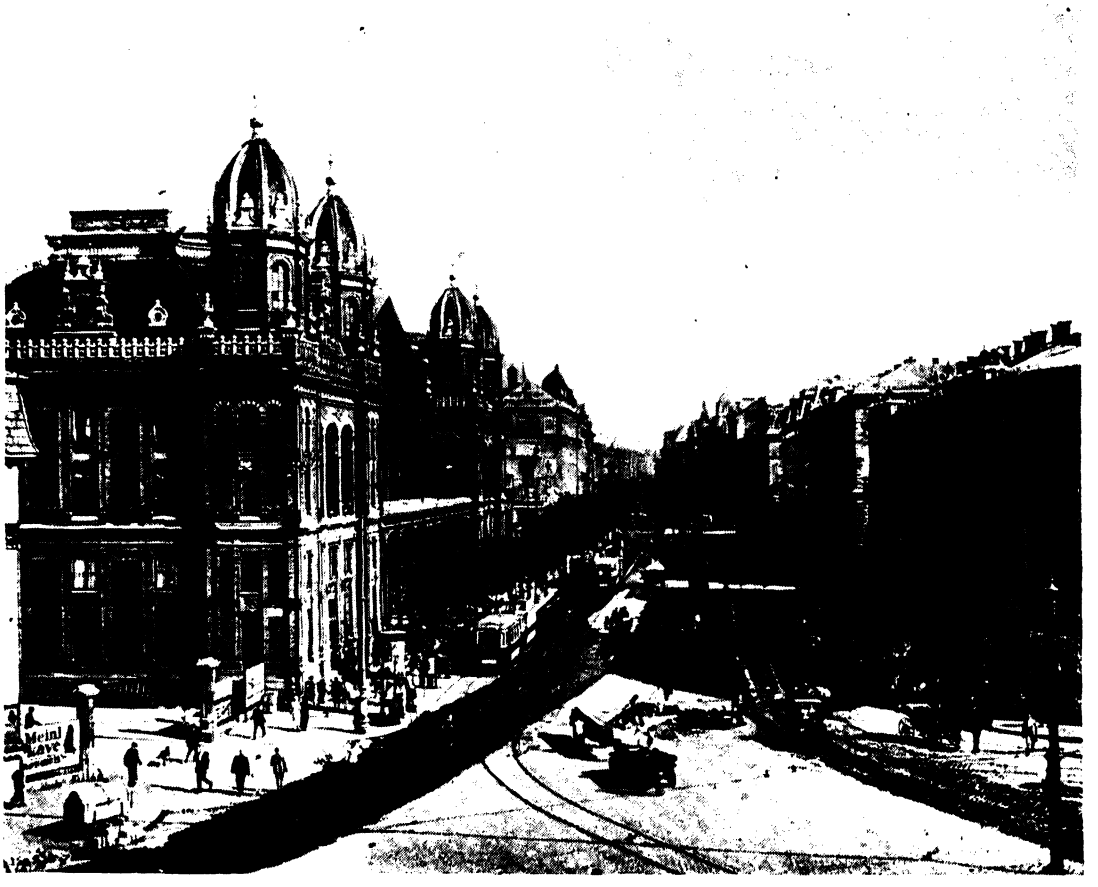
The year of his second marriage (1477), Matthias was engaged in the first of his three campaigns against Frederick. He was accompanied by his consort and his mother, whom he desired as witnesses of the triunph which he regarded as inevitable. No fewer than seventy Austrian fortresses and forty towns were seized, while Matthias himself besieged Vienna, whence Frederick fled to Linz, and then to Gmunden. The Emperor was in terrible straits, both politically and financially; so, when Queen Beatrice and the Pope (Sixtus IV.) intervened on his behalf, he was only too willing to make peace with Matthias. The agreement between the two monarchs was in some respects a recapitulation of that concluded in 1462.

On his return home, Matthias convened Parliament, which exacted a promise that he would not act against the spirit of the constitution, and declared that the taxes voted were to be employed for the war against the Turks.

Matthias had not long to wait for the opportunity of a first definite attempt to carry into effect what had always been his ultimate purpose. There had been continual skirmishing between the Hungarian outposts and Turkish marauders; in 1476 he had himself led an army against the Turkish fortress of Shabatz, which he had reduced by his favourite plan of a blockade, giving clear proofs during the siege of his personal valour and his determination to do the dangerous work himself. Shabatz, on the Save, was a continuous menace to Belgrade and the headquarters of the Turkish marauders who ravaged the neighbouring districts. It was very strongly fortified and difficult of access, its vulnerable points being surrounded by water. Of an evening, the King would take a small boat and row round the walls, amid a hail of bullets and missiles, spying out the weak points of the defence and the dispositions of the garrison. Probably some of the numerous wounds with which his body was convered were received on this occasion. He was absolutely fearless; and his intrepidity, as well as his refusal to allow others to do what he dared not do himself, made him the idol of his soldiers.

But in 1479 a huge Turkish army, under the command of some of the Sultan's best generals, invaded Transylvania. After completing their scheme of ravage and robbery, the various units of the Turkish army united in the beautiful valley of the Maros, determined to annihilate the small Hungarian army assembled under the lead of Stephen Báthory, the waywode of Transylvania, and Paul Kinizsi, the Count of Temes, whom the former had summoned to his aid. The armies met on the famous Field of Bread *(Kenyérmező)*, on October 13, 1479. Neither of the Hungarian generals dared to dream of a crushing victory; but they were both determined to sell their lives dearly. After mass had been said, the Hungarians confessed and prepared to emulate the fate of Leonidas and his heroic comrades. The battle that ensued was one of the bloodiest in Hungarian history. At first the Turks could claim the advantage: the Saxons were driven back, many perishing in the swiftly-flowing waters of the Maros; and even the Székely troops wavered. Báthory himself led his reserve forces into the fray; two horses were shot under him, and he was wounded; and Kinizsi had not yet arrived. But suddently the flare of trumpets and the thunder of horses hoofs announced the coming of the Temesvár army. Like a whirlwind the cavalry, Kinizsi at their head, a huge sword in either hand, dashed down upon the Turks. The gigantic Count of Temes cut a breach for himself and his men through the living barriers, straight to the place where Báthory was struggling against overwhelming odds. His arrival turned the scale: the Turks fled in disorder before the onset of this „superhuman devil", leaving 30,000 dead to prove the crushing character of their defeat. The captives released from their bonds joined the ranks of the victorious Hungarians: and the whole baggage and booty of the Turks fell into the hands of the victors.

The Turks made no further serious efforts to invade or overcome Hungary, du-



Budapest. The West Station. Csiky fotó.

ring the reign of Matthias; the lesson taught them on the Field of Bread had been too severe, and the fear of the son of John Hunyadi was too real: Matthias, too, was busy with his scheme for the conquest of Austria and never carried out his intention of waging an offensive war against the pagan intruders.

The following year (1480) Matthias was again at war with the Emperor. Frederick had failed to fulfil the conditions of the Peace of Gmunden. Matthias became the ally of the Swiss; at home he obtained the money and supplies required by various means; and after a series of successes finally compelled Frederick to sue for peace. But the two monarchs were at war again in 1482. Matthias advanced triumphantly into Austria, seizing the Hungarian fortresses of Köszeg, Kis-Marton, Rohoncz and Fraknó. He concluded a truce (for five years) with the Sultan. Korneuburg fell; and by 1485 Matthias, followed everywhere by the Papal legate, who tried to make peace between the rival sovereigns, was before the gates of Vienna. The city fell: and on June 1, Matthias entered in state at the head of his victorious army. The Austrian Diet took the oath of allegiance to the Hungarian King; while the Hungarian hussars overran Carinthia and penetrated as far as Trieste.

Matthias formally annexed Austria and Styria (and Carinthia) and transferred his Court to Vienna, where, in 1487, Bonfini, the great historian of the Hunyadis, gave lectures before a distinguished audience.

Finally, recognising the futility of his attempt to obtain possession of the imperial crown by force, Matthias made a truce with the Emperor and returned to Buda, where he attended to all his business. He then went back to Vienna, where, on April 6, 1490 (Palm Sunday), he died at the age of forty-seven.

He died without an heir. All his efforts to obtain a recognition of the claims of his natural son, John Corvinus, had been

frustrated by the jealousy of his Queen, Beatrice, and of the magnates.

"King Matthias is dead; justice has fled". This is no merely popular appreciation of a popular figure, but a record of the extraordinary sense of justice which characterised Matthias's actions as a ruler, a statesman, and a man. He hated everything underhand; he despised treachery; and he loathed eavesdropping. He refused to listen to the insinuations of sycophants, and would at all times convince himself of the truth by personal investigation. It was for this purpose that he would go about the country in disguise, inquiring about the sufferings and grievances of the lower classes in order to redress them. He showed his interest in the welfare of the people by taking part himself in their work and compelling his nobles to follow his example.

No wonder the people loved him; no wonder Matthias became the favourite subject of popular tradition and popular anecdote.

But his soldiers loved him too. He was the first monarch in Europe to establish a great standing army. The "Black Army", as his infantry organised originally to meet the Turkish Janissaries (on which they were modelled) was called, was a far more important machine than the "ordnance" cavalry of Charles VII. of France. At one period his army consisted of 148,000 men. Besides infantry, the nucleus of his army, he maintained at his own expense some 20,000 cavalry; and it was during his reign that the Hungarian hussars became famous throughout Europe. He shared his soldiers' hardships, refused to indulge in luxury when his men were fighting, and was always to be seen in the thick of the fray. His popularity with the army was one of the mainstays of his power.

He organised the military system of the country on a modern basis. His "Black Army" and its complements of cavalry and artillery formed, under his supreme command, the first line; the second line was composed of the feudal levies of the nobles, each recruited by counties and placed under the command of a captain appointed by the King; the third line was the „generalis insurrectio" (the fyrd or national militia), which was for home defence only. The Hungarian army became the model for Europe.

Matthias organised a system of *permanent and universal taxation.* The royal revenue had shrunk to 120,000 ducats, in addition to the profit made on coinage and the tolls: the Diet of Buda (1467) did away with the „profit on coinage", setting up in its place the „treasury tax", to be paid by the smaller landowners, the tenants or dependents of the nobles, the Jazygians, Székelys, Saxons, and Cumanians, who shared the privileges of the nobility. For the „thirtieth", royal tolls were substituted. Besides, a supertax (subsidium) of one ducat for each. „session" was to be exacted from tenants.

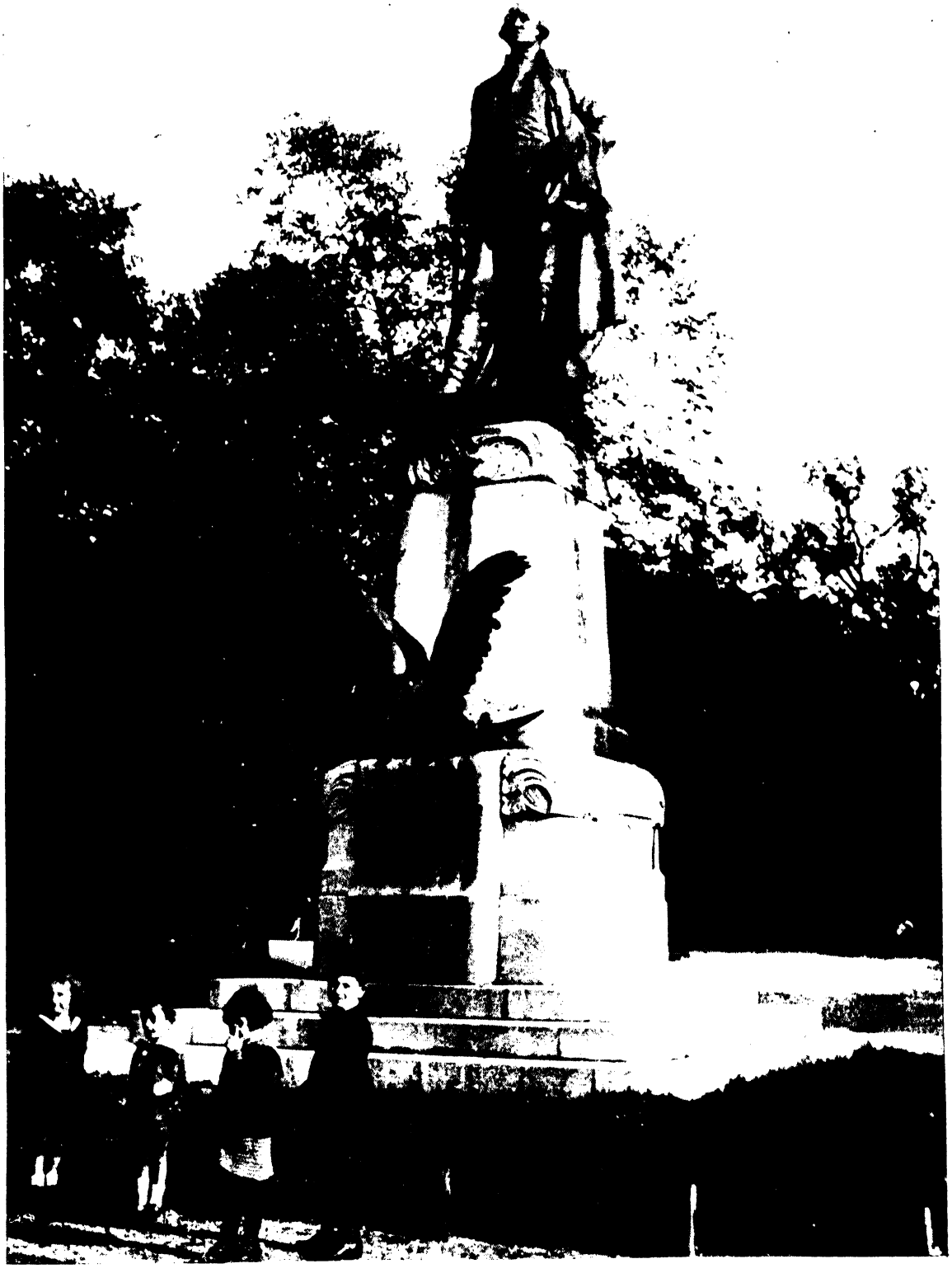
Of course the nobles resisted Matthias's reforms by every means in their power; but the King was not to be thwarted; and the eventually succeeded in persuading the nobility to agree to his proposals.

At the Diet held at Buda in 1486, Matthias succeeded in enlarging the sphere of authority of the Palatine, to which office he appointed one of his generals, *Imre Szapolyai,* hoping thereby to counteract the intrigues of the Queen against his natural son, John Corvinus.

The same Diet (1486) passed laws to regulate the administration of justice. Matthias, in his endeavour to put an end to the club law prevailing in the country, relied chiefly upon the support of the country gentry. He instituted country courts, to sit at fixed periods, the bench to consist of the county lieutenant, four magistrates, elected by the gentry, and ten or twelve representatives of the King. Appeals against sentences of these courts could be made to the central royal court, consisting of the Palatine, the Lord Chief Justice, and the Chancellor.

Other measures restricted the appeal to single combat, regulated the trial of thieves and robbers and murderers, ensured the independence of the magistrates and judges, and enforced the principle that the law was to be the same for both rich and poor.

Matthias extended the limits of the royal prerogatives without in reality overriding the main principles of Hungarian constitutionalism. The Estates obtained a definite right to grant or refuse taxes (the ultimate sources of these taxes being under the control of the county assemblies): but the King reserved to himself the power to appropriate the monies thus voted. Matthias was a typical representative of the Renaissance. Though not consciously ai-



Budapest. The Statue of George Washington in the City Park. Csiky felv.

ming at absolutism, he was more absolute in fact than even Louis XI. of France or Ferdinand of Spain. Trusting in Matthias's wisdom and justice, and in his innate reverence for constitutional form, the Estates, who in 1471 had declared that all illegal decrees of the King were to be ignored, actually begged the King (1472) not to convene an assembly for at least two years. It was a tribute to the ruler's honesty and the power of his personality unparalleled in history. Only one voice, that of the monk of Temesvár, Pelbárt, was raised in protest: but the protest was lost in the universal faith in the monarch's judgment.

Matthias's love of display, the magnificence of the life at his Court, was another important asset in his favour. The nation could not but feel flattered when they saw the palaces at Buda and Visegrád crowded with ambassadors of foreign states, all enchanted and surprised at the magnificence and wealth with which they were surrounded. The personal prestige of the King made him of importance as an ally and friend: the envoys of Ivan III., the King of France, and the Pope rubbed shoulders in the gorgeous halls of Buda and Visegrád with dark-skinned delegates from Armenia and Persia. These palaces, with their hanging gardens, marble fountains, superb frescoes, the painting of which was supervised by Fra Lippo Lippi, and statues, were regarded by all Hungarians with pride as the „centre of the universe". However, in dealing with his subjects, Matthias maintained a simplicity and a lack of formality that was in striking contrast to the pomp and ceremony characterising his reception of foreign ambassadors. The doors of his palace were at all times open for the free entry of petitioners, and his person was not guarded by any retinue of knights, for, as he himself said, „a king who rules justly and lawfully need not fear poison or the assassin's dagger".

His famous Corvin Library at Buda, with its 10,000 volumes, was the envy of Europe. He knew the exact position of all the books. The celebrated Corvin Codexes, some adorned with illustrations by Attavante, fell into the hands of the Turks in 1526.

Matthias founded a printing-press at Buda: the first book printed in Hungary (1473) was the „Chronicles of Buda".

Nor was the cause of education neglected. The Hungary of Matthias could boast of numerous classical scholars, the most famous being the Primate, John Vitéz, and his nephew, Janus Pannonius (John Csezmiczei), the bishop of Pécs, who suffered exile for his share in the insurrection of 1471. Matthias encouraged foreign scholars to settle in the country, the chief among them being Bonfini, Galeotti, the author of „De Matthiae Corvini egregie, sapienter et jocose dictis et factis", mentioned by Scott in „Quentin Durward", and Ranzanus. Like Lorenzo the Magnificent or Alfonso of Aragon, „Matthias was essentially a man of the Renaissance". Like the great Hungarian scholar, Janus Pannonius, Matthias was an ardent admirer of classical culture: and it was in the spirit of the lover of Livy and Curtius, of Plato and Homer, that he founded the „Academia Istropolitana" (the University of Pozsony), the University College of Buda, and encouraged the chapters and towns to establish elementary and grammar schools. After the death of Matthias the University of Pozsony was closed, and the professors went to Vienna. One of its most famous professors was *Regiomontanus*, the greatest astronomer of the age, who anticipated Galileo.

As a patron of the Renaissance, Matthias encouraged the development of literature. The King was proud to be a Hungarian; his classical leanings did not lead to a neglect of the vernacular. We know that, in 1446, Hungarian had been used in Parliament (though Latin was the official tongue): and the King loved to employ his native language on all occasions. There are still extant several poems in Hungarian, which prove that the vernacular was regarded as an established literary medium. The most famous is the „Legend of St Catherine", perhaps the work of Pelbárt, the monk of Temesvár, an epic poem combining the mystic obscurity of the Middle Ages with the logical clearness and the subjectivity of the Renaissance. Then there are the poems dealing with the glorious figure of the King — the „Fight at Shabatz" and the „Memorial Verses on the Death of King Matthias". We have the „Song of Pannonia", and a mass of religious poems of various types.

The Hungarian Latin literature of the period is represented by the poet, Janus Pannonius, and the scholars who flocked to Matthias's Court.

A lover of justice and equity, a man who loved to roam about the country in disguise and watch the life of his people at its source, a patron of art, literature, and scholarship, a statesman endowed with the fire of the fifteenth century, with the gift of a calculating and convincing diplomacy, with the charm of a great personality and the ability to discriminate in the use of threats or bribes, a soldier with all the qualities that compel admiration and disarm defiance, able to conduct successful invincible strategy, a man impatient of opposition yet conciliatory when conciliation could help him to enforce his will, gifted alike with the power to endure the hardships of the march and the battlefield and with the faculty of emulating the sumptuous luxury of an Oriental potentate-Matthias I. of Hungary will remain for all time one of the greatest sons of the Renaissance, the King who brought his country to the highest pinnacle of culture and prestige, whose eminence was at once his country's glory and her misfortune whose memory is cherished to-day as that of Hungary's greatest monarch. His figure has inspired some of Hungary's most eminent poets; and the pious gratitude of the Hungarian people will outlive the storms of centuries to come, as it has outlived the stress of Turkish occupation and the attempts of outside elements to shatter the foundations of the edifice he created – a national Hungarian state.

CHAPTER XII.

CATASTROPHE.

We now enter upon a period of national decline, culminating in the disaster of Mohács and the extinction of Hungary as a national state independent of outside influences. „Thirty-six years, a few hours in the life of a nation, were sufficient to bring Hungary from the death of Matthias to the cemetery of Mohács".

The death of Matthias left Hungary without a legitimate successor to the throne. There were claimants enough and to spare: *Maximilian*, the son of Frederick III., who based his claims on the treaty of 1462; *Wladislas*, King of Bohemia; his brother, the Polish prince, *John Albert; Stephen Szapolyai*, the Governor of Vienna; and *John Corvinus*. Matthias's natural son.

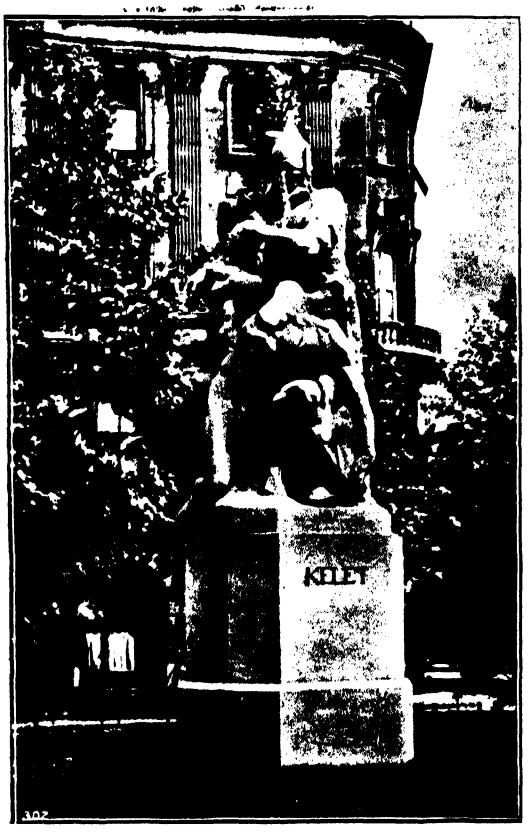
The claims of the last were perhaps the strongest; and, had he possessed the energy to exploit the popularity of his father's name and to support his claims by an immediate armed intervention, he would no doubt have been elected. But he delayed until it was too late; his army was routed and scattered by Paul Kinizsi and Stephen Báthory; the Holy Crown was taken from him: and the Assembly of Rákos unwisely elected *Wladislas II.* (1490—1516).

The rule of Matthias had been unfortunate for his country in that the need for institutions was rendered unnecessary by the strength of his personality and his energy in all departments of national life; but, as he was followed by a weakling, a mere puppet in the hands of his powerful nobles, this lack of institutions proved fatal to the very existence of the State. The hand that manipulated and controlled the intricate and delicate machinery of State life was gone; its place was taken by a multitude of wire-pullers, all pulling in different directions: the machinery refused to work.

The widowed Queen, Beatrice, was conciliated by the prospect of becoming Wladislas's consort. The other claimants were soon disposed of.

But the removal of danger from without was merely the signal for the beginning of troubles within. Wladislas was a man without energy or a will of his own, in fact, a man after the nobles' own heart. He was afraid to act, for his one anxiety was to secure his own well-being; he hated and feared the nobles, but he dared not oppose their will. Incapable, indolent, self-seeking, he cared nothing for national causes, and allowed himself to be led by his courtiers and the dictates of his own convenience.

The Diet of Buda (1492), the majority of which consisted of representatives of the gentry, indignantly repudiated the terms of the Treaty of Pozsony made with the Em-



Budapest. Symbolic statues of the severed parts of the country: East. Csiky fotó.

peror Maximilian, which continued the family compact of 1462. But, by corruption and persuasion, the King's followers obtained the signatures of a certain number of deputies and the Treaty was ratified and provided with seals. In return for this good service Wladislas agreed to the election of a Palatine in the person of Stephen Szapolyai.

Wladislas was poor as well as incapable. So the power came more and more into the hands of the wealthy magnates, who controlled the Diet by threats and corruption, and formed the majority of the executive body, the royal council. The gentry were determined to fight against the influence of the magnates, endeavouring to gain the predominance in the Diet by numbers and to seize the executive power. They began, under the leadership of *John Szapolyai*, the son of the Palatine, to form the nucleus of the „national party", which took a firm stand against the corruption of the Court officials, the tyranny of the magnates and prelates, and the German proclivities of Wladislas's followers. In 1504 the Diet passed a law to the effect that taxes could be voted by the national assembly only.

John Szapolyai desired to increase his influence and his chances of succession to the throne by an alliance with the royal house; so he claimed the hand of Wladislas's daughter, Anna; the King, however, hastened to betroth her to Ferdinand, the grandson of Maximilian, and secretly renewed the terms of the Treaty of 1491. Hereupon the Diet held at Rákos (1505) passed a resolution that, as the terrible sufferings of Hungary were due to their foreign kings, „in the case of Wladislas dying without male heir, *the Estates will never elect a foreign prince as their king*".

Maximilian was furious: Wladislas, frightened to death, once more secretly renewed the Treaty of 1491 and offered to betroth any son that might be born to him to Mary, Ferdinand's sister. But Maximilian seized Pozsony and Sopron, which he held as pledges of Wladislas's good faith. The same year (1506) Louis was born: and the betrothal was made in 1515.

The Diet of 1508, which gave its consent to the coronation of the infant prince, renewed the prohibitions relating to foreign councillors and made Wladislas take an oath to respect the privileges of the nation and its constitution and to ensure a similar respect on the part of his son.

Luckily for Hungary, the commanders who had received their training under Matthias, such as Paul Kinizsi, were still available to keep the Turks in check; but even Kinizsi was unable to devote all his energies to this national cause, for the „Black Army", no longer receiving its pay, was dispersed and kept the whole country in a constant state of terror, pillaging and robbing. Kinizsi finally overcame these bands of marauders. But the country was threatened by a still more formidable danger. The peasantry in Hungary, as everywhere in Europe, were dissatisfied with their lot. They were groaning under the tyranny of their feudal masters; but they had heard the voice of the new world, and desired to have a share in the benefits of the Renaissance. The opportunity they desired of giving forcible expression to their dissatisfaction with the existing order of things, came quite unexpectedly. Thomas Bakócz, the all-powerful Primate of the day, persuaded the Pope to issue a manifesto (Bull) proclaiming a crusade

against the Turks. The magnates and gentry were too busy with their private quarrels to answer the call; at the meeting of the royal council the Chancellor, Stephen Telegdi, uttered a solemn warning of the danger of putting military power in the hands of the peasants: but the Primate carried the day. *George Dózsa*, a good soldier who became a mere demagogue, was appointed commander of the „*Kurucz*" army; he incited the peasant warriors to exact retribution for the wrongs they had suffered, to turn their arms, not against the nation's foe, but against their personal enemies their masters. A terrible attack was made on the lives and property of the nobles. The Primate's threat of excommunication had no effect. Dózsa himself was intoxicated by the sudden greatness he had achieved: he believed his army to be invincible. He defeated the levies of the bishops, Stephen Báthori and Nicholas Csáki, whom he had roasted alive: the same fate befell Stephen Telegdi. Dózsa now regarded himself as King of the country; but the nobility which had failed to unite against the Turk now joined hands to overthrow the power which threatened to annihilate them as a class. The „Kurucz" army was defeated before the walls of Temesvár by the noble levies under the command of *John Szapolyai*. Dózsa was taken prisoner and put to death with a refinement of cruelty worthy of the worst traditions of the Spanish Inquisition. The Diet of 1514 passed measures of retaliation which reduced the peasantry of Hungary to a condition far worse than anything they had experienced before.

The same year (1514) saw the codification of the laws of Hungary in the *Tripartitum* (or „Hármas Könyv"), the work of *Stephen Werbőczi*. This is the prime authority, even to-day, for the principles of Hungarian equity. It established the principle that *all* members of the nobility are *equal*, and possess the same rights and privileges, thus belying the claim of the magnates and prelates to form a distinct class. The only difference recognised by the law was one of *personal merit*. The source of the privileges of the nobility was declared to be the superiority of their intellectual and physical qualities, their military services to the country, their titles, and their estates. These privileges made them supreme over the peasants, who could only claim compensation for their

Budapest. Symbolic statues of the severed parts of the country: North. Csiky felv.

labour and had no right to hold property. The nobles had only one master — the King; who, however, could not illegally either confiscate their property or restrict their personal liberty. They were exempt from the payment of *all* forms of taxes except the so-called „blood tax": *i. e.* they were all equally liable to military service in the defence of the country. At the same time the *Tripartitum* codified the definite restriction of the Pope's authority in matters concerning the Church of Hungary, and limited the powers of the prelates in their dealings with lay nobles.

Wladislas died on March 15, 1516.

Louis II., the son of Wladislas, became King and reigned from 1516 to 1526. He was under the control of a national council;; but the real authority was in the hands of there men, *George, Margrave of Brandenburg*, the King's uncle and guardian, *Thomas Bakócz and John Bornemisza*.

Louis took no interest in the government of the country; as indifferent to the

welfare of his people as his father had been, he gave himself over to the life of pleasure and excitement which was so much to the taste of his immediate *entourage*. The influence of his famous tutor, Jacob Piso, the Transylvanian poet, was completely ousted by that of his debauched uncle and his other favourites. Yet the royal coffers were empty: not even the debasement of the coinage was able to procure him the cost of a journey to Prague, the capital of his other kingdom; and the poverty characterising his reception of foreign embassies was pitiful to behold. To meet the deficiencies the Treasury (in 1525) made a contract with the Fugger family, the Rothschilds of the sixteenth century in Hungary, granting them mortgages on the King's estates and a monopoly of the mines of the country. The Court of the Primate far exceeded in splendour that of the King; and many a noble was able to build up an immense fortune out of the poverty of the sovereign and his indifference to everything except the satisfaction of his own craving for pleasure and amusement.

The struggle between magnates and gentry was continued without a break. After 1517 the influence of Luther's protests threatened to introduce a new element into the struggle: the German Court of the Queen (Archduchess Maria of Austria), whose entry in 1521, accompanied by a host of foreign favourites, widened the breach between the two halves of the nobility, and the German towns showed a tendency to embrace Protestanism, which at first met with strenuous resistance on the part of the gentry. In 1519 the members of the Diet had come to blows; the gentry had attempted to seize the King; but the magnates had prevented the *coup*, and Stephen Báthory, the inveterate enemy of John Szapolyai, had been elected Palatine. The latter, instigated by Bakócz and other magnates, actually became reconciled to Szabolyai in the endeavour to break the power of the gentry. But the gentry refused to be intimidated; they held Diets of their own at Tolna and Bács, while the magnates were deliberating at Buda.

At the Diet held on the Field of Rákos in 1525, the gentry appeared *en masse*. They demanded the head of the man responsible for so much of the financial weakness of the State — the Treasurer Imre Szerencs. Finding that their protests were of no avail, and that their grievances had no hope of redress from a puppet King and his evil advisers, the gentry — 14,000 in all — repaired to Hatvan to deliberate. The King was alarmed, and acting on the advice of the Chancellor, Szalkai, he went to Hatvan to confer with the gentry and their leader, Werbőczy. Louis hastened to comply with their demands: and Werbőczy was elected to the office of Palatine.

Meanwhile the magnates gathered strength for the coming final struggle — with the gentry. They formed a secret association, the „Kalandos" or „Calendea Society." The vanity of John Szapolyai was roused; he was cajoled into believing that, after the King's death, Maria would offer him her hand in marriage. Money was obtained by once more selling the monopoly of the mines to the Fugger family; and part of the money was employed to conciliate the King and Queen. The Diet was convened to meet at Buda (1526). Werbőczi, forsaken by Szapolyai and many lesser nobles whose convictions had been

Budapest. Symbolic statues of the severed parts of the country: South. Csiky fotó.

tampered with by the agents of the „Kalandos Society", resigned the office of Palatine and withdrew to Transylvania, to escape the vengeance of his infuriated political opponents. Báthori was re-elected in his place; the resolutions of the Diet of Hatvan were rescinded; the new Palatine declared, with a resignation which is almost pathetic in its apparent self-belief, that the magnates „were not the cause of the country's ruin"; Werbőczi was summoned to appear before the King to answer the charge of *treason;* the magnates and prelates were commanded to collect soldiers, the gentry to appear in person, those who had vassals to bring them all to the royal camp; taxes were voted, but never levied; the gentry and the magnates stood face to face; bitter faction strife tore the country in twain; there was no one to lead the nation — for the King, despite the power conferred on him by Parliament, deprecated the responsibility which the petty squabbles of the nobles prevented the nation from entrusting to either of the strong individuals who were fighting between themselves for the political supremacy. In the midst of all this corruption and confusion the Turks were advancing on Hungary, with a decisive if terrible solution of her problems.

Budapest. Symbolic statues of the severed parts of the country: West. Csily fotó.

In 1520 *Soliman the Magnificent* had succeeded Selim the conqueror of the East. He immediately set about to avenge the insult offered to Selim's ambassadors by Louis, who had had them arrested and thrown into prison. His armies took Shabatz and Belgrade: their fall was followed quickly by that of Zimony, Zalánkemén, and Titel. Luckily for Hungary, Soliman was then summoned east (1521) to lay siege to Rhodes and put down an insurrection in Persia. However, as we have seen, Hungary failed to take advantage of the favourable turn of events; and the alliance between Francis I. of France and Soliman for the overthrow of Charles V. led the Sultan to think once more of the invasion of Hungary. That country was in the way of a Turkish attack on the House of Habsburg; and the Emperor's brother, Ferdinand, was allied by marriage to the Hungarian King.

Hungary had no funds to meet the crisis and could get no help from Europe: only the Pope sent money. The „bloody sword" was sent round the country; but the nobility refused to move. Neither Szapolyai, nor Báthori, nor Werbőczi could be trusted with the supreme command. So the royal army, such as it was, was placed under the command of *Paul Tomori,* the heroic but not brilliant Archbishop of Kalocsa. He did his best with the small force at his disposal (1500 men); but though joined by Valentine Török and a few other nobles with a reputation for military prowess, they could not fight without soldiers. Pétervárad fell. At last Louis moved, proceeding from Buda to the camp at Tolna. Many of his advisers urged him to retreat, and to wait at Buda for the army of Szapolyai and the aid promised by Bohemia and Germany. But Tomori decided in favour of an immediate engagement: and the King supported his decision. So, on August 29, 1526, on the field of *Mohács,* the flower of the Hungarian nobility joined issue with the formidable army commanded by the Grand Vizier, Ibrahim Pasha. The Hungarians fought with the determination of despair; but they could not overcome the superiority of numbers (three to one); and

they had no leader capable of meeting the strategy of the Turkish commanders. Practically all of twenty-four thousand men whom Hungary had mustered at last were killed; only a hundred or two escaped; and the King himself, while fleeing from the battle-field, was drowned in the waters of the Csele.

John Szapolyai received the news of the rout at Szeged, where he was still procrastinating.

There was no one to stay the triumphal march of the victorious Turks to the Hungarian capital. Soliman entered Buda on September 10. He proceeded there with caution, for he could not believe he had destroyed the national army. The Queen fled first to Pozsony, and then to Vienna.

The Turk had triumphed; the Hungarian nation had fallen. But the causes of the fall lay with that nation itself and with the unfavourable constellation in foreign politics. The nobles had been wasting their energies on petty squabbles for political predominance; the burgesses had not yet come to recognise their share in the national cause; while the peasantry looked upon the disaster as the just punishment of their oppressive masters. No class in the country was conscious of any common national aims. The struggle for national liberty had been degraded into one for individual privilege: the factions had only ceased to wrangle when it was too late. While the guns of the Turks were thundering at the gates of Belgrade and Pétervárad, the nobles' castles were the scenes of riotous living and unseemly debauchery: the manners of the country had declined into immorality, and the licence of a corrupt Court only served to encourage that decline. Anarchy, violence, corruption, place-hunting — these were the vices that had converted the Hungary of Matthias, in thirty-six short years, into a country of which the Venetian ambassador could write that it was the home of open friendship and secret hatred, where no justice could be obtained, where people were too proud to obey, too indolent to govern or administrate, where advice was unwelcome, and where intrigue reigned supreme.

And, as the crowning misfortune, the House of Habsburg became the objective of the Sultan's wrath and his lust for empire; Hungary alone stood in the way of Soliman's fulfilment of the terms of his alliance with Francis I. of France: and the internal dissensions of the country furnished him with the opportunity he desired. Catastrophe had come, but the tremendous recuperative power of the Hungarian nation, passing through the ordeals of a struggle over three hundred years in duration, enabled it to rise almost unscathed from the ashes of its past, and to crown the heroic struggle against all attempts at absolutism and absorption with the triumphs of 1848 and 1867.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE AGE OF TURKISH OCCUPATION.

The defeat at Mohács was the most important event in the later history of Hungary. The old trouble of disunion once more gained a footing in the country: one half of the nobles, desiring a national king, turned to the powerful champion of the gentry, John Szapolyai (Zápolya) ; the other half, regarding the safety of the kingdom as of more importance than national pride and, not unnaturally, expecting effectual aid from the Emperor (Charles V.), turned to the Austrian House of Habsburg.

The death of the King and the flower of the Hungarian nobility, the fear of Turkish encroachment, and the belief in the ability and willingness of the imperial House to save Hungary in order to save the Empire and, incidentally, Christendom, made the task of the dowager Queen Mary and of her supporters a comparatively easy one. Her brother, Archduke Ferdinand, at first based his claims on the purely family contracts of 1491 and 1515; but, encouraged by the success of her scheme, Mary persuaded him to seek election. Her advice was accepted; and the rest was left in the hands of the „German Party", which now included such men as Báthori (the Palatine) and Thomas Nádasdy.

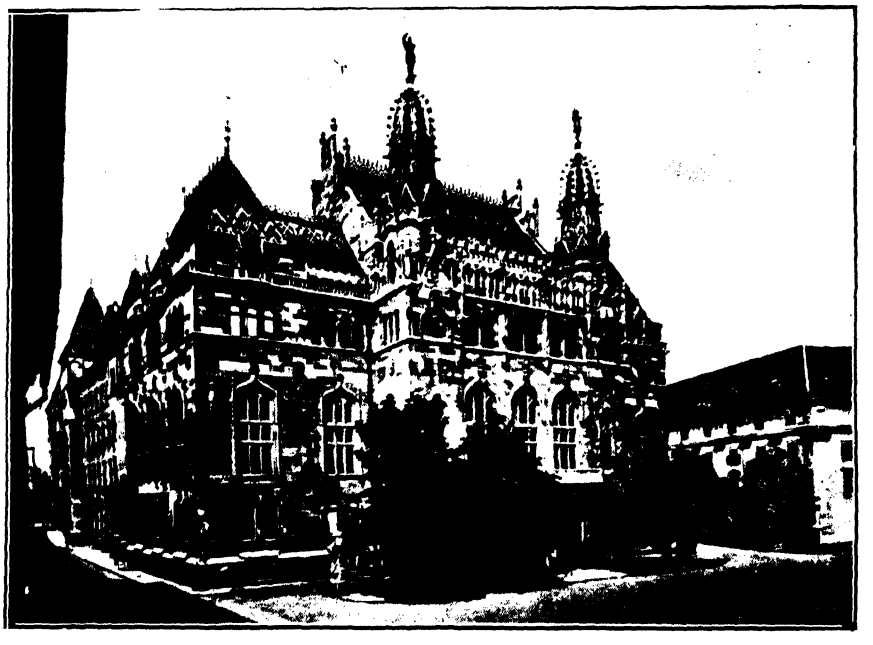
There were two assemblies convened for

the purpose of electing a successor to the unfortunate Louis II. The first was held at Székesfehérvár, where *John Szapolyai* (1526—40), was, on the proposal of Werbőczi, elected King: the second met at Pozsony and offered the throne to *Ferdinand* (1526—64), whose title was acknowledged by the estates of Croatia and Transylvania.

The object of both parties was the same, namely, the defence of Hungary against the Ottomans. But, while the „National Party" looked to a national king to unite the various factions in a common struggle against a common eneny, the „German Party" hoped that a foreign sovereign would add to the resources of the country those of its powerful neighbour. Neither expectation was realised: what really happened was that domestic dissensions became more acute, and the country which had once played a predominant part in the councils of Europe, was gradually reduced to the position of a secondary and subordinate state, for a century and a half the bone of contention between Turk and German, and subsequently the victim of a struggle against the evils of political and religious oppression and of German imperialism.

Hungary suffered from the natural consequences of all the conflicting tendencies of the sixteenth century — the antagonism between Rome and Protestantism, the conflict between the House of Habsburg and France, and the struggle between Christendom and the Turks.

Hungary enjoyed only the disadvantages of the alliance with the Empire; she became the scene of the Turkish attacks on the House of Austria. John, however, proved incapable of utilising the disaffection of the country to secure the supremacy. He had no initiative or enthusiasm. The results of his indifference became evident in 1527, when Ferdinand's commanders defeated him in battle after battle, and forced him to retire to Transylvania. Ferdinand entered Buda in triumph, then proceeded to Székesfehérvár, where he and his consort were duly crowned.



Budapest. Royal Hungarian Ministry of Finance. Csiky fotó.

After the rout at Mohács (1526), the Sultan (Soliman) had occupied the capital, Buda, which, together with Pest, he practically razed to the ground. He then set his troops to ravage the country. Nearly 200,000 Hungarians were either killed or taken into captivity. Towns and villages were burned down, and the smiling fields converted into deserts. Here and there garrisons held their own gallantly against overwhelming odds, until the last man had been put to the sword.

However, Soliman did not contemplate the occupation of Hungary just yet. He withdrew his hosts, leaving garrisons only in the border fortresses, as a preliminary to a future conquest.

In 1528, after disastrous defeats at Mezőkeresztes (county of Borsod) and Szinna (to the S. of Kassa), John was compelled to fly for refuge to Poland. After weighing the matter well he decided to apply for help to the Sultan. To-day, this step looks like an act of treachery to the Christian cause: but we must not forget that Christendom had failed to do its duty, that France sought the alliance of Turkey against the Emperor, and that John regarded the security of his country's independence as at least as urgent a national necessity as the expulsion of the Turks. It was not his personal ambition so much as his anxiety for the nation's welfare that prompted him, in 1528, to send Jerome Laszki as his ambassador to Constantinople. Laszki refused the demand for tribute and finally prevailed on the Sultan to act as the „protector" of King John and to undertake to assist him to liberate Hungary from the foreigner.

Not long after, Ferdinand sent an embassy to Constantinople, demanding the surrender of the frontier fortresses of Hungary (Belgrade, Shabatz, etc). Soliman replied that he would be there himself and surrender them in person. No one could misunderstand the Sultan's meaning; so, when, in September, John again entered Hungary, the bulk of the nation rallied to his standard. Ferdinand had already fled the country; his soliders were too busy with marauding expeditions to be of much use against the Turks; and John had the whole-hearted support of one of the greatest diplomats of the age—the monk, *George Martinuzzi*. His generals defeated the Austrian armies at *Sárospatak* (September 25, 1528); and almost the whole country hastened to welcome him as their liege lord.

Soliman entered Hungary in August 1529. The two monarchs met at *Mohács* (August 19): but the attitude of the Sultan was so haughty and overbearing that many a good patriot was compelled to regard the meeting as a second humiliation of Hungary on the same spot.

Consternation gave place to indignation, when (September 8), after a feeble resistance on the part of its Austrian defenders, Buda was taken by Soliman and given to John as a fief.

The Sultan then proceeded to Vienna, hoping to seize the Austrian capital and subsequently to overrun the Empire. His real purpose was now evident: but John did not dare to thwart it. However, Pozsony, whose garrison was commanded by John Szalay, kept the Turks at bay; and the heroic defence of Vienna by Nicholas Salm compelled Soliman to retire to his own country.

In the autumn of the following year (1530), Ferdinand, who realised that his hold over Hungary must be weak unless he could recover Buda, sent a large army under Rogendorf to take that fortress. John was again in Poland: but his gallant commander, Gritti, aided by the heroism of the citizens and the accession of Turkish auxiliaries, defeated all attempts of the imperial troops to capture Buda; and this undertaking was regarded by the Sultan as an insult. So, in 1532, Soliman again entered Hungary with a large army, bent upon humiliating Austria and the Emperor. Ferdinand sent an embassy, offering to pay tribute; but the Sultan refused the ambassador an audience, and proceeded once more towards Vienna. Again a Hungarian fortress, *Kőszeg*, commanded by the heroic Nicholas Jurishitch, saved the Austrian capital. Soliman had to content himself with ravaging the neighbouring districts: and he returned home without having accomplished anything.

The treachery of the ambitious Italian Gritti, who now entered the service of the Sultan, and the feeling that the Turk was a common danger, added to the anarchy prevailing in the country, urged upon the patriotic nobles the necessity for an understanding between the rival kings. When, in 1537 (October 9), the army sent by Ferdinand to relieve Croatia and Slavonia was annihilated at Gorján (near Diákovár), the time seemed ripe for a reconciliation. The result was the *Peace of Nagyvárad* (February 24, 1538), by which it was agreed that both John and Ferdinand should continue to use the title of king and that each should retain that part of the country already in his possession. *John's* share included Buda, all Hungary east of the capital, and Transylvania; *Ferdinand* took the W. half, with Pozsony as his capital, Croatia and Slavonia. If John died without heir, the whole country was to revert to Ferdi-

Budapest. Baross Square. *Csiky foto.*

nand: if he had a son, that son should not be King, but should receive the (Szapolyai) family estates and the title of Prince (Duke) of Szepes; in the case of the death of the direct (male) successors of both Ferdinand and Charles V., the crown was to pass to John and his heirs.

The Peace was kept secret and did not hold for long. When in February 1539 John married the daughter of the King of Poland, Ferdinand was alarmed at the possibility of a rival claimant to the Hungarian throne. He encouraged an insurrection against John in Transylvania (1540). The breach between the two monarchs was complete. During his campaign against the insurgents, a son was born to John at Buda (July 7); but he himself died on July 21, leaving his widow and infant son to the care of Martinuzzi and imploring his adherents to look to Constantinople for help and to mistrust the promises of Austria.

He was the last King of Hungary who had no other dominions. His kindness, goodness of heart and condescension are proverbial; and for his alliance with the Turks, it may be said that he was faced with two evils; and he chose what he honestly believed to be the lesser.

The Szapolyai party was divided against itself. One half desired to fulfil the conditions of the Peace of Nagyvárad and to hand over the country to Ferdinand: the other half feared the vengeance of Soliman and wished for a national king under the Sultan's suzerainty. Martinuzzi at first hesitated between the fulfilment of his master's death-bed injunctions and the prospect of a united Hungary; but at last the dictates of past experience urged him to adopt the the former course. The infant son of the late King, John Sigismund, was elected King of Hungary, and the Queen-Mother Isabella was to act as Regent during his minority, in conjunction with Martinuzzi, Peter Petrovitch, and Valentine Török.

The Sultan notified his approval of the election and refused to listen to the arguments of Ferdinand's ambassadors, who came to claim Hungary for their master. Hereupon Ferdinand attempted to make a bargain with Isabella; but Martinuzzi was on his guard, and the endeavours of Rogendorf to seize Buda were frustrated.

The arrival before Buda of Mohammed Pasha and Valentine Török, and the news of the approach of Soliman himself (July 1541), compelled Rogendorf to retire to Pest, where his army was practically annihilated by the combined forces of Hungarians and Turks.

On August 26, Soliman arrived before Buda and requested that the young King should be sent to his camp. The Queen-Mother entrusted her son to the care of Valentine Török, who took him to the Sultan's tent. While Soliman was playing with the infant King, his Janissaries entered the fortress — „merely to have a look round"; they ended by disarming the garrison and declaring Buda the possession of the Sultan. It was August 29, the anniversary of the rout of Mohács. The Turks had come to stay: it was probably by design that they chose this day for the third humiliation of Hungary.

Buda became the capital of the Hungarian dominions of the Padishah; Isabella took her son to Transylvania, and that province became an independent principality, playing for 170 years an all-important part in the political and religious history of Hungary and of Europe.

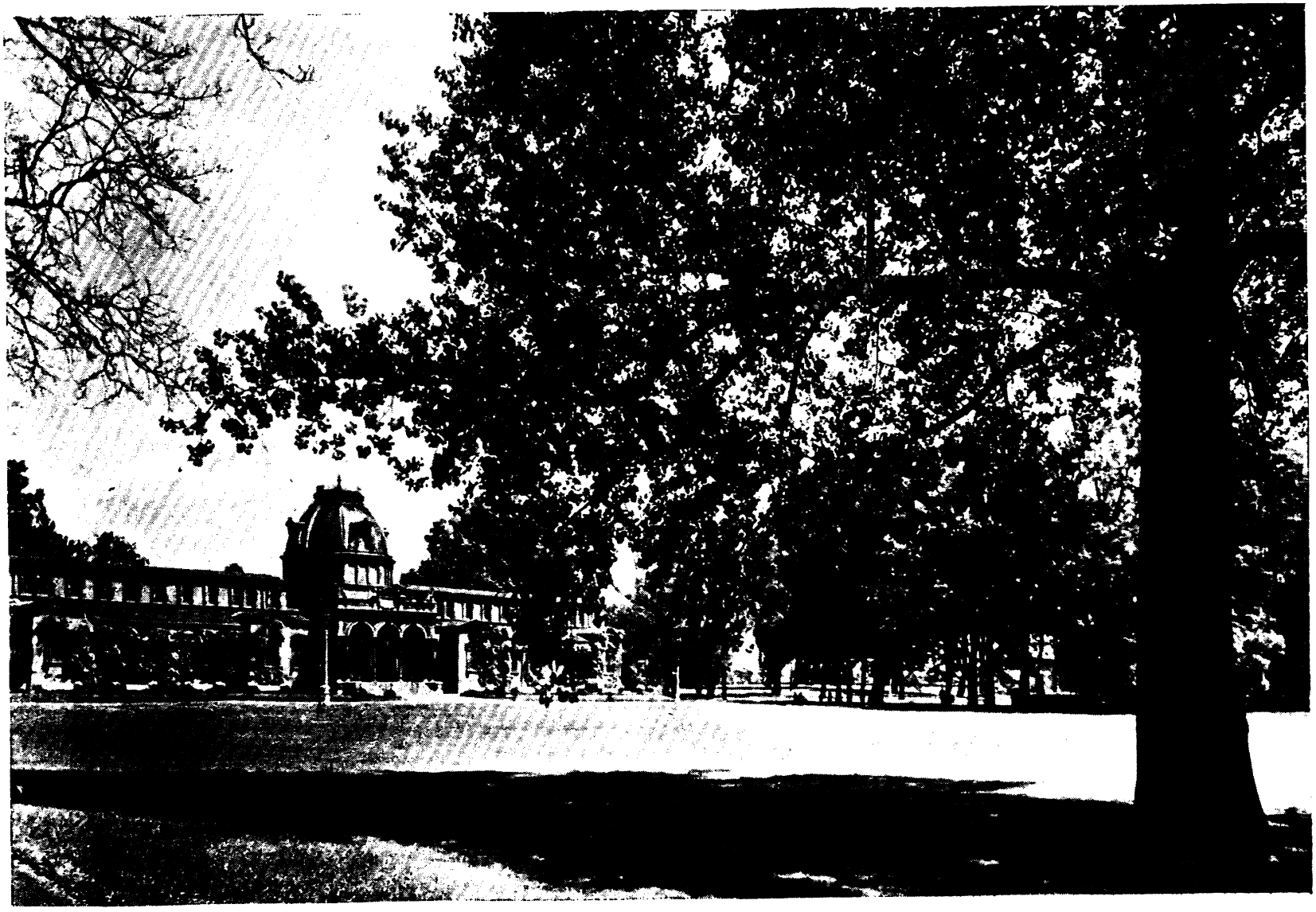
Ferdinand was now „King of Hungary": but the Sultan, who in September left for Constantinople, taking some of the leading Hungarians as hostages, claimed all the most fertile districts of the country for his own.

The seizure of Buda by the Turks alarmed the whole of Hungary, and even succeeded in arousing the slumbering conscience of Christendon. Even the Emperor saw that he must come to the assistance of Hungary — to save the Empire. Martinuzzi himself began to doubt the wisdom of the Turkish alliance, the first „benefit" accruing from which had been the treacherous occupation by the Sultan of the capital and the wealthiest part of the country, and determined to give the German alliance another chance. He acknowledged the claims of Ferdinand to Hungary and Transylvania; and Ferdinand prevailed on the Estates of the German Empire to agree to defray the costs of a vast undertaking for the liberation of Hungary. But the inefficiency of the „common" army, the incapacity of its commander (Joachim, Marquis of Brandenburg), and the lack of money led to complete failure. Martinuzzi lost his confidence in the Germans and resolved to depend on his own resources: he broke with Ferdinand; and the Union of Torda (1542) laid the foundations of the united independent Principality of Transylvania, the constitution of which was finally settled by the Diet (of Torda) of 1544.

Soliman, to punish the „insolent" attempt of Joachim to seize his capital, early in 1543 entered Hungary again at the head of an army of 200,000 picked warriors. After obtaining possession of Siklós, Pécs, Esztergom, Tata, and Székesfehérvár, the Sultan left the completion of the work of conquest to his pashas, who, despite the heroic resistance of the Hungarian garrisons, seized the most important fortresses in quick succession, and divided the conquered territory into senjeks.

The Diet of 1545 protested against the wanton indifference and criminal inability of the King: but he was either unwilling or unable to come to their assistance. The disaffection of the country due to the thinly disguised or open attempts at centralisation and the absorption of Hungary as a province of Germany, grew to such dimensions that, in 1547, taking advantage of the Sultan's expedition against Persia, Ferdinand concluded a truce for five years with the Porte. This truce, which definitively recorded the division of Hungary into three parts, provided that Ferdinand should retain, as King of Hungary, those parts of the country (not quite thirty-five counties) and of Croatia and Slavonia which were then in his possession, that in return he should pay an annual tribute of 30,000 ducats.

The same year (1547) Ferdinand summoned the Diet to meet at Nagyszombat, to record its approval of the terms of the truce. The approval was given reluctantly enough; but there were grievances, too, in the rule of this absentee King, to be repaired; and the Diet which acknowledged the claims of *Ferdinand's heirs and successors* to the throne of Hungary might well have expected redress. But the remedy was worse than the disease. During his twenty-eight years' reign Parliament was conve-



Budapest. St. Margaret Island. Baths.

ned twenty-four times: for without the consent of the Estates no taxes could be collected. But the chief cause of complaint, the foreign character and German proclivities of the *consilium locum tenentiale*, which was the real executive body, was never removed; the office of Palatine was left vacant for forty-six years, a *locum tenens* being *appointed* in his place to carry out the decrees of Vienna: and the Estates were left to face the formidable double task of defending the country against the menace of Turkish expansion and the danger of Western absolutism.

In 1552 Soliman once more invaded Hungary, to drive out the Imperial troops. This campaign, which lasted ten years, consisted for the most part of sieges of fortresses, the heroic defence of which by their Hungarian garrisons forms one of the most glorious pages of Hungarian history.

The fortress of Temesvár was held for a month by Stephen Losonczy, Count of Temes, with a garrison of 2200 men against 50,000 Turks. He yielded at last with the promise that the lives of the survivors should be spared, but they were cut down as they left the fortress.

In the N. W. the Pasha of Buda, Ali, took the fortress of Veszprém and then proceeded to invest *Drégely*, which was defended by a tiny garrison (150) under the command of George Szondi. Seeing that he could not save the fortress he had his most treasured belongings piled in a heap in the castle courtyard and set them on fire; his favourite horses he killed: then at the head of his devoted followers he dashed out on the Turks, selling his life dearly and winning immortal fame. Ali showed his respect for the dead hero by commanding his remains to be buried with military honours.

The key to Eger and the mining districts had fallen without Teufel, another imperial general, making any attempt to relieve the heroic garrison. When he did move, he was defeated by Ali Pasha at Palásth and, falling into the hands of the Turks, was sent to Constantinople, where he was killed.

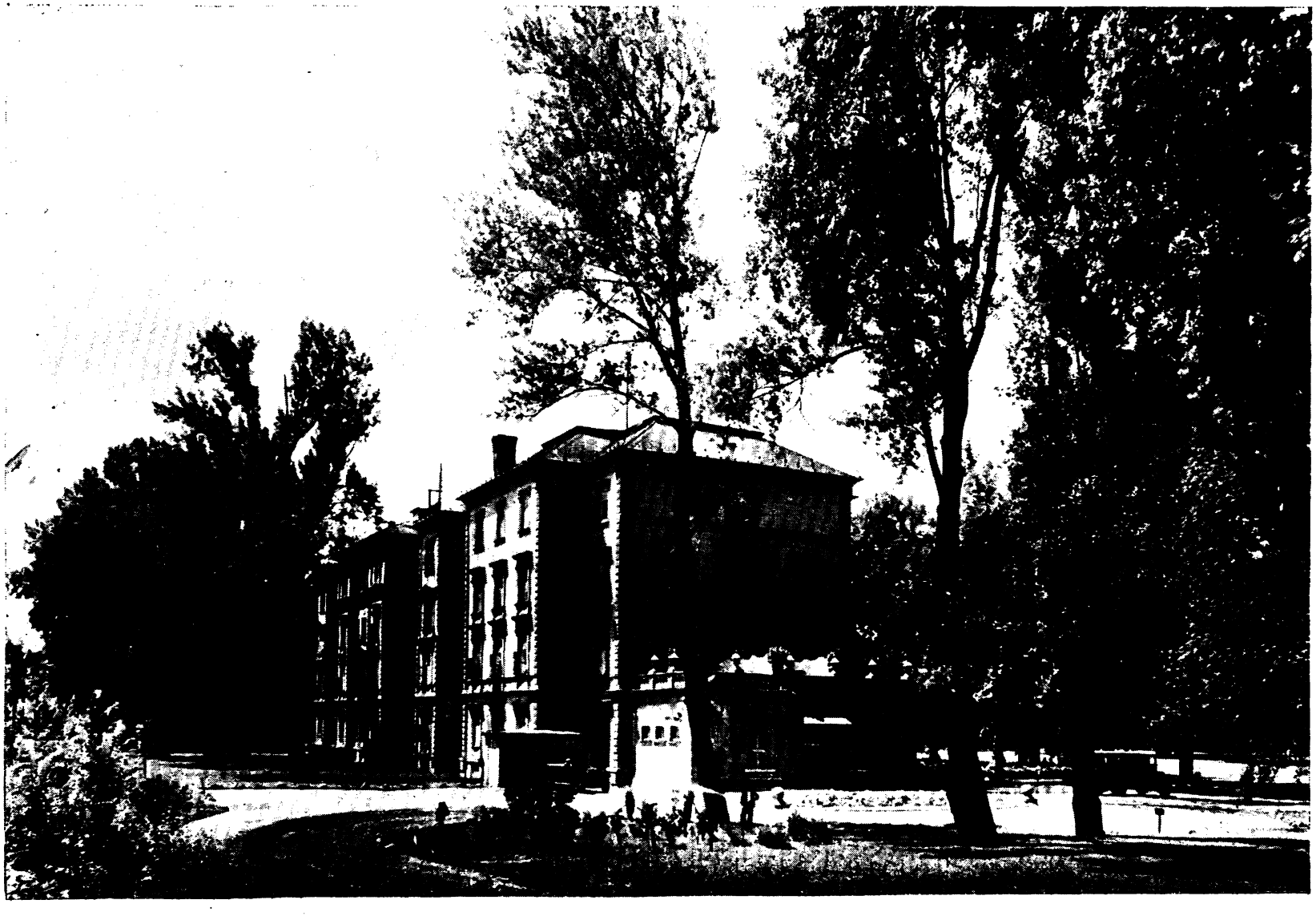
Numerous other fortresses fell in quick succession. Ali was then able to join forces with Achmed Pasha for the reduction of the important fortress of *Eger*. This siege has produced an enormous literature of its own. The garrison consisted of 2000 men, all told; but the fortress, which had become a refuge for the nobility and peasantry of the surrounding districts and was the key to the possession of half a dozen counties, was under the command of Stephen Dobó. He refused to read the letter sent him by Achmed, and had a coffin poised on two lances placed on the walls as a symbol of his resolution to conquer or die. Time after time the Turks endeavoured to strom the place. The numbers of the gallant defenders dwindled, but, when, on October 14, the Turkish commanders ordered a final general assault, the women of Eger took their stand on the battered fortifications by the side of the men., hurling stones and pouring barrels of boiling pitch on the Osmanli storming parties. The self-devoted ardour or these heroic women inspired such terror in the hearts of the Janissaries, that they refused to continue the fight. So the Turks were compelled to withdraw and Eger was saved

In 1556 the fortress of *Szigetvár*, which later played so important a part in the struggle against the Turks, defied the hosts of Ali Pasha for several weeks.

The imperial generals had done nothing to stem the tide of Turkish invasion. But the Hungarian commanders in Ferdinand's service did their work nobly and efficiently. Less important in rank and dignity than the German, Italian, and Spanish favourites, Imre Telekessy, George Bebek, and John Pethő gained a signal victory over Velithan Bey on the banks of the Sajó in 1558.

In 1562 Ferdinand made a truce for eight years with the Sultan.

He died on July 25, 1564, wihout having come to any satisfactory arrangement with the Prince of Transylvania, which province he had always coveted for himself and his successors.



Budapest. St. Margaret Island. Hotel.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PRINCIPALITY OF TRANSYLVANIA.

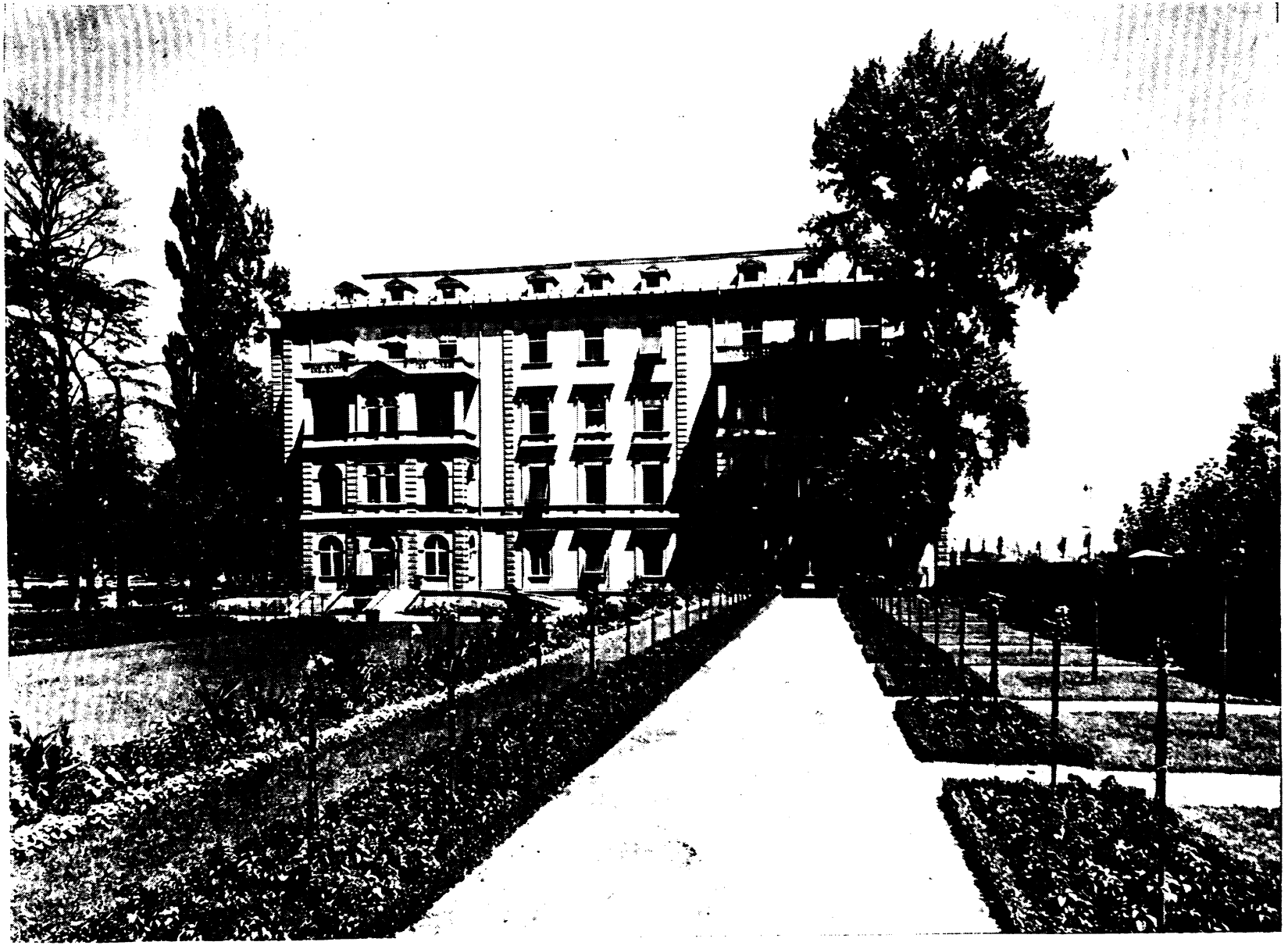
The death of John (1540) left Martinuzzi with an inheritance fraught with difficulty and danger. His main object was to preserve the independence and integrity of Transylvania, the one province of Hungary which his ward could call his own. To that end he had to employ all the finesse of a wary diplomat, playing on the credulity of both Sultan and Ferdinand, and keeping in check the vanity and fickleness of an ambitious woman. Like Bocskay later, he regarded an independent Transylvania as the best security for the independence of Hungary from foreign oppression.

In 1541 he was glad to contract an alliance with Ferdinand: but the incapacity of Joachim showed him that the alliance was fraught with danger and offered no hope of victory against the Turks. So he substituted passive friendship, at the same time leading the Sultan to believe that he desired to be his vassal. He engineered the Union of Torda (1542), which united the three differnt parts of Transylvania into one political unit. The „three nations" (Magyar, Széklers, and Saxons) agreed not to act separately in foreign politics; and Martinuzzi, as Governor, established the „common council" of which he was the president. In 1543 he sent tribute to Constantople, thus ensuring peace on the one side. In 1544 the Diet of Torda initiated the separate existence of Transylvania as an independent constitutional state.

The army — as the natural consequence of the geographical formation of the country — was one of defence. The standing army, maintained by the „three nations" in equal proportions, was 500 strong; besides, there was the „generalis insurrectio" — the *posse comitatus* a „motley crowd" which required the stirring eloquence of Martinuzzi himself to convert it into a really formidable fighting machine. That he did succeed in doing so, is proved by the victories he won at its head.

The nobility of the time — „robber dragons", as they have been called — were steeped in vice. Contemporary writers are loud in their warnings that the corruption of manners must prove fatal to the welfare of the country. With the jealousy of his rivals began the troubles of Martinuzzi. The political indifference of Vienna to the fate of Hungary led him to play a double game. But Peter Petrovitch and Queen Isabella intrigued against him at Constantinople. Martinuzzi was compelled to renew the alliance with Vienna. The Sultan sent some of his best commanders to punish the „traitor" but Martinuzzi put himself at the head of his raw levies and routed the trained Janissaries of the Pasha of Buda. Soliman was alarmed; but he demanded of Martinuzzi, who had again convinced the Sultan of his friendship, that John Sigismund should be crowned King of Hungary as his vassal. Again the diplomacy of the priest-statesman prevailed. In 1551 he persuaded Isabella to renounce all claims to Transylvania in favour of Ferdinand, to whom she surrendered the Holy Crown. Martinuzzi handed his office and authority of Governor to the royal commissaries, Thomas Nádasdy and General Castaldo.

Martinuzzi's efforts were concentrated now on securing the possession of Transylvania and half of Hungary for Ferdinand. Once more he had resort to the wiles of diplomacy. While employing the royal armies to recover the fortresses that had fallen into the hands of the Turks, he succeeded in cajoling the Sultan into believing that he was really acting in the interests of Turkey. Frustrated by the intrigues of his rivals in his endeavour to meet both dangers, he resolved to throw in his lot with the Christian King, whose brother, Charles V., had now reached the zenith of his power, and to employ his diplomatic address for the benefit of his new master and Christian Hungary. He met the fury of the Sultan by a punctual payment of the tribute due, by bribing the Turkish leaders and by protesting that Transylvania still belonged to John Sigismund. One after another the important fortresses were recovered. But Ferdinand doubted Martinuzzi's faith: and Castaldo was jealous of his prestige and popularity. On December 17, 1551, the clever and noble priest, whose qualities as statesmen and soldier were as great as his humility, was murdered in his own castle at Alvincz. His services to Hungary cannot be overestimated. He was the founder of that traditional Transylvanian



policy which, under the eminent Hungarian princes of later days, did so much for the liberty of Hungary.

The death of Martinuzzi ushered in an era of anarchy and disorder in the history of Transylvania. Castaldo's mercenaries robbed and pillaged the countryside. The cowardly Italian, who had not scrupled to have his powerful rival assassinated, could not control the lawlessness of his troops; and his act had driven the Székely people, who worshipped the memory of Martinuzzi, into open insurrection. So, in 1553, Castaldo withdrew from the scene of his inglorious brutality; and Ferdinand appointed Stephen Dobó, the hero of Eger, Waywode of Transylvania. But not even the remembrance of the glories of Eger could avail to stem the growing discontent and the mistrust of the Hungarians in Transylvania: the assassination of Martinuzzi was shown to have been, not merely a crime, but a grave political blunder. The Sultan threw the whole weight of his authority into the balance in favour of Isabella and her son; in 1556 Transylvania rose in rebellion against Dobó; and John Sigismund (1556—71) became Prince of that country. The Queen-Mother endeavoured to monopolise the power; but she was compelled to share it with Jasper Békés, her son's favourite and confidential adviser.

On the death of Isabella (1559), John Sigismund continued the struggle against Ferdinand, not merely for the possession of Transylvania, but for the throne of Hungary too. He had the assistance of the Sultan, who, however, in 1562, made a truce with Ferdinand. For the moment hoshostilities between Transylvania and the foreign sovereign of Hungary ceased; but the negotiations opened by Ferdinand with a view to a final settlement of the Transylvanian question were broken off by the death of that monarch in 1564.

Ferdinand was popular even in Hungary; for his character combined moderation with energy, and his kindness of heart was familiar to everyone who came in contact with him. But, in his dealings with Hungary, he unfortunately relied too much upon his advisers, who ruled the country with an arbitrary severity and a contempt for the laws which exasperated the nation and, under more favourable circumstances, might well have proved fatal to the interests of the dynasty. But the Turkish danger and the anarchy consequent on internal disunion made forbearance and long-suffering imperative.

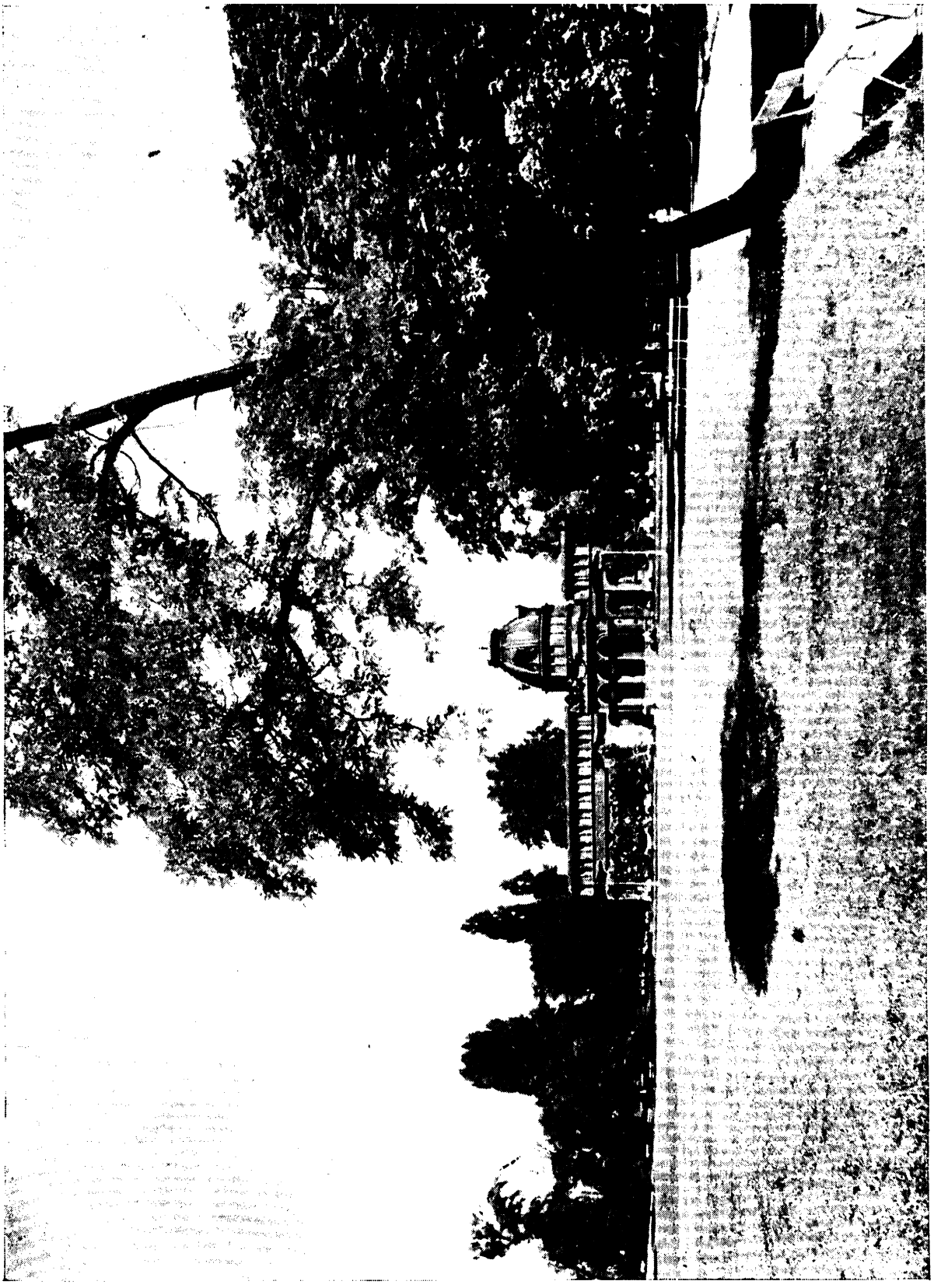
Perhaps as a result of Martinuzzi's efforts on their behalf, in 1547 the peasant serfs regained the right of migration at will. This resolution of Parliament is said to have been due to Ferdinand's personal influence during one of his none too frequent visits to the country.

Ferdinand's son, Maximilian (1564—76), had been elected by the Estates — and crowned — in his father's lifetime (1563). He was as inactive against the Turks as Ferdinand had been; so Hungary was once more left alone to defend herself against the invaders. Moreover, he was far less conciliatory than his father. He put the direction of military and financial affairs under the control of Vienna; he refused to confer with the Estates and endeavoured to deprive them of their privilege of voting taxes and supplies by making the country authorities responsible for provisioning the army. By his acts and his words alike he made it quite evident that he was determined to regard Hungary as a province of Austria. The Estates protested, but in vain. Even Stephen Dobó, the hero of Eger, who had fought so valiantly for his king as well as his country, was arrested and condemned to suffer three years' imprisonment—for treason!

The condition of the peasantry was wretched. The tyranny of their masters, the constant feuds between the petty kings whom the anarchy prevailing in the country had again brought into being, the oppressive taxation, and the ravages of the imperial mercenaries, added to the misery consequent on the depredations of the Turks, drove the peasants to appeal to arms. Two peasant risings occurred during the reign of Maximilian, one in the Eastern Lowlands, led by George Karácson, the other in Slavonia, under Matthew Gubecz.

These conditions made the final occupation by the Turks of the part of Hungary which they had already appropriated to themselves, a comparatively easy matter.

Maxmilian began by seeking a quarrel with John Sigismund. He demanded the surrender of various frontier fortresses; his demand was refused, and his commanders resorted to force. The Sultan intervened; and in 1565 the King of Hungary and the Prince of Transylvania were at war.



View of Trianon's Hungary. 7

The following year Soliman entered Hungary with an enormous army and proceeded to invest *Szigetvár*, the key of the Balaton district. The siege has been immortalised by the epic poem, the *Zrinyiász*, written by the great-grandson of Nicholas Zrinyi. The heroic commander of the fortress, *Nicholas Zrinyi*, had a garrison of 2000 determined warriors; and the King was at Győr with an army of 100,000 men. The fortress should never have fallen; but Maximilian would not risk an encounter with the Turkish hosts led by the old Sultan Soliman himself: he was content to purchase the integrity of Austria by sacrificing Zrinyi and his devoted garrison.

When the news that the Turks were at Eszék reached him, Zrinyi assembled the garrison, told them what was in store for them, and called on them to join him in taking an oath to defend the fortress, as long as they had breath to fight with, for the sake of God, their King, their country, and Christendom. His wife and children he sent to Csáktornya: but the wives and daughters of the other combatants refused to leave their husbands and fathers, declaring that they would emulate the heroism of the „women of Eger."

The siege began on August 6. For a month the Turks tried to reduce the place. General assaults, preceded by violent cannonades, which tore breaches in the fortifications and killed half the garrison, were followed by attempts at bribery, but in vain.

On September 7, seeing that he could hold the fortress no longer, Zrinyi gave the women powder and fuses, with which they shut themselves in the only tower still standing. He himself doffed his armour, put on his most gorgeous dress, filling its pockets with gold coins (as he said, that „the man who robbed his corpse might find it worth the trouble"), hung a heavy gold chain round his neck, thanked God that they had no traitor in their ranks, took his father's sword, and, giving orders for the drawbridge to be lowered, dashed out at the head of the remnants of the garrison and plunged into a surging sea of infuriated Osmanlis. Zrinyi soon fell; and a terrible struggle ensued round the dead body of the Hungarian leader. Not a single member of the heroic garrison lived to tell the tale; the women blew up the tower when they heard the approach of the infidels. But the Sultan was dead; vexation at the heroic resistance had hastened his end: and 25,000 Turkish warriors was the price the victors paid for their triumph.

The Grand Vizier seized some of the neighbouring fortresses; and then hastened to Constantinople to present his homage to the new Sultan, *Selim*.

Maximilian, too, went home to Vienna. Like his father, he was only too ready to make peace with the enemy of Christendom by sacrificing Hungary. So, in 1568, the *Peace of Adrianople* was concluded between the Porte and the King of Hungary.

John Sigismund, who in 1566 had appeared before Soliman at Zimony, now endeavoured to obtain assistance from his successor: but Selim was a man of peace and would not help the prince to push his claims in Hungary proper. So, in 1570, John Sigismund came to terms with Maximilian, who renewed his recognition of the former's right to Transylvania (to which he added some territory) in return for John Sigismund's undertaking to renounce his title of King of Hungary.

Shortly afterwads (March (1571) John Sigismund died: the Estates of Transylvania, by order of the Sultan, elected *Stephen Báthory* (1571—76) to succeed him. The new ruler was a man of great personal qualities, of the school of Martinuzzi as a diplomatist. a brave soldier, but a lover of peace. Paying tribute to the Sultan, he in secret took the oath of allegiance to Maximilian, thus winning the favour of both his powerful neighbours. In 1575, however, the peace of the country was disturbed by the attempt made Jasper Békés to raise the banner of insurrection: supported by the Székely people, who were dissatisfied with their situation (they had been deprived of their privileges in 1562 by John Sigismund), and encouraged by Maximilian, Békés was overthrown by the superior generalship of the waywode. But the breach between Báthory and the King of Hungary became open and final when, in the same year (December 14), the estates of Poland elected the former to be their King. He appointed his brother, *Christopher Báthory* (1576—81), regent of Transylvania; and early in 1576 withdrew to his kingdom.

The same year Maximilian died. He was succeeded by *Rudolph* (1576—1608), a suspicious eccentric with absolutistic lean-

Budapest. St. Margaret Island. Swimming-pool.

ings brought up in the strictly Catholic atmosphere of the court of Philip II. of Spain. He was as little inclined to measure swords with the Sultan in the cause of Christianity as were his two predecessors: but the force of circumstances was too strong for him; and his reign, which saw the beginning of a systematic persecution of Protestantism and of the anti-Reformation, saw also the initiation of a united effort to throw off the Turkish yoke, which, while it ended in a fiasco, led to the „Long (Fifteen Year's) War."

Rudolph retired to Prague, whither he carried the Holy Crown of Hungary, and left the government of the country to his brothers.

Rudolph paid his tribute and solemnly renewed the promises contained in the Peace of Adrianople: but a consistent border warfare went on between the Turks and Hungarians. The governments were on the best of terms: but the people were quite unconscious of the afct.

In 1581 Sigismund Báthory (1581—98), Christopher's son, became waywode of Transylvania. Educated by Jesuits, he offered to make an alliance with Rudolph for the purpose of driving the Turks out of Europe. He declared himself ready to acknowledge the suzerainty of Rudolph and to secure him the succession if he died without heir. But the Estates of Transylvania had no faith in the genuineness of the King's intentions and feared the vengeance of the Porte. They refused to endorse the policy of the waywode, which, while calculated to encourage Rudolph's ambitions, did not promise to benefit Transylvania or Hungary.

But the suspicions of Turkey had been aroused by the negotiations: and the Sultan determined to anticipate the possibility of further developments.

The Long War (1591—1606).

War between Hungary and Turkey began in 1591: but nothing serious was done until 1593.

In the meantime Hassan Pasha, the Governor of Bosnia, had invaded Croatia and laid siege to Sziszek. He was utterly routed; his army was driven into the Kulpa; and he himself, togther with six beys, was killed.

The Grand Vizier, despite his advanced age, vowed vengeance and led an army of 150,000 picked troops into Hungary. After taking Veszprém, Pápa, Tata and Győr, Sinan called upon Báthory to join forces with him. The Transylvanian waywode thereupon openly declared for an alliance with Rudolph, the Estates formed a conspiracy against him; but he nipped the rebellion in the bud, had all the ringleaders executed and their estates confiscated, and confirmed his alliance with the King by wedding the Archduchess Maria Christina.

The Christian host was swelled by contingents from Germany, Spain, Italy, and Austria; and money was sent by the Pope. The Hungarian Parliament voted taxes, to be paid by all. The first year (1594) passed without any signal success being gained by the Christian armies. But in 1595 things took a turn for the better. A soldier of genius, Count Charles Mansfeld, took over the command of the Christian hosts; Sigismund of Transylvania entered the scene, and his brilliant general, *Stephen Bocskay*, after forcing the waywodes of Moldavia and Wallachia to acknowledge the overlordship of Transylvania, compelled the Grand Vizier to withdraw to Giurgevo, where the Turkish army was finally routed; another of Báthory's generals, George Borbély, defeated the Pasha of Temesvár and seized several important fortresses: while Esztergom was finally retaken by Mansfeld and Giovanni de Medici.

The famous strategists, Tilly and Gonzaga, elaborated a scheme for a combined effort of the Hungarian and Transylvanian armies: the latter united to meet the Turkish army commanded by the Sultan, Mohammed III., in person at *Mezőkeresztes* on October 26 (1596). The victory was all but won when the lust for plunder of the Christian troops gave the Tartar and Rumelian cavalry their chance. The Christian army was routed; 20,000 Christian warriors were killed; all the guns were lost; and the remnants of the army saved themselves by headlong flight.

For eight years the capricious inconsistencies of Sigismund Báthory threw the unfortunate principality of Transylvania into a state of distressing uncertainty and continual ferment. In 1597 he resigned in favour of Rudolph, receiving in return the dukedoms of Oppeln and Ratibor (in Silesia) and the promise of an annual allowance of 50,000 thalers and of a cardinal's hat. But in 1598, as he had received no money and loathed the monotony of Op-

Szeged. The Town Hall.

peln, he was back again in Gyulafehérvár. This year had opened very promisingly for the Christian cause. Győr was retaken by the gallant troops of Nicholas Pálffy and Schwarzenberg; numerous other fortresses fell into the hands of Rudolph's generals. Nagyvárad, under the command of Paul Nyári and Redern, resisted all the violent attacks of the Turks: and a heroic, but futile, attempt was made to recover Buda.

In 1599 *Andrew Báthory,* a Cardinal, succeeded his cousin as waywode of Transylvania. Rudolph was determined to oppose, with every means in his power, the independence of the principality: and *Michael,* waywode of Wallachia, took advantage of disaffection among the Székely people and the jealousy of the Emperor to bring about the destruction of Andrew's power. The Cardinal was routed and murdered as he fled to Moldavia. Michael endeavoured to create a federation of the three principalities of Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia. He began to rule Transylvania with the sword, relying on the support of the Széklers and the Roumanians. He anticipated the cruel atrocities of 1848, and incited the Széklers to take vengeance on the Magyar nobles. But he allowed his self-confidence and arrogant conceit to carry him too far. He insulted Rudolph and provoked the self-respect of the Transylvanian nobility. *Basta,* Rudolph's general sent by the King to bring Michael to his senses, was welcomed by the Estates as a veritable saviour. The cruel tyrant was routed (1600) and fled to his own country. But the nobles persisted in their attachment to the House of Báthory; Basta resisted their desire to recall Sigismund. He was defeated and put in chains: but he escaped, and then a war to the knife ensued between the Italian general and the Transylvanian nobility. The latter elected Sigismund Báthory (February 3, 1601) as their prince; Rudolph was furious and enlisted the aid of Michael of Wallachia, sending him money to pay his mercenaries: and at Goroszló (August 3) the united armies of Michael and Basta gained a decisive victory over Sigismund's raw levies. Sigismund Báthory was once more an exile. The two foreigners attempted to rule jointly; but they could not agree, and Basta had Michael assassinated. The reign of terror initiated by the imperial mercenaries forced the nobles to appeal to Sigismund Báthory once more. He came back, was defeated again (at Tövis), and left the unfortunate province for the fourth and last time.

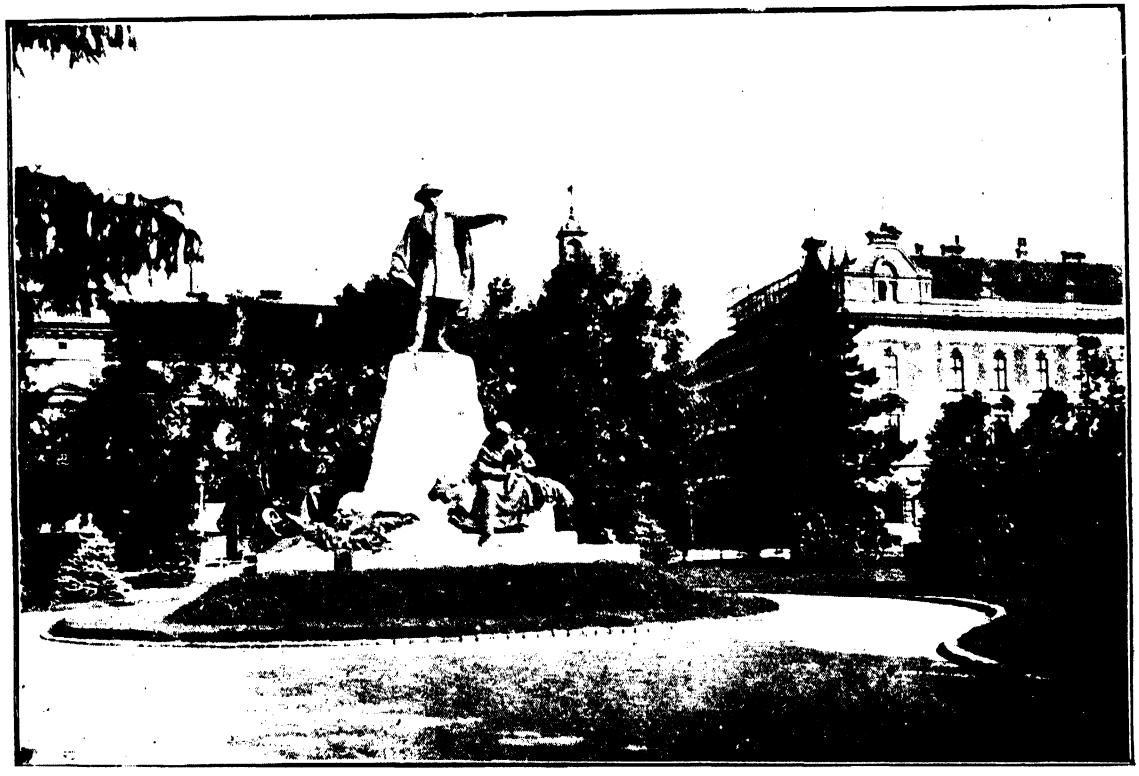
Basta revived the methods of Alva in Holland. He exacted taxes daily from the impoverished nobles; he had some of those who resisted his despotic measures buried alive; his German, Walloon, and Hungarian mercenaries robbed and tortured the poor. No one who had not Basta's „letters of grace" was safe from the terrorism and brutality of his soldiers. The continual fighting, the ravages of the plague, and the failure of the crops, had reduced the principality to a state of utter misery and distress. Hunger-maddened parents, we are told, killed their own children and ate their bodies; and human flesh was sold in the markets. All property was declared forfeit to the Emperor: any pretext sufficed to deprive „suspected" nobles of their land. A violent persecution of Protestantism accompanied the system of political oppression and military terrorism known to history as „the age of Basta". But the woes of his country inspired the patriotism of Stephen Bocskay, who in 1604 raised the standard of revolt in defence of political and religious liberty.

Meantime, the campaign against the Turks had not been prosecuted with the vigour of which this first definite military alliance of Germans and Hungarians had given so much promise. Personal jealousy and rivalry of the leaders was accompanied by national antipathy and mutual distrust. The rising of Bocskay had shown the Emperor-King that he could not play havoc with the conscience and political traditions of Hungary. So the Treaty of Vienna (June 23, 1606) was followed, five months later, by the Peace of Zsitva-Torok (November 11), by which the *status quo* existing at the end of the Long War was, nominally, restored.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONSTITUTIONAL AND RELIGIOUS STRUGGLES.

After the rout at Mohács two-thirds of Hungary were in the hands of the Turk and were not recovered for a century and a half. Hungary, in order to be able to resist the Turks, had to choose a foreign ruler in the person of Ferdinand of Habsburg. „The fact that Hungary had foreign rulers in the fourteenth century made little difference to her constitution, but in the sixteenth century, when the nations of Europe were engaged in a struggle between absolutism and parliamentarism, the same conditions gave her a better chance to vindicate her right to self-government. In the struggle that ensued between the mediaeval constitutionalism of Hungary and the absolutism of her rulers, the victory eventually rested with the former, which developed in the process, but the victory was only purchassed by the most determined efforts and the most strenuous obstinacy; and it was due to causes not wholly political in character. The first two Habsburg sovereigns, Ferdinand I. and Maximilian, found their efforts to centralise authority at the price of offending Hungarian susceptibilities and to subordinate national liberties to military efficiency, hampered by the need of money". The outward form of Parliament changed; but the inward essence remained the same. The meetings were held in closed rooms (after 1527 mostly at Pozsony, the capital of „royal" Hungary). After 1528 the Diet was formally divided into two „Houses"; but the legal constitution of the two divisions of the legislature was not codified until 1608. After 1571 the gentry ceased to attend in person, but sent representatives, elected by counties.



Szeged. Statue of Vásárhelyi, looking towards the Post office.

The king, through his commissary, presented „proposals" to the Diet, which discussed them and then answered by an Address. Sometimes these Addresses were „edited" by the royal council, the result being a repetition of the claims or objec-

tions of the first Address. The process was repeated until one or the other of the parties yielded. The Estates generally refused to vote taxes until their grievances had been either wholly or in part redressed.

We have seen what the chief grievances of the Hungarian Parliament were. The Vienna „Chamber" was all-powerful; the King's German advisers formed a majority in the royal council.

Ferdinand and Maximilian were inclined to moderation; but unfortunately the third Habsburg, the gifted but bigoted Emperor Rudolph II. (1576—1608), set himself to destroy religious tolerance and to attack constitutional autonomy.

The military organisation of the country had gone from bad to worse since the rout at Mohács. The feudal *banderia* were practically non-existent; the *posse comitatus* had become more or less a local affair, restricted to defence. Only the frontier fortresses were of any military importance. Some of them maintained themselves as outposts of Magyardom for two hundred years. The mercenary army proved a failure; it was maintained at considerable expense but was incapable of performing the task for which it was organised: the mercenaries were mostly foreigners, and as often as not took their pay at the expense of the people. They could not cope with the Turks. When, in 1593, the Estates proposed the establishment of a Hungarian standing army, monarch and council alike rejected the idea.

The national resistance began with a vote of the Hungarian Parliament in 1583, which declared that no further supplies would be voted until Hungarians were given a voice in financial and military matters affecting both Hungary and Austria. Rudolph gave way for the moment but relapsed. Religious passions complicated matters. The Calvinists were in the majority in Hungary, and Rudolf was one of the most intolerant rulers of the anti-Reformation.

Rudolph initiated a system of *bureaucracy* and endeavoured to make taxation permanent: but all his efforts in this derection were frustrated by the obstinate determination of both the Diet and the counties to maintain the most precious guarantee of constitutional liberty the right of voting or refusing taxes and supplies.

But the greatest grievance of all was the growth of *foreign influence*. The desire of the dynasty was that there should always be foreign armies in the country which could be turned against the Hungarians themselves. This the Hungarians were determined to resist. The people saw themselves between two dangers, Turkish conquest and Austrian annexation.

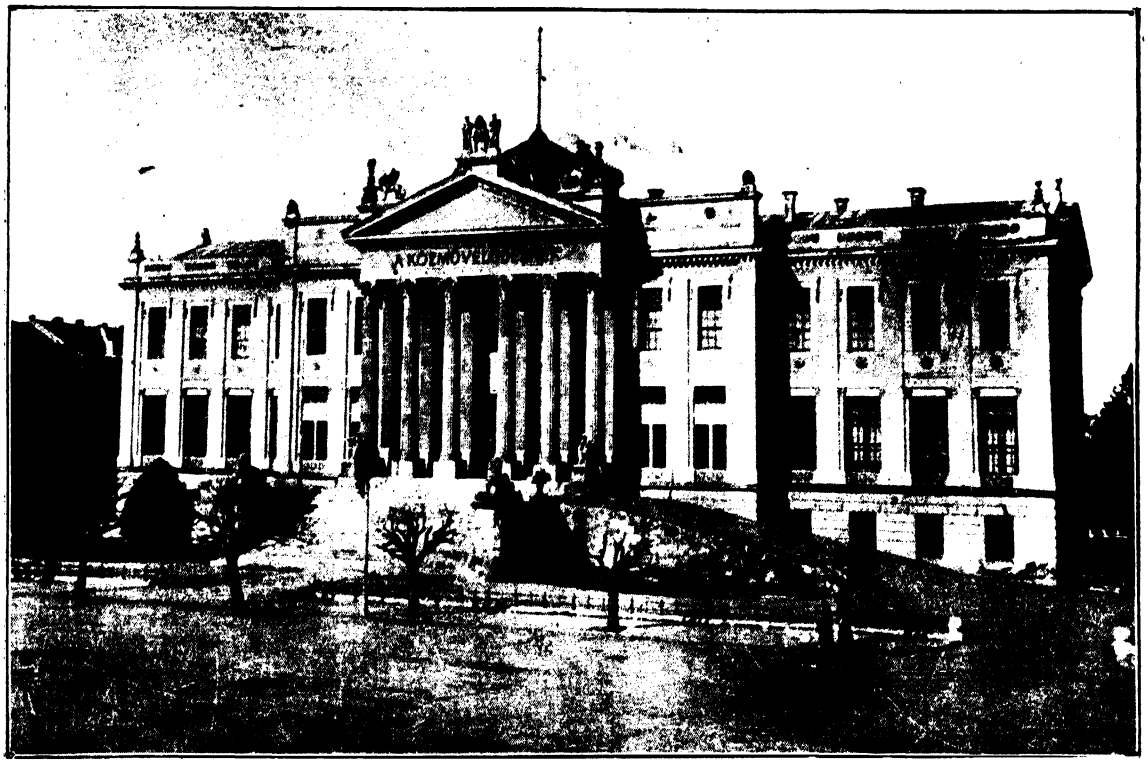
The Hungarians experienced all the disadvantages of being linked to a great empire: and no attempt was made to give them a share in the distinctions connected with common affairs. And that at a time when Hungary was particularly rich in eminent men, and especially soldiers. The blame for Hungary's submission to this state of affairs lies not with the Estates but with the King.

The Anti-Reformation supported by Austria.

We have seen that the Reformation was regarded at first with the greatest disfavour. It was a German product: the gentry looked to Rome and the Pope for help in their struggle against the Turks. But events soon prevailed on them to change their attitude. The same general causes were at work in Hungary as had helped to further the spread of Protestantism elsewhere: but there were others too. The Pope failed to do his duty by the country, which he seemed to regard merely in the light of a source of income; there was an appeal in Protestantism to the innate love of the Hungarian for liberty. At first Lutheranism prevailed: but it soon gave way before Calvinism. Many magnates joined the movement out of selfishness; but the gentry and the peasantry embraced Lutheranism and Calvinism out of attachment to the national idiom.

The Hungarians are by nature a tolerant people: so it is not suprising to find that at first religious animosity had no place in the troubles of the country. The rival kings did not dare to force Catholicism on their adherents in Transylvania, which became the principal field of the Reformers' activity.

In Hungary proper, during the reigns of Ferdinand I. and Maximilian, no systematic repression of the new faiths was attempted. Calvinism was first definitely organised at the Synod of Debrecen (1567), a Lowland town, which has earned for itself the title of „the Calvinist Rome". By the end of the sixteenth century the great



Szeged. The City Museum.

majority of the nation professed the reformed faith. It is a noteworthy fact that neither party tried to force a settlement of the religious question.

The independence of Transylvania was of the utmost importance both in relation to the religious question and in respect of the national political cause. The Court at Gyulafehérvár was the stronghold of Hungarian national feeling and culture, preserving the dignity of the Hungarian language, maintaining a consistent policy of religious tolerance and political equality, and preserving those traditions which connected the past of the country with the present and the future. It was the energetic resistance to all absolutist and contralising tendencies of Upper Hungary, aided by Transylvania, that saved the Hungarian constitution.

But Hungary could not escape the influence of the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1540. The Jesuits exercised a tremendous indirect influence. They were supported by the Báthorys in Transylvania: and Rudolph was their devoted pupil.

By the close of the sixteenth century political dissensions were transferred to the field of religion. The Catholics were in the minority, but they were united, while the differences between the Lutherans (chiefly the burgesses of German origin) and the Calvinists, who were chiefly „gentry", weakened the Protestants. But even so, when, at the close of 1603, Rudolph ordered the commander of Upper Hungary, Belgiojoso, to seize the church of Kassa and prohibit the practice of Protestantism, the breach between the two sections of the Reformed Church ceased. They united in view of the common danger.

Nothing could have been more unfortunate for Hungary than the reign of a man like Rudolph. He was warlike in his inclinations, yet timid in the hour of action: while the Hungarians desired a vigorous offensive war against the Turks, he chose to act on the defensive. He was incapable himself; yet he refused to tolerate men of brilliant qualities in his *entourage*. A bigoted Catholic, he was called on to rule a country the majority of whose inhabitants were Protestants. Aiming at absolutism, he was incensed at the independence of the Hungarian nobility, who refused to connive at his endeavour to subordinate the country to his other dominions. Con-

vinced of his own superiority, he naturally fell an easy prey to his Jesuit advisers. His want of mental balance was their opportunity, and they regarded him as a ready tool for the execution of their project to restore the supremacy of Catholicism.

Autonomy was to be replaced by a servile system of bureaucracy: and, in the field of religion, the Emperor claimed the right to control the consciences of his subjects as completely as he controlled the legislative and executive authority of the country. But the unfortunate decision relating to the restriction of religious discussion, following so closely on the despotic measures adopted at Kassa, by undermining the nation's trust in the western alliance, merely hastened the final overthrow of his impossible policy.

The attitude of Rudolph made a conflict inevitable. Hungary began to fear Austria more than the Turk. The hero who met the crisis was Bocskay.

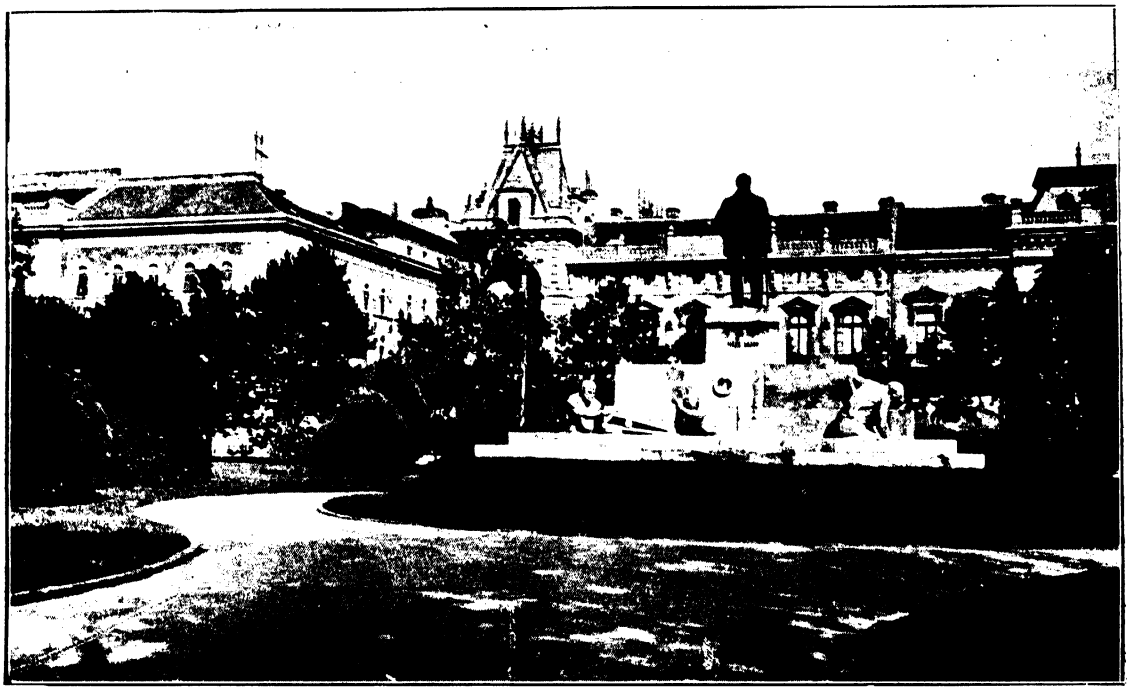
Stephen Bocskay, who was Sigismund Báthory's uncle, had been a loyal adherent of the King of Hungary: his chief desire was to unite the country in a common endeavour to crush the Turkish power. He had taken part in the victorious campaign of 1595: but his share of the property of the conspirators had made him the object of suspicion and distrust. However, Bocskay was a firm upholder of constitutional tradition and a true Protestant. His correspondence with young Gabriel Bethlen, then a refugee in Turkey, fell into the hands of Belgiojoso, who immediately resolved to treat him as a traitor and to confiscate his estates. The „hajdús" felt that the independence of the country was threatened, and took up arms to protect Bocskay and the principles for which he stood against the imperial forces, which they routed. Belgiojoso fled to Szepesvár: Kassa was taken by the „hajdús"; and before long Bocskay himself, who had no alternative, raised the standard of insurrection and proceeded to the „capital of N. E. Hungary". For a time Basta endeavoured to maintain his hold on Transylvania; but his failure was as complete as that of Belgiojoso: and on February 12, 1605, the Magyars and Széklers elected Bocskay prince of Transylvania. (1605—6). He was now master of the whole of E. and N. W. Hungary as far as Pozsony; he seized the Holy Crown: and in April the Diet of Szerencs elected him prince of Hungary and restored liberty of conscience. In Transylvania Bocskay continued his series of triumphs, routing the Saxons and completely defeating the Wallachian waywode, Radul, who was fighting for the imperial cause. He generals (Francis Rhédey and Gregory Németi) overran the rest of „royal" Hungary; while the „hajdus" — „Bocskay's angels", as they were called by the people, who welcomed their arrival as that of the heralds of liberty — invaded some of the hereditary provinces and struck terror into the hearts of the court party. At *Buda* Bocskay received the Sultan's ambassador, who brought letters offering him the title of king. But the patriotic leader refused the distinction, declaring that Hungary had a crowned king. He was disturbed at the successes gained by the Turks, who had taken advantage of his insurrection to inaugurate a fresh campaign of conquest. His principal object being the restoration of the constitution, he desired to bring about a reconcilation between king and nation, to put a stop to the horrors of the Turkish wars, and to ensure liberty of conscience and political autonomy to all parts of the country alike. He was fighting for the unification of Hungary on a satisfactory basis, not for the possession of political power. And in this endeavour he had to meet the intrigues of an unscrupulous court, which attempted to make peace with the Sultan behind his back. The Diet of Korpona desired the dethronement of Rudolph and the emancipation of Hungary from Habsburg rule: but Bocskay, convinced that the salvation of Hungary lay in the western alliance, counselled moderation; and the intervention of Stephen Illésházy, pardoned and recalled from his exile by Archduke Matthias, led to the *Treaty of Vienna* (June 23, 1606). The terms of this treaty confirmed the liberty of conscience of the Protestants, abrogated Act XXII. of 1604, decreed that Hungary and her provinces should be governed by Hungarians, acknowledged the independence of Transylvania (to which the counties of Szatmár, Bereg, Ugocsa and Szabolcs were added) and confirmed the election of Bocskay as prince of that province.

Bocskay was indirectly responsible for the Peace of Zsitva-Torok: it was the fear of his joining forces with Rudolph that drove the Turks to come to terms with the Emperor-King.

Bocskay died in the year of his great triumph, on December 29. His death was attributed to poison; and the person suspected of the deed, Michael Kátai, his Chancellor, was cut to pieces in the market-place of Kassa by the prince's faithful „hajdus".

Rudolph was at Prague, inactive and incapable. He would gladly have frustrated efforts of Matthias to restore order; for he hated the Protestants and did not love his brother. He postponed the summoning of Parliament and appointed two of the most inveterate enemies of Protestantism. (Francis Forgács and Szuhai), Archbishops of Esztergom and Kalocsa respectively. The „hajdus" had again taken up arms to enforce the terms of the treaties made in 1606. Matthias convened Parliament to assemble at Pozsony, where the Estates of Hungary fraternised with those of Lower and Upper Austria and Moravia, who had united at the Diet of Linz. Matthias agreed to respect the treaties of Vienna and Zsitva-Torok and to respect the laws and guarantee the religious liberty of the various countries: thereupon the combined armies of the Austrian and Hungarian Estates marched to Prague, where they compelled Rudolph to abdicate the thrones of Hungary and of Austria, retaining only the crowns of Bohemia and the Empire.

On June 27, Matthias took over the Holy Crown, which after many wanderings once more returned to its own home in Hungary. Matthias II. (1608—19) had for some time been a popular figure among Hungarians: he was a brave man, and bore the name which was dearest of all to those who loved their national traditions. But the Parliament assembled at Pozsony to elect him King (September) had learned by the experience of the past; and the (23) laws of 1608 stipulated conditions which made them an important landmark in the constitutional history of Hungary. These laws revised the Treaty of Vienna in favour of Protestantism; they forbade the Jesuits to possess property in Hungary; they stipulated for the election of a Palatine: they provided for the government of the country by Hungarians in accordance with the constitution.



Szeged. Statue of Tisza in the Fő Square.

Matthias was then duly elected (November 16).

The Parliament of 1608, which was responsible for the first definite Compromise between Hungary and Austria, also gave the legislative machinery its final shape

and an organisation which it retained until 1847.

The hopes of the nation were doomed to disappointment. Matthias did not intend to carry the new laws into effect. His chief adviser was Khlesl, the Bishop of Vienna, who detested the principles of Hungarian constitutionalism and was determined to ensure the success of the anti-Reformation. The Court Council and the Vienna Chamber became the real heads of the executive and administration under Matthias, as they had been under his predecessors.

Matthias relied upon foreign soldiers to carry out what he was pleased to regard as „a war against the Turks", but his real object is revealed in a letter written by him to Archduke Ferdinand, in which he says that „the Hungarians invent such harmful devices in order to ensure free election everywhere, that we cannot use better means than the substitution of Germans for Hungarians. The Hungarians are now poor and weak, and they cannot expect help from other countries, so they will have to submit." He would crush the opposition of the Hungarian nobility by force of arms—at a time when the Turkish danger was as imminent as ever. The nation must have no political will of its own.

But liberty of conscience was an equal danger for this Catholic prince. He encouraged the leaders of the anti-Reformation to extend their power by persuasion or force. At the opening of the seventeenth century, there were not more than three hundred Catholic priests in the country. The Jesuits, driven from Hungary proper, were at work at Zágráb. Forgács, the Primate of Esztergom, was their devoted patron. Among the eminent Jesuits settled in Hungary by Forgács was the brilliant orator and scholar *Peter Pázmány*, the champion of Catholicism at the Diet of 1608, who became Archishop of Esztergom in 1616. He succeeded in converting a number of magnate families and thereby forming the nucleus of a Catholic Court party in Parliament. His aim was to establish religious uniformity throughout the country, and to bring the Hungary thus united under the sceptre of the Catholic Habsburg dynasty. To this end he endeavoured to convert Transylvania too: but his efforts were unsuccessful and he himself, taught by the ingratitude of the Court, was fain to admit that the independence of Transylvania in every respect was a national necessity. He discovered, too late, that the constitutional liberties of Hungary were inseparably connected with the struggle for liberty of conscience, and that the Calvinist gentry were the bulwark of constitutionalism against the constant menace of absolutism and centralisation.

Matthias aimed at securing for Transylvania a ruler who would further his ambitions.

But the misrule and the systematic persecution of the Protestants to which Matthias had consented, in deference to the wishes of his Vienna advisers, could not fail to provoke retaliation. On May 23, 1618, the Protestants of Prague threw the King's governors out of their palace window. Matthias had no children; and he nominated Archduke Ferdinand as his successor. The Parliament assembled at Pozsony elected Ferdinand to succeed his cousin: but the Protestants were mistrustful; Thurzó had been succeeded by Sigismund Forgács, a Catholic; and the heir was compelled to issue a diploma confirming the provisions of 1608 and assuring Parliament of his intention to respect the constitutional liberties and privileges and the liberty of conscience of the nation.

Matthias died on March 20, 1619, and was succeeded by Ferdinand II. Meanwhile important events had been happening in Transylvania.

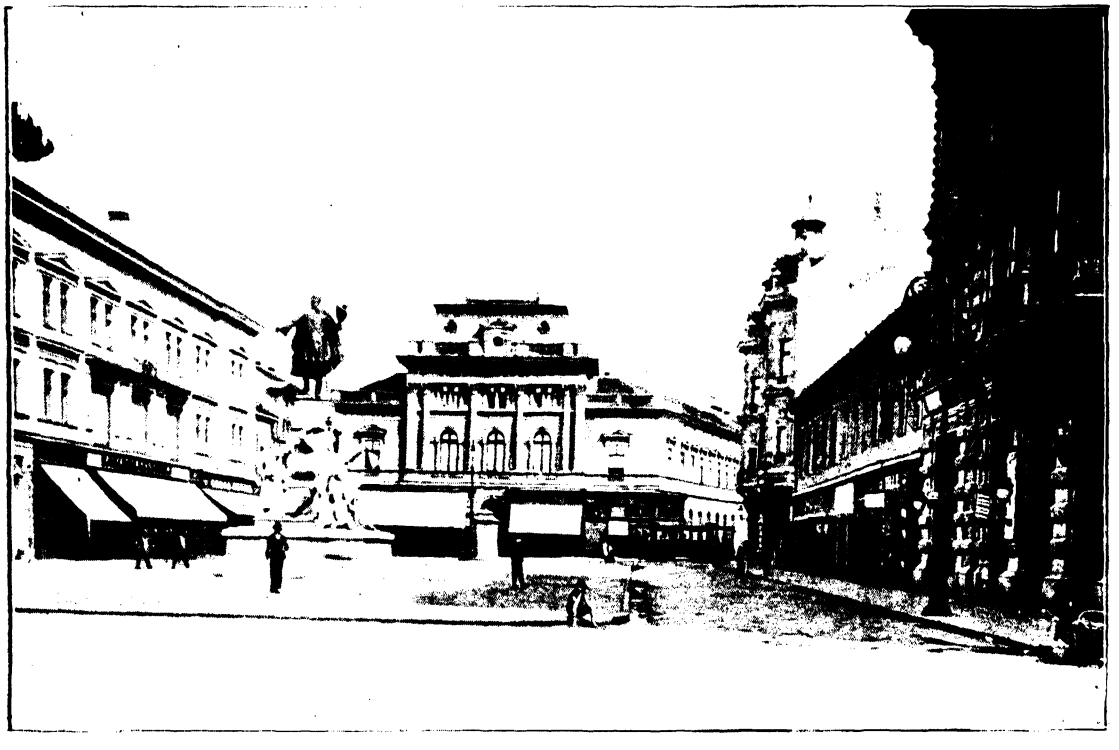
„An independent Transylvania with a Hungarian prince is a necessity as long as the Hungarian crown is up yonder, in the possession of a nation stronger then ourselves—the Germans". These words from the political will of Bocskay, embody the principle which he desired his successors to follow.

Bocskay was succeeded by *Sigismund Rákóczi* (1607), soon followed by *Gabriel* Báthory (1608—13). As long as he listened to the counsels of Gabriel Bethlen, this young prince was able to rule in peace and tranquillity; but before long his ambition was aroused by the unscrupulous flattery of his courtiers. He coveted the throne of Poland; but he had practically no adherents among the Polish nobility. So he resolved to try armed force; but feeling that Transylvania unaided was not strong enough to enable him to carry his scheme into execution, he strove to annex Wallachia and Moldavia. He was badly defeated by the Wallachian waywode; and he came

into conflict with the Saxons, whose privileges he presumed to assail. The Court party at Vienna was delighted at the prospect of turning the prince's troubles to their own advantage. Báthory was a Protestant; and they desired to place a Catholic on the throne. The conspiracy engineered by Stephen Kendi (at the instigation of Khlesl) in his own interests, was nipped in the bud; but Vienna could not rest. Sigismund Forgács, captain-general of Upper Hungary, was sent to attack Báthory, who, it was thought, was too busy with the Saxons and Wallachians to offer any serious resistance. Bethlen appealed to the Turks for aid; and Forgács was just able to reach Kassa with the remnants of his army. The prince was jealous of Bethlen's success; besides, he was not in agreement with his pro-Turkish policy, and refused to listen to his warnings relative to the Saxons and Wallachia. Bethlen fled to Turkey. The Sultan espoused his cause and sent an army to support his claims to the succession. Báthory fled on the approach of the Turks; and the Estates elected *Gabriel Bethlen* (1613—29) prince in his stead. He was one of the outstanding figures of his day, a great general and a determined and honest statesman.

As a diplomat, he was an opportunist, adapting his plans to the needs of the moment: but he never lost sight of his main objective, the maintenance of the constitutional and religious liberties of Hungary. He was a pupil of Martinuzzi; Transylvania was to be raised to a height of power, political and military, which should enable her to act as a permanent obstacle to the growth of Turkish influence and the aggrandisement of German imperialism. In the protection afforded by Turkey he saw merely a means of defeating the absolutistic tendencies of Vienna. He was quite ready to offer his services to Austria — whether as ally or as mediator — whenever he suspected that the Sultan was becoming too strong; but he was careful to preserve the dignity of the country over which he ruled, and to avoid any semblance of subordination. He treated as an equal alike with Ferdinand and with the Sultan; and when his plans took him further afield, he sought for allies, not for patrons.

At home he endeavoured to improve the



Szeged. The statue of Louis Kossuth.

conditions of Transylvania, which had suffered terribly from the ravages and disorder of the past half century. He kept the country practically immune from the depredations of foreign armies. He had good money coined; he encouraged the development of commerce and industry; he was a patron of art and scholarship, and founded schools, such as the College of Gyulafehérvár, which he intended to make one of the most eminent universities in Europe. The „Bethlen College" at Nagyenyed is still extant. He was a builder too. He invited settlers to the depopulated districts; and during his reign Transylvania did indeed become „the shield of Hungarian nationality".

But Bethlen was not to the taste of Vienna: he was a Calvinist. Matthias tried to persuade him to take the oath of allegiance; but Bethlen refused. Then an attempt was made to secure the principal fortresses of the Hungarian counties belonging to Transylvania; but Bethlen frustrated the schene. Finally, the Court party found a pretender in George Homonnay (1616). Bethlen defeated the pretender's mercenary army, but was compelled to surrender the fortress of Lippa to the Turks, who now became the allies of Transylvania. Matthias became reconciled to Bethlen, who promised not to oppress the Catholics; but Bethlen was merely biding his time, waiting for an opportunity of interfering to prevent the absorption of Hungary, which was going steadily on.

He had not long to wait. In 1618 the Bohemian Protestant revolution broke out; but Bethlen still bided his time. The following year *Ferdinand II.* (1619—37) became Emperor of Germany and King of Hungary. Brought up the Jesuits, he made it the object of his life to establish the supremacy of Catholicism and to suppress all other faiths. He showed equal zeal in ignoring the constitutional privileges of his peoples. Thus the struggle between Protestantism and liberty on the one hand, and Catholicism and absolutism on the other, was inevitable.

Ferdinand's German councillors were only too ready to support his Catholic and absolutist zeal. Of his Hungarian councillors, *Pázmány* was naturally in favour of his Catholicism. He had not yet discovered the national danger thereby involved: while Nicholas Eszterházy, the Lord Chief Justice, endeavoured to act the part of mediator between the Court and the Hungaro-Turkish party, whose leader was Bethlen, the champion of constitutional and religious liberty and the sworn foe of German absolutism and the anti-Reformation.

On April 11 (1619), after the Bohemian insurgents had advanced to the walls of Vienna, only just failing to capture the Emperor, Ferdinand offered to recognise Bethlen as Prince of Transylvania. The offer came too late, Bethlen had already been asked to lead the Protestants of Hungary to the alid of Bohemia. He saw that Hungary was ripe for a revolution; that Turkey would not oppose his scheme; that the overthrow of the Protestants of the Empire involved the fall of Protestantism and constitutionalism in Hungary; and that an opportunity was given him of exacting retribution for the continual attacks of the Court of Vienna. His preparations were made with great care, and he purposely allowed the Catholics of Transylvania to believe that his intention was to attack the Sultan.

The Diet of Pozsony refused redress for the grievances of the Protestants: Bethlen drew his sword. George Rákóczi seized Kassa; Bethlen's armies marched almost without opposition through Upper Hungary as far as Pozsony, where the Estates resolved to banish Pázmány and the Jesuits, to confiscate the wealth of the Catholic Church for the maintenance of the border fortresses, and to appoint Bethlen Gowernor of Hungary. Towards the close of the year, Bethlen joined forces with his allies and laid siege to Vienna: but the defeat, at Homonna, of George Rákóczi, by the Polish mercennaires of George Homonnay compelled him to return to Hungary. On January 20, 1620, he made a truce with Ferdinand, who confirmed him in his office as Governor and authorised him to convene the Diet. The Diet held at Beszterczebánya was attended, not only by the representatives of the Hungarian counties, but by ambassadors from Poland, Bohemia, France, Austria, and Turkey. The whole of Europe was interested in the decision of the Prince of Transylvania.

Bethlen had already made an alliance with the Elector Frederick, the „Snow King" of Bohemia, son-in-law of James I. of England. Bethlen decided to send a powerful army to the assistance of Frederick in his struggle with the Emperor. Frede-

rick had supplied him with money for the purpose. Proposals for peace were made by Ferdinand, who, however, refused to accept the condition that Frederick should be included. On August 25 the Estates elected Bethlen King of Hungary: but the prince refused to be crowned, though he accepted the title.

Bethlen hastened to the battle-field. He won many engagements against the imperial troops, whose commander-in-chief, Dampierre, was killed at Pozsony; but Tilly, the leader of the armies of the Catholic League, completely defeated the Bohemians near Prague; the „Snow King" had to flee; the Emperor suspended the Bohemian constitution, had the insurgent leaders executed, and banished many thousand Protestant families; and the Turks had seized Vácz. Strife had broken out afresh between the Protestant and Catholic nobles of Hungary; there was little hope of any support from the Estates of Bohemia and Germany; so Bethlen made peace with Ferdinánd, whose resources too were exhausted; and the Treaty of Nikolsburg (December 1621) was signed. By it Bethlen returned the Holy Crown to the Emperor and gave up the title of King of Hungary, while Ferdinand promised to respect the liberties of Hungary.

The Treaty of Nikolsburg, which was not regarded by either side as much more than a truce, was due to Bethlen's innate loyalty to the constitution and religious tolerance, and to the intervention of Pázmány and Nicholas Eszterházy. The Court of Vienna had no intention of observing its terms; and Bethlen, who trusted the imperialists as he did the Turks, was only waiting to see the result of the struggle between the forces of the Catholic League under Tilly and the Protestant armies of Christian of Brunswick and Mansfeld. When it became evident that Ferdinand would triumph, and that the reaction begun in Germany would spread to Hungary. Bethlen made an alliance with England, France, and Holland (1622). The Vienna Court was alarmed and sent envoys to Constantinople; but Bethlen had anticipated this move, and the imperial envoys returned discomfited and disheartened. In 1624 Bethlen's army was again in Upper Hungary, where an attempt was to be made to join forces with Mansfeld; his horsemen harried the neighbouring districts

A Street in Szeged.

of Austria; but Mansfeld was beaten by Tilly, and the Treaty of Nikolsburg was renewed at Vienna (1624).

Bethlen then suddenly changed his policy. He asked for the hand of Ferdinand's daughter, Cecilia Renata; he had convinced himself of the hollowness and danger of the Turkish alliance; and he hoped that as prince of a strong Transylvania, whose matrimonial alliance with the imperial house would secure the peaceful development of that province and the safety of the Hungarian constitution, he might act as mediator between the two Empires and consolidate the forces of the country for the final struggle against both. But the court of Vienna refused to entertain the proposal: Bethlen, humiliated by the purport if not by the tone of their answer, which endeavoured to be conciliatory, sent his ambassadors to Berlin to ask for the hand of Catherine, daughter of George William, Elector of Brandenburg. His request was granted in 1626. Catherine became his consort, and he renewed the alliance with the Protestant States of England, Denmark, and Holland.

Mansfeld was defeated and fled to Hungary: *Wallenstein pursued* his beaten army as far as the valley of the Upper Vág; then, hearing that *Bethlen* was at Nógrád, he turned to meet him. For weeks the two most famous generals of the age faced each other from opposite sides of the river Ipoly. But Wallenstein dared not risk a defeat, and Bethlen's Turkish auxiliaries mutinied and paralysed his movements. The two armies parted without drawing the sword: Wallenstein retired to Silesia, pursued by the vanguard of the Hungarians; Bethlen went to Pozsony, where, on the advice of Nicholas Eszterházy, now Palatine, he renewed the Treaty of Nikolsburg for the second time *(Peace of Pozsony,* December 1626).

In 1627 the exertions of Bethlen brought about the *Treaty of Szőny,* whereby it was hoped to establish peaceful relations between Ferdinand and the Porte.

Bethlen one more approached Ferdinand; but the latter regarded him as a heretic and a dangerous antagonist, and refused all his overtures. Thereupon the Prince of Transylvania turned to Gustavus Adolphus, the heroic King of Sweden and champion of Protestantism. The King of Sweden was to obtain the royal crown of Germany; Bethlen was to secure the throne of Poland; and the alliance was to have the support of Russia. But unfortunately Bethlen did not live to see the triumphs of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany: he died on November 15, 1629, at the age of forty-nine.

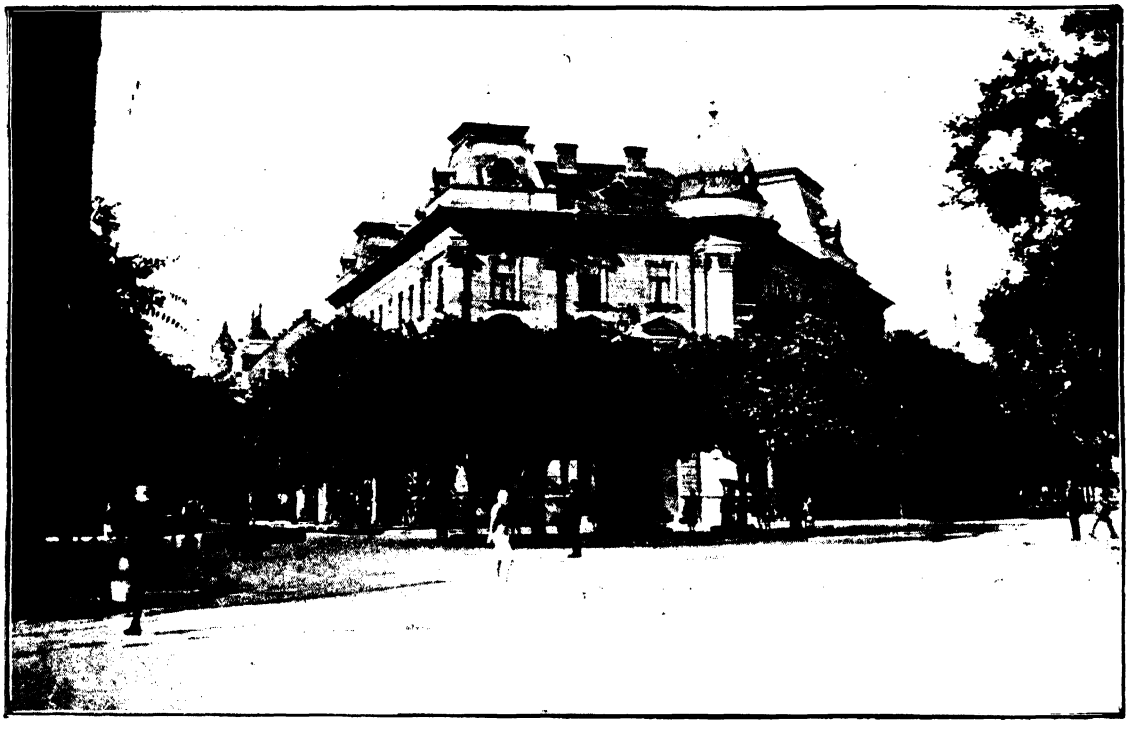
He found Transylvania a desolate waste, which had suffered terribly from being a bone of contention between. East and West and from the incapacity of weak rulers: he left it a flourishing constitutional state, the arbiter of the destinies of Hungary; the bulwark of constitutional and religious liberty against German imperialism; the outpost of Western culture on the threshold of a barbarian East; the pioneer of liberal institutions and of that liberalism which has since become a tradition of Hungarian policy; a power to be reckoned with in Europe.

Gabriel Bethlen was succeeded by his widow, Catherine (1629—30), his brother Stephen acting as Governor and Regent; but Catherine embraced the Catholic faith and intrigued to place Transylvania under the suzerainty of Ferdinand. So, in 1630, the Estates compelled her to abdicate. Stephen Bethlen assumed the reins of government; but his weakness compelled the Estates, two months later, to elect the wealthy magnate, George Rákóczi I. (1630—48), the powerful squire of Sárospatak, to be their prince. A devout Calvinist, he was more cautious than Bethlen, whose liberal treatment of his enemies he failed to emulate. His troubles with the Emperor-King began early, in spite of himself. Acting on the advice of Nicholas Eszterházy, Ferdinand refused to recognise the election of Rákóczi and determined to attempt the destruction of Transylvanian independence. The Transylvanian commanders, however, defeated the royal armies; Gustavus Adolphus won the battle of Breitenfeld; the Pope refused to assist the Emperor; so in 1631 Ferdinand finally agreed to acknowledge the validity of Rákóczi's election. The cautious Transylvanian prince refused to accept the political inheritance of Bethlen in Poland, and, after the death of Gustavus Adolphus at the battle of Lützen, he made a formal treaty of peace with Ferdinand (Eperjes, 1633).

Rákóczi had trouble at home too; but he succeeded in defeating the insurgents. However, his cruel treatment of their leader, David Zólyomi, induced the latter's father-in-law, Stephen Bethlen, to appeal

to the Turks, who were indignant at Rákóczi's failure to pay the annual tribute. Here, too, the prince's good fortune did not desert him; in 1636 his army gained a complete victory over the Turkish hosts at Szalonta; Bethlen became reconciled to Rákóczi; and the Sultan had learned to respect the military prowess of the Transylvanian „hajdús".

The following year (1637) Ferdinand II. and Peter Pázmány died, a fact which might have been expected to have the result of producing a change in the direction of tolerance. But the influence of Eszterházy still made itself felt; he had conceived an aversion to the idea of an independent Transylvania; with all his devotion to the constitution of his country, he had been instrumental in flooding the frontier fortresses with foreign mercenaries, whose lawless conduct was the cause of the peasant rising of 1631. Besides, the majority of the magnates had, thanks to the zeal of Pázmány, once more embraced the Catholic faith; and their efforts to convert their vassals by force threatened serious trouble.



Szeged. A Street.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE AGE OF LEOPOLD AND JOSEPH I.

Ferdinand III. (1637—57) had been elected to be his father's successor by Parliament in 1625. He was far more tolerant and conciliatory than his predecessor; but not even the laws passed with his sanction (1647) to secure liberty of conscience were able to put a stop to the religious intolerance practised mutually by the members of the two churches; and the Court party showed an inclination to exact retribution for the grievances of the Catholics, while they were reluctant to do the same for the Protestants. And, though he respected the outward form of the constitution, his successor Leopold refused to observe the essential points.

The Parliament of 1637—38 protested against the religious intolerance connived at by the Court: Rákóczi was appealed to, and he advised the King to enforce the principle of liberty of conscience as a means of winning the Protestants to his cause. But not even the overtures made to Rákóczi by the enemies of the House of

Habsburg could induce the weak King to change his fatal policy of laissez-faire. In 1633 Rákóczi entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with Sweden; and in February he issued a manifesto to the nation. In 1645 he made a further alliance with France; and his army, which had conquered the whole of Upper Hungary, at last joined forces with the Swedish commander, Torstenson, at Brünn. Ferdinand saved himself from final disaster by appealing to the Sublime Porte, which forbade Rákóczi to continue the campaign. So, in December 1645, the Treaty of Linz was signed. The terms of this treaty were practically identical with those exacted by Bethlen at Nikolsburg—with some additions in favour of the Protestants.

The Treaty of Linz was incorporated by the Parliament of 1646—47; but its conditions were not faithfully observed, and the conflict between Protestants and Catholics continued until Ferdinand's death in 1657.

Meanwhile, in 1648, George Rákóczi I. was succeeded by his son, George Rákóczi II. (1648—60). He inherited the wealth and power of his father, but not his caution: in fact, his limitless ambition proved, not only disastrous to his own fortunes, but the undoing of the principality over which he was called to rule. At first he confined his attentions to Moldavia and Wallachia, which he strove to subordinate to his rule. He was at the zenith of his power in 1655 when Transylvania gave promise of being all that she had been under Gabriel Bethlen; she was once more the hope of Hungary. But Rákóczi coveted the throne of Poland; he made an alliance with Charles X. of Sweden; and in 1657 he invaded Poland. Even the Cossacks, his allies, betrayed him to the Tartars; his most famous general, John Kemény (later Prince of Transylvania), was taken prisoner by the Tartars, while Rákóczi himself fell into the hands of King Casimir. 18,000 Transylvanian warriors were taken captive by their savage foes, who made slaves of them: and when Rákóczi escaped home a few months later, it was only to find that the exasperated Estates, acting on the instructions of the Porte, had elected Francis Rhédey (November 1657 to January 1657) to be their prince in his stead.

The same year *Leopold I.* (1657—1705) had ascended the throne of Hungary. Of weak constitution, he had been trained for the Church; and his training accounts for his policy. A man of considerable knowledge and with a distinct talent for music, he did his work mechanically; but his ambition was restricted to the consolidation of absolutism and the conversion of Hungary to the Catholic faith. He made up his mind early to establish the Regnum Marianum: though the methods he adopted both for the suppression of constitutional feeling and for the abolition of liberty of conscience were the work of his unscrupulous advisers, in whose hands he was a mere puppet.

At his accession he took an oath to maintain the liberties and constitution of Hungary.

Transylvania was unfortunately destined to cease to play the part which the wisdom of Bocskay and Gabriel Bethlen and the astute statesmanship of Pázmány had marked out for her. Rákóczi was unwilling to accept the insignificance to which his own unreasoning ambition had doomed him. In 1658 Francis Rhédey resigned; but the return of Rákóczi to power was the signal for a renewed effort on the part of Turkey. Wild hordes of Turks and Tartars were let loose on Transylvania. They created terrible havoc and carried off with them over 100,000 Transylvanians into slavery. *Ákos Barcsay* (September 1658 to September 1659) unwillingly accepted the throne offered him by Köprili; his only motive was to save the country from further ravage. The Grand Vizier raised the annual tribute and demanded an enormous war indemnity. The people were reduced to the verge of beggary: yet Rákóczi refused to rest; and, blinded by passion, appealed to Leopold for help. Once more he became prince: but he got no help from the Emperor-King; and on June 7, 1660, he was mortally wounded fighting against the Turks.

Barcsay, again elected prince, proved incapable of action against his Turkish allies and masters, who were evidently bent on the definitive conquest of Transylvania, as a steppingstone to the subjugation of Poland. On August 28 Ali Pasha took Nagyvárad, the key of Transylvania and E. Hungary and the resting-place of St Ladislas: the Vienna Court, which had refused to listen to the warnings of Nicholas Zrinyi, the grandson of the hero of Szigetvár, was alarmed, but, as usual, its assistance came too late.

On New Year's Day, 1661, the Estates

Debrecen. The Town Hall.

of Transylvania elected *John Kemény* to be their prince in succession to Barcsay, who abdicated. The new ruler was compelled to break with the policy of his great predecessors and to rely for aid against the Turks on the Court of Vienna. The general who had led the armies of Bethlen and Rákóczi to victory against the imperialists, had Barcsay executed, surrendered some fortresses to Leopold's commander-in-chief, Montecucculi, and made an alliance with Vienna. He chose to risk the possible danger of the German alliance in order to meet the certain danger threatening Transylvania from Constantinople. But the promised aid was again belated; once more Transylvania was given over to the ravages of Turks and Tartars; and another 100.000 Transylvanians were taken prisoners and conveyed to Constantinople. Ali Pasha compelled the Estates to elect Michael Apafi (1661 September 1690). Kemény for some time continued the struggle; near Segesvár, on January 22, 1662, he was killed in battle; and Apafi became the undisputed heir of the traditions of Bocskay, Bethlen, and the Rákóczis.

The new ruler was an amiable nonentity; fond of carousing and hunting, he left the government to his consort and his advisers. The Turks had gained a footing in the country; the Vienna Court pursued its usual and traditional policy of vacillation, refusing to withdraw the foreign garrisons (whose presence merely served to irritate the Turk) from the frontier fortresses and at the same time prohibiting any action. Thus this fresh opportunity for the union of Hungary and Transylvania was lost; all trust that the Hungarians may have reposed in the German alliance was undermined: and war with Turkey was, after all, inevitable.

The new Grand Vizier, Achmed Köprili, found pretexts enough for war. Leopold had interfered in the internal affairs of Transylvania, which the Sultan regarded as his protectorate; and the attitude of men like Zrinyi had shown what Turkey might expect Hungary to do, even without or in despite of the Court party. So in 1663, Köprili invaded Hungary with an army of 100,000 men. The Zrinyis held their own gallantly against all attacks; and Nicholas inflicted a crushing defeat on the Turkish army sent to invest Uj-Zrin. But the foreign garrison of Érsekujvár compelled the commander to surrender; they had no interest, they said, in defending Hungarian fortresses. Montecucculi did nothing to prevent the capture of Nyitra and Léva; and before the close of the year the Turks were at Pozsony, and the road to Vienna lay open.

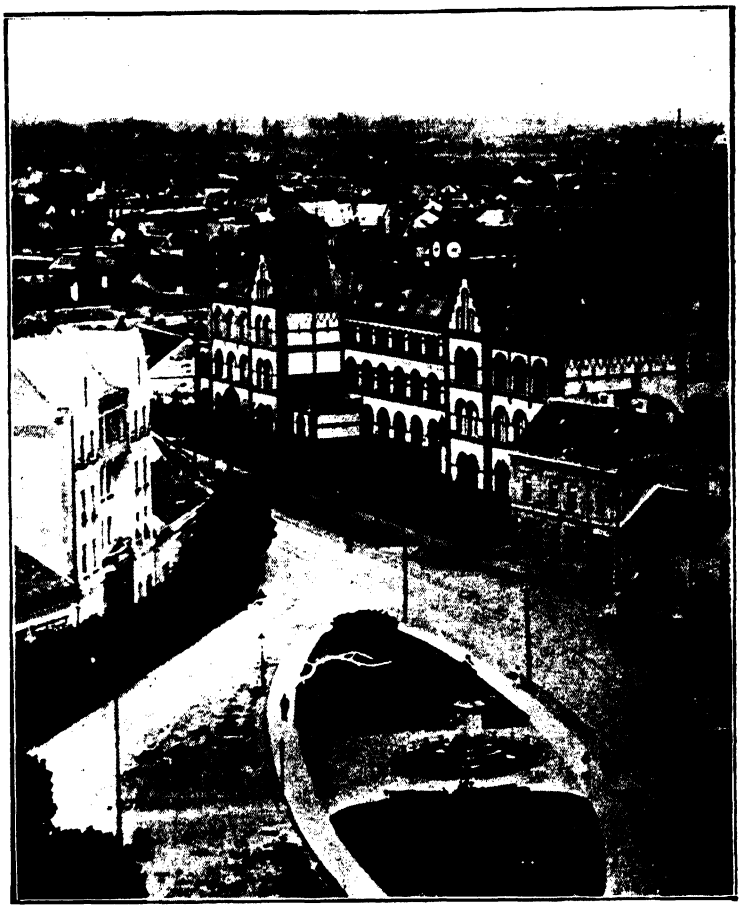
Montecucculi represented the traditions of the Court party; Hungary must be flooded with foreign mercenaries and governed with an iron hand; Zrinyi, who had fought always for the establishment of a national army and believed the Turks must be driven out by a vigorous offensive on the part of a united nation, attacked the imperial general and accused him of cowardice and incapacity. And during the winter campaign (1663—64) Zrinyi performed deeds of generalship that made the whole world ring with his praises and aroused the jealousy of Vienna. The Turks now saw that their real and most formidable enemy was Zrinyi: so in the spring of 1664 they concentrated all their forces for an attack on Uj-Zrin (Zerin), which, owing to the refusal of Zrinyi's rival to come to its aid, fell after a gallant resistance. Zrinyi attempted to persuade the King to enforce a change of policy: but the intrigues of the Court party frustrated his efforts; he resigned his command, and retired into private life. The resignation was accepted without regret: his ideas were regarded with disfavour; and on August 1 Montecucculi, aided by the French, gained a signal victory over the Turkish army of Köprili at *Szent Gotthárd*.

But Montecucculi made no attempt to follow up his victory: and the diplomats of Vienna added to the chagrin of Hungarian patriots by concluding a shameful peace, the *Peace of Vasvár*, August 14, 1664, for twenty years. The Turks were to retain Érsekujvár and Nagyvárad; Leopold acknowledged the independence of Transylvania and the title of Apafi, and agreed to withdraw his troops from the principality. The territory thus legally acknowledged as belonging to Turkey was larger than ever before; and there seemed no prospect of an immediate deliverance from the Turkish yoke.

The Hungarians had not even been consulted with reference to a treaty which affected them alone. The Court party had betrayed their intentions by offering Hungary to the Turks as a bait—and that after a signal victory. The Palatine protested: Vienna answered by refusing to convene Parliament. The nation had hitherto

believed that Vienna was *unable* to save Hungary; now they saw that Vienna was *unwilling* to do so. The result of the disappointment was universal exasperation and a determination to waive all internal dissensions. Many people migrated from „royal" Hungary to Turkish territory. In 1662 the Protestants had retired from the Diet by way of protest, leaving the Catholics to finish the debates by themselves: in 1664 Protestants and Catholics alike felt that their only chance of deliverance lay in a united effort of the national forces.

The death of Nicholas Zrinyi left the nation for the moment without a leader: but his inheritance was soon taken up by another eminent Hungarian, who gathered round him the representatives of the proudest names of the land.



Debrecen. View showing the Reformed High School.

Francis Wesselényi, the hero of the romantic capture of Murány (the ruins of whose castle still exist), and the Palatine of Hungary, conceived the idea of appealing to the Turks. His fellow-conspirators, *Francis Nádasdy*, the Lord Chief Justice, and *Peter Zrinyi* (Nicholas's brother), the Ban of Croatia, were in favour of attempting to make an alliance with France. Before long the conspiracy, which was formed on the initiative of the most powerful Catholic magnates, men who had always been staunuch royalists and now held the highest offices in the land, was soon joined by *Francis Frangepán, Francis Rákóczi* (the son of George Rákóczi I.) and some of the leaders of the Protestant party. The object of the conspirators was „to put an end to the critical situation of Hungary and the Hungarian nation." It was proposed to call upon Leopold to observe the terms of his coronation oath and respect the constitution, and, failing a satisfactory answer, to appeal to the right to take up arms secured by clause 31 of the Golden Bull *(the ius resistendi)*. Appeals for aid were made to Poland, to the Sultan, to Transylvania, and to Louis XIV. of France. Early in 1667 (March 27), before the scheme had matured, Wesselényi died suddenly. The Court discovered the conspiracy; a raid at the castle of Murány brought to light the papers; the ringleaders were arrested, condemned illegally by Austrian tribunals, and decapitated without a chance of an appeal to their own Courts (1671).

There ensued a veritable reign of terror. The Court party determined to exact an awful retribution from the whole nation. The „Bloody Tribunal" (1671) which sat first at Lőcse and then at Pozsony, condemned many leading Protestants to death, and sequestered the estates of over 300 Protestant families, many of whom fled to Transylvania to swell the ranks of the „refugees; Protestant churches were clo-

sed; the college of Eperjes was converted into a Jesuit seminary. Taxes were imposed in an arbitrary manner on rich and poor alike; the number of foreign mercenaries was increased; and the work of conversion by force was begun afresh. The taxes illegally levied by the central government were employed to provide for the foreign instruments of oppression: the nation was made to pay for the confiscation of its national rights.

The homeless refugees who had sought for shelter in Transylvania appealed to the Porte for aid. The Sultan refused officially; but secretly he rejoiced when the refugees took up arms in 1672. At first their efforts proved abortive; they were defeated by the imperial generals.

Leopold now „decided to treat Hungary as his ancestor had treated Bohemia, to establish absolutism and to convert the country to Catholicism by the utmost execution of religious pressure and of military force". By an edict of 1673 he abolished the constitution of Hungary, treated it as a conquered country, and left the execution of his designs to his chief adviser *Kollonics*, who carried them out in the most brutal manner.

Jasper Ampringen was appointed Governor of Hungary with the power and authority of a dictator. The imperialists began a systematic persecution, not only of refugees and Protestants, but also of Catholic magnates suspected of sympathy with the national cause. The war between the national „Kurucz" armies and the imperialist or „labancz" levies was renewed with unexampled fury; neither side discriminated in the methods employed to intimidate its adversaries. The most shocking atrocities were committed; and, to add to the misery of the country, the „Bloody Tribunal" of Pozsony was resuscitated (1673); it deprived 250 Protestant clergymen of their benefices and sentenced sixty-seven to the galleys. The *Gubernium* (governing council) was supreme; and the days of national Hungary seemed to be numbered.

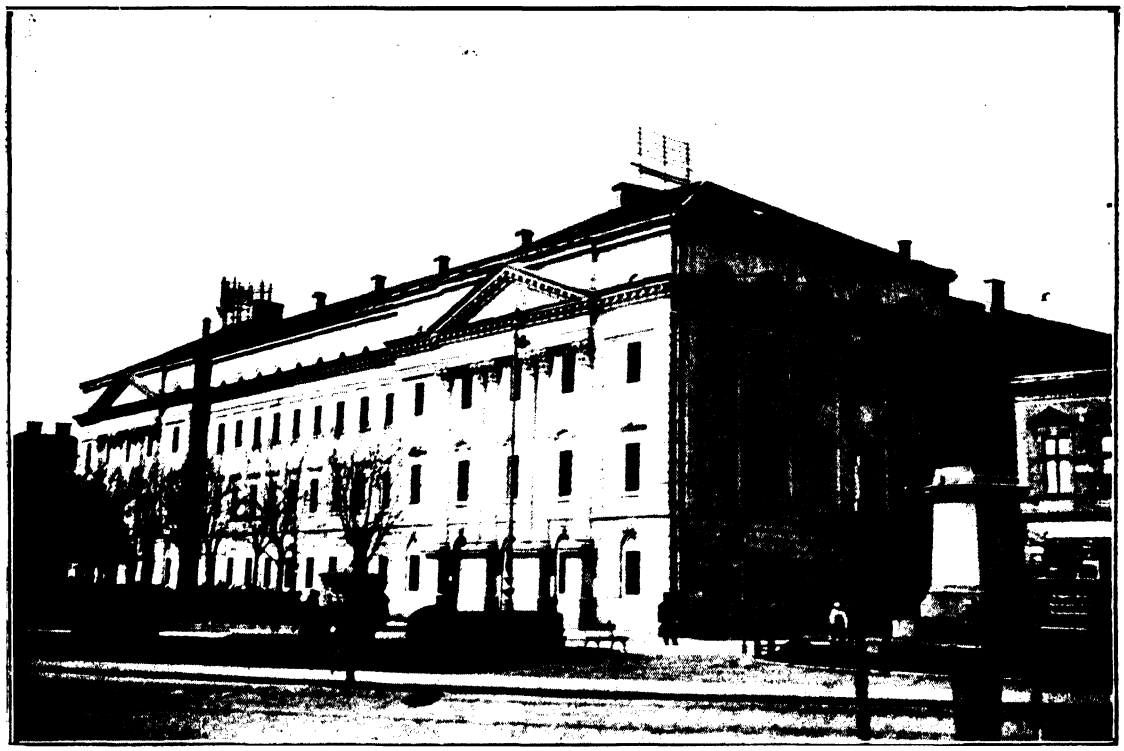
But the nation's power of resistance was not broken. Ampringen resigned his office of dictator, and counselled moderation; the refugees were preparing for a fresh struggle; the Turks agreed to the plan of action against the Empire; and in 1678 Michael Teleki's place as leader of the „Kurucz" armies was taken by Imre Thököli, a noble whose family inherited the traditions of revolt against tyranny. Thököli's entrance upon the scene was the signal for a renewal of energy; he was, indeed, regarded for some time as a worthy successor to Gabriel Bethlen.

On June 17, 1682, Thököli wedded Ilona Zrinyi (the daughter of the unfortunate victim of the Wesselényi conspiracy), the widow of Francis Rákóczi I. and mother of Francis Rákóczi II., who later on defended the castle of Munkács so heroically against the imperialists. She is one of the outstanding figures in Hungarian history on account of her heroic attachment to the national cause, which she saw personified in her second husband, to whom she clung with a devotion as rare as it was unselfish.

Thököli had many adversaries even in the „Kurucz" ranks. Despite his immense learning, and his enthusiasm for noble ideals, his personal character was not above reproach: a Lutheran himself, he was mistrusted by Catholic and Reformed alike; his eagerness to throw himself into the arms of the Turk was unpopular. But the brilliant success which attended his first appearance disarmed all antagonism. He overran the upper part of Hungary and seized the mining towns: Louis XIV. broke faith and made his peace with the Emperor (Nymwegen, 1678). However, the Vienna Court party was alarmed: Leopold offered to make a truce and summoned Parliament to meet at Sopron (1681).

The Parliament, aided by the Government, attempted a compromise; but the restoration of *some* of the points of the Treaty of Vienna failed to conciliate public opinion; and a renewal, in a different form, of the persecution of Protestantism, gave Thököli a fresh opportunity in 1682. He relied on the support of the disaffected Protestants and on the favourable conditions prevailing in the field of foreign politics. Kara Mustapha, the new Grand Vizier, made an alliance with Thököli, whom he agreed to recognise as „King" of Hungary in consideration of his acknowledging the Sultan as his overlord and paying an annual tribute of 40,000 thalers. The title of „King" Thököli refused, contenting himself with that of „prince". In a short time he made himself master of practically the whole of Upper Hungary, from Kassa his „capital" to the River Garam. He established a Diet at Kassa and instituted a system of taxation to cover the expenses

Debrecen. The Reformed Church with the monument of Csokonai.



Debrecen. Reformed Students' Hostel.

of government. In the meantime he waited patiently for the expected advance of the Turkish army.

In the spring of 1683 Kara Mustapha entered Hungary at the head of an army of 250,000 picked warriors and advanced slowly through the trans-Danubian district *towards Vienna*. All Hungary seemed lost to the Habsburgs. But Thököli was as completely taken aback as Martinuzzi had been in 1541: he now saw that he had been tricked, that the *real* object of the Turks was no more the protection of Hungary than that of the imperialists had been, and that his country was to be used as a stepping-stone to the conquest of the Empire. So he held back while the Ottoman army pressed further westwards. But Vienna was really alarmed: *Austria* was in danger. And Europe was alarmed for the city which was then regarded as the secular capital of Christendom. So Vienna and Christendom awaited in breathless anxiety the outcome of what was to prove the final struggle for supremacy between the Christian civilisation of the West and the Turkish barbarism of the East. The heroic resistance of the Vienna citizens and the gallant assaults of the united armies of John Sobieski, the brave King of Poland, and Charles of Lorraine, awoke an echo that reverberated throughout the length and breadth of Europe. On September 12 (1683) Vienna was saved and the Turkish army, routed and demoralised, fled precipitately, not resting until it arrived before the walls of Buda. The Pasha of Buda was defeated at Párkány-Nána; Esztergom was retaken; Kara Mustapha (who would have gladly avenged his defeats on Thököli) fled to Belgrade, where he was strangled by order of the Sultan.

The Sixteen Years'War (1683—99) had begun: it ended with the liberation of practically the whole of Hungary from the Turkish yoke.

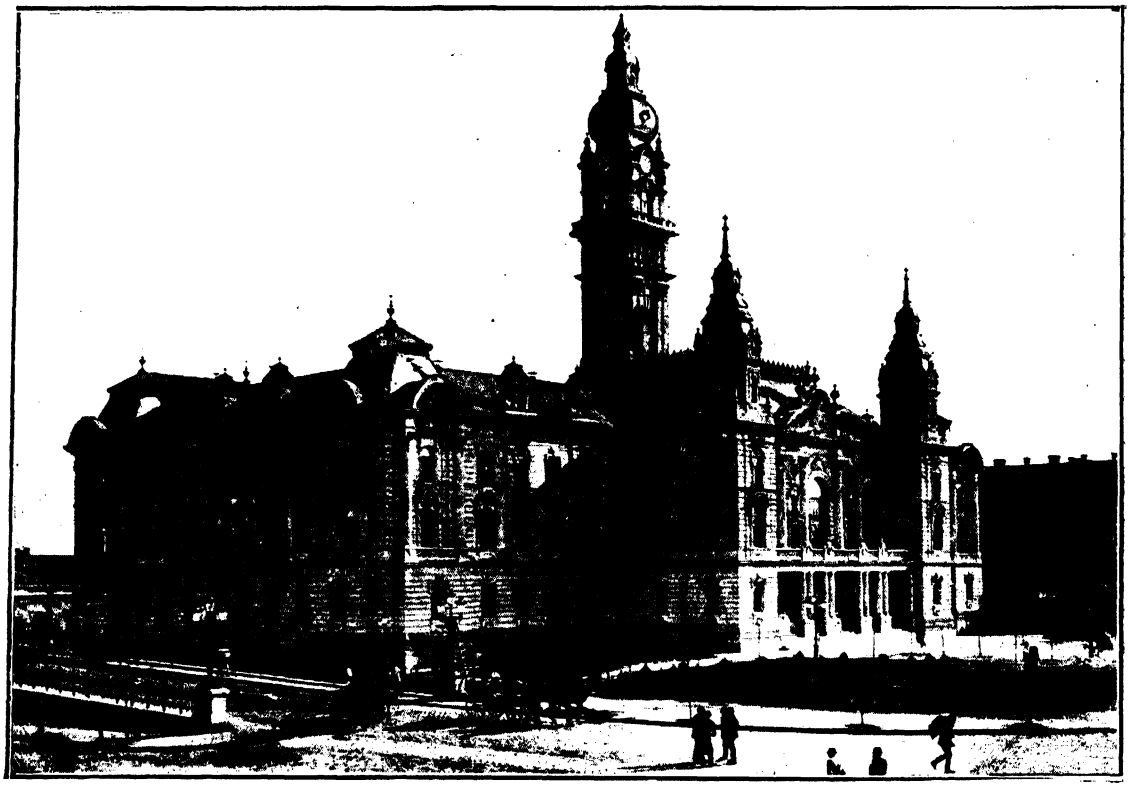
Meanwhile the fortunes of Thököli were on the decline. The nation realised that at last the Government of Vienna was seriously thinking of driving out the Turk; many of the insurgents deserted the national cause. Sobieski's attempts to bring about a reconciliation between Thököli and Leopold were rendered abortive by the arrogance of the Court party, whose heads were turned by the brilliance of the success achieved. The Christian (or Holy) League established at the instigation of

Debrecen. The University.

Pope Innocent XI. — under the auspices of which Leopold, Sobieski, and the Doge of Venice made a defensive and offensive alliance — was formed for the express purpose of freeing Hungary from the Turks. Upper Hungary and the trans-Danubian districts submitted to Leopold, who proceeded to confiscate the Hungarian estates of Thököli and Apafi. The imperial troops captured the fortresses of Upper Hungary which still acknowledged the authority of the unfortunate insurgent leader. In 1685 the Pasha of Nagyvárad, Achmed, invited Thököli to visit him, had him put in chains — at the instance of the Grand Vizier, Ibrahim Satan — and hoped to secure a truce by surrendering him to Leopold. But the Austrian Court was not in the mood for peace; and on December 2, Ibrahim shared the fate of his predecessor. Many of the „Kurucz" soldiers joined the imperialists: but Ilona Zrinyi still held out at Munkács, and defied the imperialists for three years. In 1689 Thököli was released by the new Grand Vizier and sent to occupy the throne of Transylvania, where Michael Teleki, the former insurgent leader and Thököli's bitter antagonist, was working in the interests of Leopold. On the battlefield of Zernyest (1690) he defeated Heissler, the imperial general, and took him prisoner. He was exchanged for Ilona Zrinyi, then a prisoner in a convent at Vienna. The same year Thököli was elected prince of Transylvania; but after two month's enjoyment of a mock authority he was obliged to retire before the victorious army of Louis of Baden. One result of his campaign, however, was the issue of the famous *Diploma Leopoldinum* (1690).

After the *Peace of Karlovicz* (1699), Thököli, who had fled to Wallachia, was exiled by the Sultan to Ismid (Nicodemia), in Asia Minor, where he died in 1705.

In 1686, a year that will for ever be memorable in the annals of Hungary, after the famous siege, *Buda* was retaken by the combined Christian host serving under Charles of Lorraine. The last Pasha of Buda, Abdi (or Abdurraman), was killed, fighting heroically, on the spot where the University Press stands to-day. The „Kurucz" warriors who had rallied round the imperial standard were among the first to scale the walls during the final assault; and the news of the recapture of the ancient capital awoke a responsive echo in the ears of all Hungarians, who now looked for complete liberation from the



Győr. The New Town Hall.

Turkish yoke and the restoration of their ancestral liberties.

The same year saw the recovery of Pécs and Szeged: but it also saw the establishment of the *„Bloody Assizes" of Eperjes under Anthony Carafa*, an imperial general of Neapolitan extraction, whose cruelty and vindictiveness established a veritable reign of terror. Torture and murder were the order of the day. Protestantism or wealth; those were the crimes which served to whet this human devil's appetite for blood and to earn for the market-place of Eperjes the title of „slaughter-house". But in time even the Court party withdrew their approval; the Parliament was about to sit; and concessions of vast importance were to be exacted from the representatives of the nation, which was grateful enough, despite its terrible sufferings, for the removal of the Turkish nightmare. So Carafa was instructed to proceed to Vienna.

The year 1687 saw the recovery of Eger and the defeat of Soliman, the Grand Vizier, near the historic battlefield of Mohács; it witnessed the liberation of Slavonia: but it is of more importance as a landmark of Hungarian constitutional history. At the request of the Government, and as a token of their gratitude to the ruling dynasty, the Estates, at the *Diet of Pozsony*, renounced their right to elect a king, making the succession hereditary (in accordance with the law of primogeniture) in the male line of the House of Habsburg, on condition that that right should revert to the nation in the case of the extinction of both the German and the Spanish branches — and revoking the right of armed resistance (the *jus resistendi)* guaranteed to the nation by the Golden Bull. At the same time they declared that the innovations did not affect the ancient prerogatives of the nation or the independence of the country. The unfavourable measures adopted by the Diet of Sopron (1681) with reference to Protestants were renewed; and the terms of the coronation oath were modified in favour of the sovereign.

In 1688 Székesfehérvár, Szendrő (Semendria), and Belgrade opened their gates to the Christians; while Louis Margrave of Baden overran Serbia and Bosnia, emulating the deeds of the Hunyadis and reconquering most of the territory of those provinces.

Győr. Revenue Buildings.

The following year, however, Köprili Mustapha drove the imperial troops out of Servia and Bosnia and once more placed the Crescent on the walls of Belgrade; while Adam Batthány and Stephen Zichy recovered Nagy-Kanizsa. In 1691 Louis of Baden again defeated the Turks at the battle of *Zalánkemén*, completely destroying the Grand Vizier's army; while Heissler recovered Nagyvárad. Two years later Békés-Gyula fell into the Christians hands: while in 1695, despite the annihilation, at Lugos, of the imperial army commanded by Veterani, of the important fortresses only Temesvár remained in the possession of the Sultan.

In 1697 the brilliant and impetuous Prince *Eugéne of Savoy* took over the command of the Christian armies. Aided by the dashing bravery of the hussars led by Blind Bottyán and Pálffy, Eugéne, at *Zenta*, routed and put to flight the Turkish army sent to avenge the defeat of Zalánkemén. Thirty thousand Turks perished on the battlefield or in the waters of the Tisza. The Sultan, who was at the head of this army, saved himself by flight. The Turks were exhausted; the question of the Spanish Succession was of more pressing importance to the Emperor than the final expulsion of the pagan intruders; England and Holland intervened to stem the tide of Habsburg victory; and on January 26, 1699, the *Peace of Karlovicz* (Karlócza) was signed. Hungary, with the exception of the Banat of Temes, and a part of the Szerém district, was restored to Leopold; the Sultan engaged to keep the refugees, and in particular Thököli, from crossing the frontier; and the rivers Save and Unna were marked out as constituting the S. W. frontier of the Hungarian kingdom.

Hungary could breathe again: but the process was a painful one; the promise of a better future for the moment remained a promise and nothing more.

The removal of the Crescent from the walls of Buda settled the destiny of Transylvania just as completely as the events of 1541 had inaugurated her existence as a separate state. The frontier fortresses from Karánsebes to Nagyvárad all fell into the hands of the royal armies; the Turkish suzerainty over Transylvania became a thing of the past. Apafi became more and more dependent on his favourites, who

Győr. Epispocal Seminary with the Old Church.

ruled by extortion and terrorism. In 1686, after he had assumed the supreme control of affairs by overthrowing his adversary John Haller, Teleki went to Vienna and made a treaty with Leopold. But this treaty was unpalatable both to the Estates and to Apafi, neither of whom suspected the renegade Teleki's real designs. But in 1687 Charles of Lorraine appeared in Transylvania at the head of a large army and compelled Apafi (who had endeavoured to secure both French and Turkish aid) to sign the still more unfavourable *Treaty of Balázsfalva*, which was enforced by the appearance on the scene of *Carafa*, accompanied by „a cartload of instruments of torture". Even Teleki was alarmed; Apafi retired to the county of Fogaras, the Estates submitted without a protest. The victory gained by Thököli at Zernyest was the indirect cause of the issue of the famous *Diploma Leopoldinum* which, while recognising the fundamental principles of the Transylvanian counstitution, marked the end of Transylvanian independence. Apafi's son in 1710 formally renounced his authority as Prince of Transylvania. George Bánffy was appointed Governor (1690), and devoted his energies to compelling the three nations to reconcile themselves to the new state of things and to pay their taxes regulary. For the time, the moral and material ruin of Transylvania was complete.

Hungary had no particular reason to rejoice at her liberation from the Turkish yoke. The Vienna Court party, which had formerly regarded the country merely as a bait offered to the lust of the Turks, now claimed the sole credit for the victory. Between 1683 and 1690, Hungary was treated far worse than the hereditary provinces; severe exactions were made: the constitution was set at nought; and even the loyal Palatine, Paul Eszterházy, when protesting against the levy of such enormous taxes, said it seemed as if the Court „desired to exterminate the population of Hungary and to make the country which for three hundred years had shed its blood for Christianity the lair of wild animals".

It was the gentry and the peasantry who felt the burden most; they could not protect their estates and their colleges against the German „executor". Many poor people took their children to Temesvár, where they sold them to the Turks as slaves, in order to be able to pay their taxes.

Hungary was regarded as a province and the one object of the central government was to Germanise and absorb her. The chief exponent of this policy in Hungary was Leopold Kollonics, Bishop of Győr, who in 1695 became „Archbishop-Primate of Esztergom". He rejoiced at the depopulation of the country, as he desired to introduce foreign settlers devoted to Catholicism and the principles of absolutism.

The reforms instituted by the government reminded them of the warnings of Zrinyi and Thököli, who had both declared that it would be fatal to Hungary if she owed her deliverance to a German army. In 1688, a *commission for the reorganisation of the country composed entirely of Germans*, began to sit under the presidency of Kollonics. The scheme elaboraated by this commission was published in 1689: it contained provisions relating to the administration of justice, religion, and financial and economic matters. By it there were to be three supreme courts; equality of all citizens before the law; serfs were to be permitted to sue their lords and to give evidence against nobles; a court of chancery was to be set up, the criminal laws were to be reformed. A scheme of Catholicisation, particularly by the settling of Catholic colonists, was initiated. In the field of Finance and Economics Hungary was to supply one-third of the whole sum required by the Empire; taxes were to be paid by *portae;* nobles were to pay military taxes; measures were taken to increase prospects of extra revenue and to further the settlement of foreign elements.

Sopron. Városház Square with County Buildings.

Industry and commerce were to be encouraged.

With all its good points this scheme was a great danger to the nation. Its real object was to denationalise the country, to destroy the material welfare of the gentry, the backbone of the nation, to engage the

Sopron. Casino.

sympathy of the peasantry as against the nobles and to utilise the policy of colonisation as an instrument of Germanisation.

The Estates refused to consent to any of the reforms. In 1696 Leopold summoned the magnates and prelates to Vienna and commanded them to express their opinion of the scheme: *Paul Széchenyi*. Archbishop of Kalocsa, boldly declared that an opinion expressed by Hungarians in Vienna was invalid, and that only Parliament could decide. So the Government resolved to act on its own account. The districts beyond Drave were declared a separate province; the liberty of conscience of the Protestants was removed and their churches confiscated; the Protestants were not allowed to settle in the reconquered districts, and were subjected to all kinds of indignities at the hands of the foreign mercenaries; the Protestant clergymen were banished, and a regular system of „dragonnades" was introduced. The Protestants too were compelled to pay tithes to the Catholic priests. Foreign soldiers flooded the country: and exhausted it. The *commissio neoacquistica* instituted by Kollonics for the purpose of examining title-deeds, employed its authority to oust disaffected or „heretical" nobles from their estates, which were given to foreigners or to Hungarians whose loyalty was believed to be above reproach. The religious and political reaction awoke echoes of resentment and indignation; no Parliament had been summoned to meet since 1687; popular songs telling of the misery and suffering of the people and the cruel heartlessness of the foreign oppressor were heard on all sides.

In 1699 Kollinics carried out his policy of colonisation. Though sound from the economic point of view, the tendency involved was fraught with danger to the national existence of Hungary. In 1691, thirty to forty thousand Serb families, under the leadership of the Patriarch of Ipek, had entered Hungary as refugees, settling in the country of Pozsega, the districts of Szerém and the Bácska, and the county of Arad, and in Buda and Szent-Endre (near Budapest). After the Peace of Karlovicz, the central government allowed these settlers to stay, for they were regarded as trustworthy elements likely to aid in the suppression of Hungarian nationalism. The hope reposed in their „loyalty" was not disappointed, and during the rising of Rákóczi they joined the imperialists. Their affairs were managed by the Illyrian Chancellery stationed at Vienna; and they

Sopron. Town Museum.

were encouraged to believe that the territory occupied by them was a separate state. However, after the Treaty of Szatmár they too began to feel the heavy hand of Vienna; the period for their exemption from taxation had expired: many of them turned to the Czar of Russia for support, and had to flee for refuge to Wallachia.

The settlement of German colonists in Hungary was part of the deliberate policy of the central government. They were Catholics; and they received free grants of land and exemption from all forms of taxation for five years. From this time originated the Swabian villages in the environs of Budapest (then the two towns of Buda and Pest), as well as the majority of the German communities of the counties of Arad, Tolna, Baranya, and Vas. Many of the new colonists settled in the Saxon districts of Transylvania.

Though of value from the standpoint of national ecomony, these settlements, in political and national respects, had a disastrous effect. In many places the sprinkling of Hungarians left by the ravages of the Turks, the depredations of the foreign mercenaries and the anti-Protestant reaction, were unable to assimilate the far more numerous foreign elements; in others, however, the new-comers spontaneously adopted Hungarian nationalism.

Such were the conditions which paved the way for a new national leader, Francis Rákóczi II.

In 1697, in the market-place of Sátoraljaújhely, the exasperated people took the law into their own hands and beat their German „executors" to death. The insurgents then massacred the garrison of Sárospatak and seized some fortresses. The imperial troops suppressed the insurrection; but they could not suppress the indignation and exasperation that was eating at the heart of the nation, which was merely waiting for the advent of its saviour. It had not long to wait.

Francis Rákóczi II. was the son of the man who had with difficulty escaped the consequences of his share in the Wesselényi conspiracy and of Ilona Zrinyi, and the stepson of Imre Thököli. After the surrender of Munkács (1688) Francis was taken to Vienna, and was then brought up, under the direction of Kollonics, by the Jesuits of Neuhass (Bohemia). Their object was to make an Austrian of him and to induce him to forget his family traditions:

Sopron. Town Tower.

he was not allowed to see his mother again. But he did not forget: in 1692 he escaped from the clutches of Kollonics and his creatures, and travelled in Italy. In 1694 (at the age of eighteen) he was declared of age; a few weeks later he wedded Princess Charlotte Amalia of Hesse, a descendant of St Elizabeth, the saintly daughter of Andrew II. of Hungary. He then retired to his estates in the county of Sáros. His intimate friendship with Count Nicholas Bercsényi, the patriotic lieutenant of the country of Ung, opened his eyes to the sufferings of the country he loved so well; and in 1699 he resolved to take up arms to fulfil the traditions of Gabriel Bethlen. Louis XIV. approached him through his ambassador in Constantinople (Ferreol): some letters were delivered by a traitor (Longueval) to the Court at Vienna instead of to Louis; and Rákóczi was arrested and taken to Wienerneustadt. The young prince knew that he could expect no mercy from Austrian judges; so, with the aid of his devoted consort, he escaped and fled to Warsaw, where he was joined by Bercsényi. Once more he entered into negotiations with Louis XIV., who promised his aid: and when a deputation of his oppressed countrymen — all members of the peasant clas — waited on him to beg him to assume the lead of the insurrection, he willingly consented to fight „for God and liberty".

The „Kurucz" spirit was alive again. At first the insurgents met with a check; and the Court, whose attention was monopolised for the moment by the wars of the Spanish succession, refused to take the movement seriously. Hungary was looked upon as now too weak to be dangerous, and the sages of Vienna could not believe that the proud Rákóczi, the pupil of the Jesuits, would enter the field in the defence of a cause which appeared to them largely plebeian and Protestant. The insurrection has been consistently misrepresented by foreign writers as a movement of the peasants against their Hungarian feudal masters. It was nothing of the kind. It *began* as such and as a protest against the cruel oppression of the foreign authorities and mercenaries; but it soon developed into a national protest, into a war for the defence of the constitution, of political and religious liberty, and of the right of the nation to govern itself. Nine days after the battle of Dolha, where the revolt had for the moment failed, Rákóczi entered Hungary by the Pass of Vereczke; shortly afterwards his manifesto allayed the suspicions of the nobility: and in a few weeks peasants, gentry, magnates, Protestants and Catholics alike, flocked to his standard; the movement spread like wildfire through Upper Hungary and the Lowlands; and when Rákóczi took Debreczen, Nagykároly, Tokaj, and the mining towns, the Court became alarmed. The „labancz" army was routed at Zólyom: and when, in 1704, the „Kurucz" hosts appeared before Pozsony and, under the command of Bercsényi and Károlyi, penetrated almost to the gates of Vienna, the alarm of the Court changed to terror and consternation. Leopold appealed to Archbishop Paul Széchenyi to intervene, at

the same time offering to dispense with the more burdensome taxation. The trans-Danubian districts and Transylvania threw off the foreign yoke; and the latter province elected Rákóczi as their prince. Rákóczi was ready to negotiate; but he placed no trust in Austrian promises and issued his famous manifesto to the Protestant powers. He even expressed a willingness for Transylvania, as an independent principality, to be brought under the suzerainty of the King of Hungary: but he insisted on guarantees on the part of England, Holland, and Prussia. The Government refused to accept the conditions: and hostilities were recommenced. The Croatians, the Rascians, and several towns refused to desert Leopold's cause; and the imperial general, Heister, anticipating the methods of Haynau, endeavoured to cow the country into submission: but the campaign of terror merely hardened the determination of the nation; and the brilliant victories won by Rákóczi, Bercsényi and Károlyi promised to further the final triumph of the national cause. Even the defeat at Nagyszombat (December 25), which Heister proved incapable of following up, failed to dishearten the insurgents, who the next year renewed the conflict with undiminished energy.

Sopron. Citadel and Outer Gate.

On May 5, 1705, Leopold died. The policy dictated by his advisers was one long series of unfortunate mistakes; owing to his inablility to gauge the character or temper of his Hungarian subjects, or to appreciate the piety with which they clung to their traditions, his reign closed with a struggle the inevitability of which must have been evident to any far-seeing statesman. Unfortunately Leopold's counsellors were blinded by fanaticism; and the events that darkened his last years were the immediate result of that blindness which the King was either unwilling or unable to remedy.

Leopold's son Joseph I. (1795—11), was an enlightened and liberal-minded ruler; but he was unfortunate in succeeding a man whose policy had awakened a feeling of distrust in the mind of the nation. Himself of a peaceable nature, his reign was destined to be a record of continual warfare.

On September 12 (1705), the „allied Estates of Hungary" held a Diet at *Széchény*, at which Rákóczi, who refused to listen to Joseph's overtures of peace, was elected „prince of the Hungarians allied in the defence of the country's liberties". A council of twenty-four nobles was appointed to advise the prince; the question of liberty of conscience was settled in the spirit of the laws of 1647. The ambassadors of England and Holland did all they could to bring about a reconciliation between Joseph and Rákóczi: but the Court refused to yield on the question of Transylvanian independence and international guarantees, and clung to the laws of 1687 and the *Diploma Leopoldinum*. Rákóczi insisted on a return to the conditions imposed by the Treaty of Vienna (1606) and the Peace of Pozsony (1608). So the negotiations were broken off.

The fortunes of war changed continually. The imperialists had no generals of particular brilliance, but Rákóczi was unable to control the jealousies and quarrels of his commanders. France had proved of but little use as an ally: the battles of Hochstädt, Ramillies, and Torino destroyed the

Sopron. Baths and Summer Suburb.

last hopes of aid from the French or the Bavarians; and national pride as well as the fear of offending England and Holland, prevented Rákóczi from seeking the alliance of the Turks. The dashing strategy of „blind Bottyán", Bezerédi, and Stephen Andrássy, the mistakes of Rabutin, the brilliant victories of Rákóczi himself (1707) in Transylvania, were of no avail as long as Louis XIV. refused to make an alliance with „the subjects of another monarch". But the *Diet of Ónod* (May 1707) declared for the dethronement of the House of Habsburg and elected Rákóczi prince of Hungary. Louis now negotiated with Joseph; and the chance of Hungary's claims coming up for European discussion was gone.

The disloyalty of Louis XIV. was followed by the triumphs of the imperial general, Rabutin, in Transylvania (December 1707) and by the disastrous defeat of Rákóczi at Trencsén (August 1708): and no prince could be found to accept the vacant throne.

In 1709 the cause of the insurgents suffered terrible reverses. „Blind" Bottyán died; the trans-Danubian districts submitted to Joseph; Heister had no formidable rival now to stay his progress or to check the march of his terrorism. In 1710 Rákóczi was again routed (Romhány); and Lőcse opened its gates to the imperialists. By the close of the year practically the whole of Hungary had returned to its former allegiance. Rákóczi, who still insisted on the independence of Transylvania and European guarantees, fled to Poland (February 1711) to appeal for aid to the Czar Peter. His deputy, Alexander Károlyi, opened negotiations with Count John Pálffy, Joseph's commander-in-chief, who desired to end the long-protracted struggle without any further loss of blood: the result was the *Treaty (Peace) of Szatmár*, signed on April 29. Joseph promised a general amnesty (in which Rákóczi himself might share if he swore allegiance within three weeks); he engaged to restore liberty of conscience and to observe the constitution; all grievances were to be remedied by Parliament.

The insurrection had ended in surrender (the „Kurucz" troops were allowed to take their arms with them, after taking the oath of allegiance); but the object for which it was started had been attained. Unfortunately Joseph died (April 17) before the peace was signed; and Rákóczi, who was proud and distrustful, remained in Poland, then went to France (Grosbois), and finally retired into exile at *Rodosto*, on the Sea of Marmora, where he died in 1735. He stands out as the most romantic figure in

the history of Hungary. His remains were buried at Galata: but in 1906 they were removed to Hungary and interred in the cathedral of Kassa.

During the Turkish occupation the country was, nominally, divided into three parts: but the inhabitants of certain districts of royal Hungary and Transylvania suffered the disadvantages of living on disputed territory. They were compelled either to submit to the Turkish depredations or to purchase immunity by the payment of tribute: those who chose the latter alternative — and they were in the majority — were thus paying taxes to two masters.

Sopron. Himting Lodge.

The Turks wanted slaves and money: so they made a regular practice of kidnapping peasants and wealthy land-owners.

Sopron. Wayside Shrine.

The towns which paid tribute to the Sultan were far better off than the communities of homesteads which were under the arbitrary rule of Turkish landlords, who outvied even the worst practices of feudalism. Those countryfolk who could not tolerate the exaction fled to undisputed ground or to the towns; thus many districts were practically depopulated.

The guerilla warfare between the respective frontier fortresses — a veritable parallel to the border warfare between the English and Scotch in the days of the Percys — never ceased; the treaties between the governments were not respected by the Turkish and Hungarian (or Austrian) garrisons; and the districts lying between the two were denuded of inhabitants.

But no oppression — not even the terrorism of the Pashas and Beys, and their cruel Spahis and wild Janissaries — could drive their patriotism, their devotion to the national state, out of the hearts of the Hungarians. They maintained their ancestral customs even under Turkish rule; they held their country assemblies or moots; and the Hungarian serfs were even known to pay

Sopron. Fertőrákos Stone-quarry.

their taxes to the central government and to discharge their obligations to their Hungarian lords, whom they continued to look upon as their real masters.

The capital of Turkish Hungary was Buda. There was naturally but little social intercourse between the Turks and the Hungarians.

The Turkish occupation put an end to the omnipotence of county oligarchs, whose feudal levies practically ceased to exist; the gentry were able to compete once more with the magnates: and the county assembly became supreme over both. The counties became the corner-stones of Hungarian patriotism and Hungarian nationalism: their attitude facilitated the resumption of national life the moment the Turks had been driven out. There was no need for a period of transition.

Of the peasants we have already spoken. Despite the injustice with which they had been treated as a class in 1514 and 1548, they remained good patriots: and the nucleus of Rákóczi's armies was recruited from their ranks.

The end of the Islam rule of Hungary had come, but the nation had to face a long period of recovery and rehabilitation. It faced it bravely.

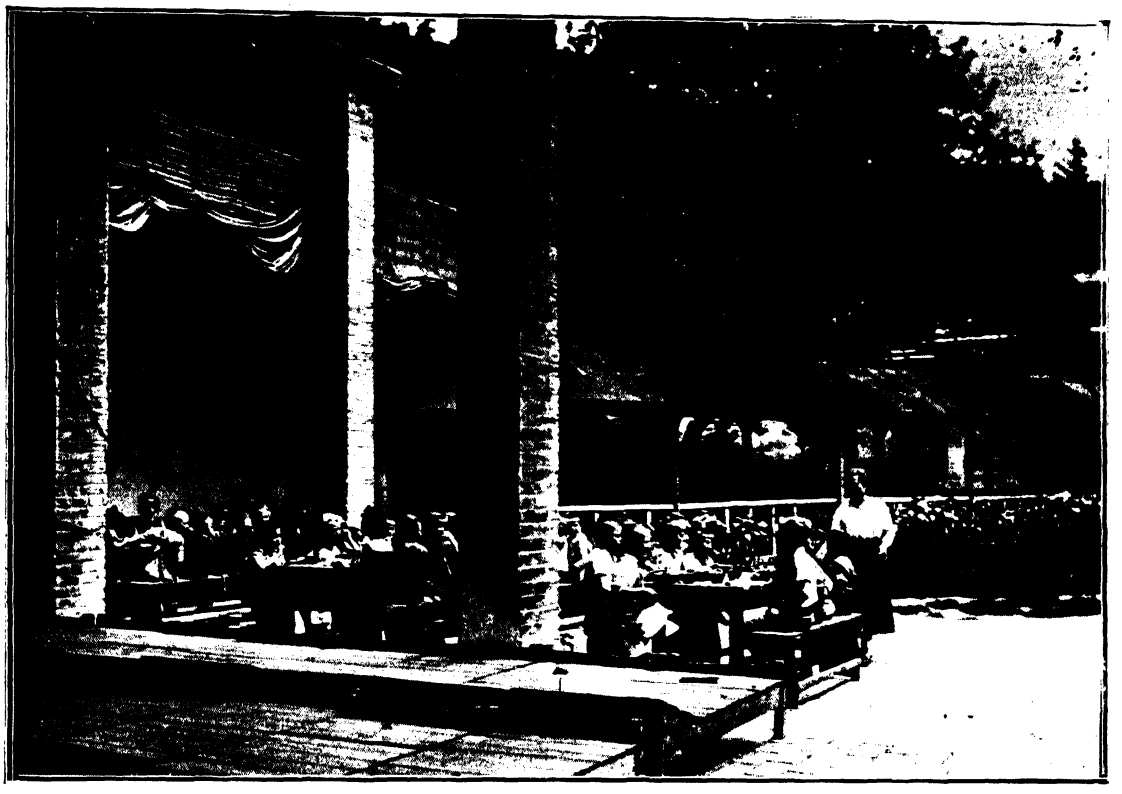
CHAPTER XVII.

CHARLES III. AND MARIA THERESA.

Joseph I. was succeeded by his brother *Charles III.* (1711—40), King of Spain, in whose absence (until early in 1712) Eleonora, the widow of Leopold I., acted as Regent.

The most important part of Charles's political inheritance was the Peace of Szatmár. He was a man of moderation and good intentions; his first acts were the confirmation of the Peace, the prohibition of the persecution indulged in by those magnates who had remained loyal, and a declaration reassuring the nation regarding their constitutional, religious, and individual liberty.

In 1712 he summoned Parliament to assemble at Pozsony (1712—15) and opened the session in person. The Peace of Szatmár was incorporated in the statute book;



Sopron. Jovestry School.

Count John Pálffy was elected Palatine; and one hundred and thirty-six Acts containing constitutional guarantees were passed. Some of the most important were those comprising the following provisions: the King confirmed and agreed to respect and to compel others to respect the ancient rights and liberties of the country; the Holy Crown was to be kept in Hungary; in the event of the extinction of the male line of the Habsburg the right of electing a king was to revert to the nation; all successors of the king were, at their coronation, to take the coronation oath and to issue the *diploma inaugurale;* Parliament was to be convened every three years, or oftener, if required; the resolutions of the Diets of Széchény and Ónod were annulled and Rákóczi and his fellow-refugees were banished. (This Act was repealed in 1905.)

The government of the country was placed in the hands of authorities which supplanted and usurped the powers of the high dignitaries of state. The office of Palatine was maintained; but his authority was considerably curtailed; the same is true of the Lord Chief Justice and the Treasurer. The central body was the *consilium locumtenitiale*, which was made executive by the Parliament of 1722—23: *it was responsible to the King only.* It was never popular, and ultimately proved a failure. The Royal Court Chancellery (stationed at Vienna) „was the direct organ of communication between the person of the sovereign and the country". Supplanting the Palatine in his capacity as intermediary, the Chancellery was the organ of direct government and the channel of communication between King and Parliament. The Royal Chamber (Kamara) of Finance was the least Hungarian of all the instruments of government — and the most unpopular. Half the members of the board were Germans; and it controlled the financial affairs of the country in a German spirit. It merely executed the commands of the Vienna Chamber and was not subject to the control of Parliament; and its administration in the fields of taxation, commerce and mining was about as bad as it could be.

The *Curia Regis* was the supreme court of justice organised by the Parliament of 1722—23.

The power of the King was increased enormously by these new institutions. Re-

garded as the only fountain of justice, he was entrusted with the interpretation of equivocal laws; he had the sole power of ennobling persons and of granting pardon; he was the head of the army; he controlled the new settlers; his was the right of coinage; he alone could confer mining rights; he had the sole right of making treaties, of declaring war or peace: in fact, the whole administrative and executive authority was concentrated in his person. But more important was the King's monopoly of patronage in the church. The sovereign could rely on the support of the prelacy and the magnates: the latter broke with the traditions of the past and preferred to bask in the sunshine of the Court; while numerous foreign noblemen received large grants of land (the estates of „Kurucz" insurgents) and became Hungarian magnates. The gentry was exhausted and their power of resistance broken: only the country assemblies made spasmodic endeavours to oppose the arbitrary measures of the unpopular *Kamara*.

The Catholic Church became the church of the State (1722). The Estates, which began to believe that Catholicism was a *sine qua non* of true loyalty and genuine patriotism, passed a law that only a Catholic prince could became King of Hungary. Catholic magnates and prelates spent large sums of money on the endowment of schools.

As a consequence, Protestantism suffered. The decree issued in 1731 the Carolina Resolutio — restricted Protestants to those districts specified in Act XXVI. of 1681. The Protestants were, further, excluded from the public offices. Yet Protestantism continued to flourish: it found an effectual support in the persistence of the gentry; and the Emperor's alliance with England and Holland prevented the application of extreme measures of suppression.

Catholicism failed to oust Protestantism; and the centralising endeavours of governement failed equally to destroy the essence of constitutionalism. This result too was due to the gentry who, despite the spasmodic character of their active resistance, were recruiting forces for the coming struggle. The magnates retired to Vienna, where they spent their time and their wealth learning foreign manners and adopting foreign ways: the gentry, on the other hand, stayed at home, where they took part in the administrative and executive work of the counties, economised, familiarised themselves with the secrets of the various departments of public life and devoted their energies to the study of law. They thus became the bulwark of nationalism and the wardens of national independence.

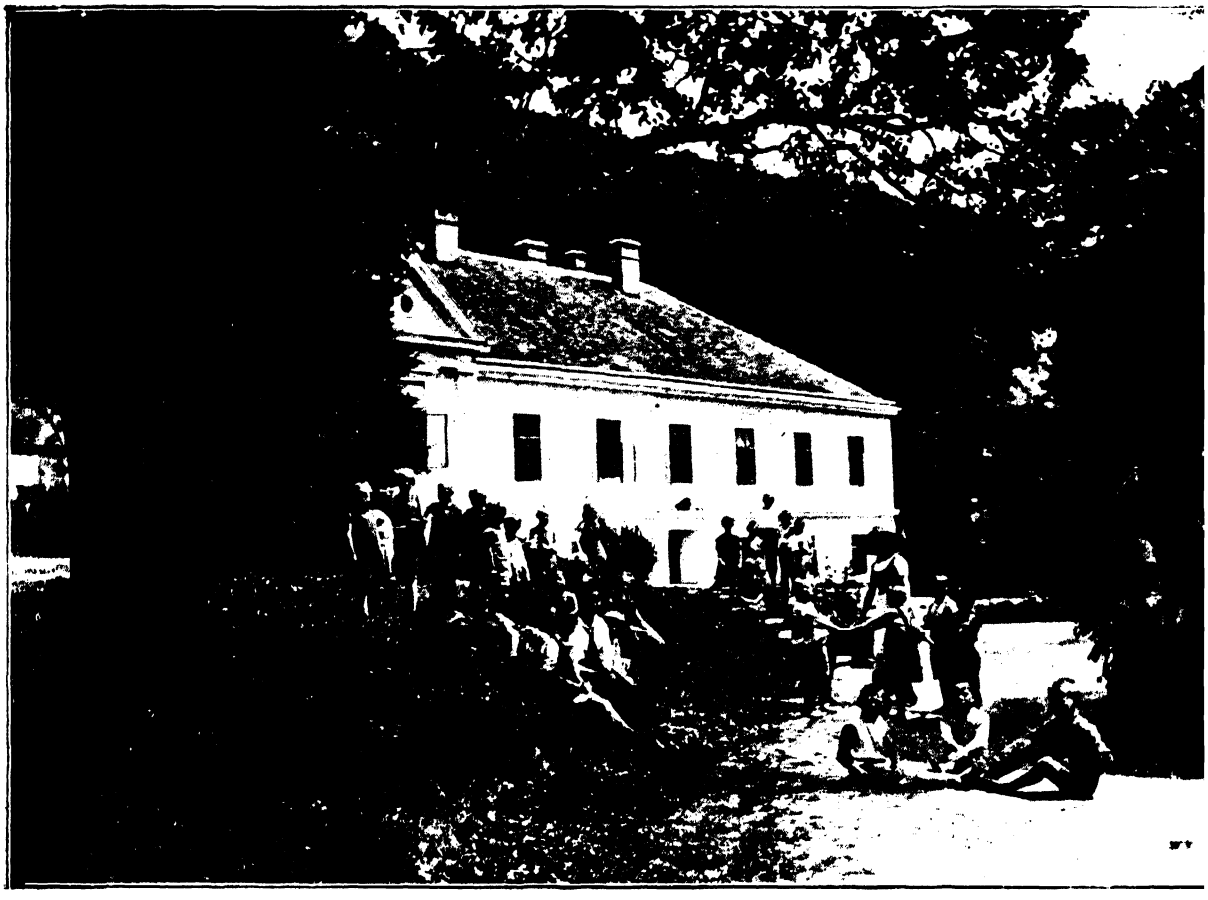
The King was favourably inclined towards the peasantry: but the burdensome taxation, and the exacting behaviour of some of the magnates, frustrated his endeavours to ameliorate their condition. They were tried by the *manor courts*, presided over by the lord of the manor, who possessed the right of capital punishment. They could scarcely expect a fair trial; and, though Government endeavoured now and again to regulate the relations between serf and master, the Estates refused to brook any interference with what they regarded as an ancestral institution. So in 1735 the peasants of the Lowlands rose in revolt and joined forces, under Peró, with the Rascians. The revolt was crushed, and its leaders punished with mediaeval severity.

The most picturesque figures of the local administration of justice were the *táblabirák* — a sort of county court judges — who played a great part in the constitutional struggles as well.

We have already spoken of the new system of government initiated by the reign of Charles III.

The system of the administration of justice was antiquated and badly in need of reform. This work was done by the Parliament of 1722—23. The *Curia Regis*, the supreme court of justice, was an outgrowth of the personal prerogative of the King. The form evolved in 1722 remained in force practically unchanged until 1848: it embraced two tribunals— the *Tabula Septemviralis* and the *Tabula Regia*, each with its own president and its own bench of judges.

The feudal organisation of the military system still held sway, but Charles now demanded and obtained of Parliament permission to raise and to maintain a strong permanent professional or standing army in Hungary itself. This army, voted in principli in 1715 and organised fully in 1722, contained both Hungarian and foreign elements. It was not what Zrinyi had proposed to create: its organisation was foreign. So Parliament reserved to itself the right of modifying votes of supplies,



Sopron. Jovestry School.

the number of recruits, etc. — a principle still maintaned in Hungary. A system of „press-gangs" was instituted to obtain recruits, and the army was put under the control of the Vienna Army Council and Chambers. It could not be a popular institution, and the complete withdrawal from the control of the Hungarian Parliament of the „Military Frontiers" did not add to its popularity.

The Parliament of 1715 consented to the establishment of a permanent war tax *(contributio)*; but it was resolved that no taxes should be levied without the consent of the Estates, and that the renewal of the said tax was to be left to the discretion of each succeeding Parliament. *This was, and is still, one of the fundamental guarantees of constitutionalism in Hungary.*

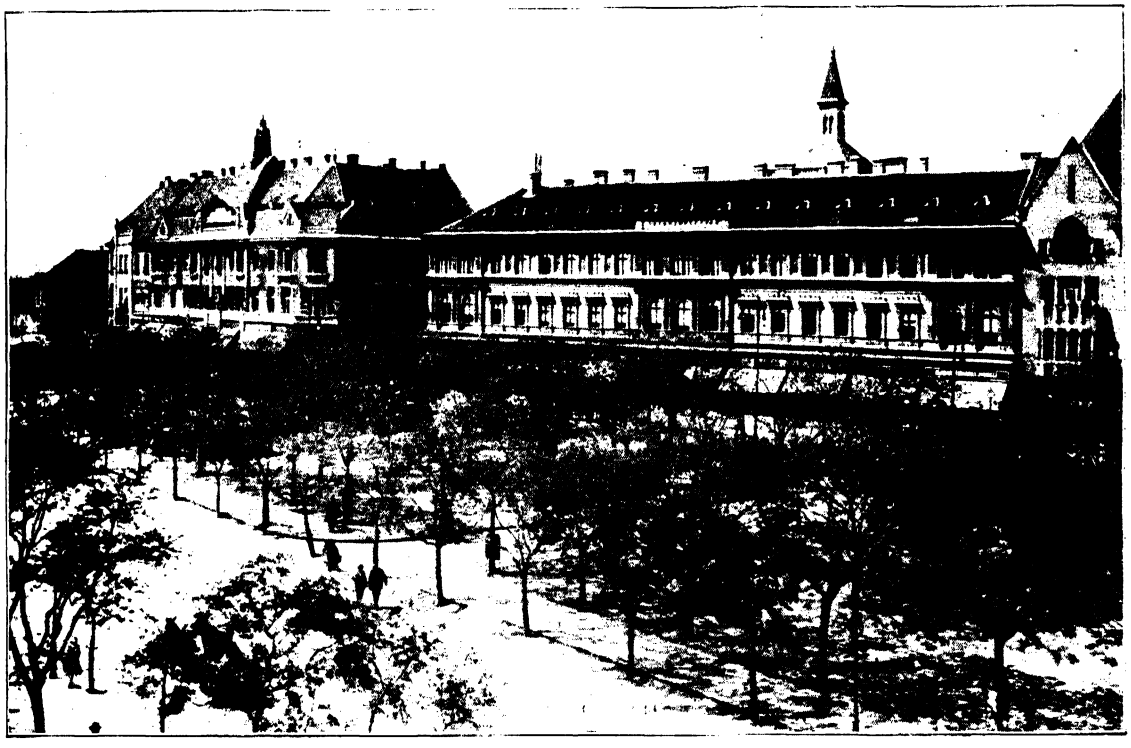
These taxes were paid by the burgesses and the serfs: it was the latter who felt the burden most keenly.

Charles was a man of peace: but the Turkish attack on Venice, and the warnings of Eugene of Savoy and John Pálffy compelled him to declare war on Turkey in 1716. The Austro-Hungarian army under Eugene of Savoy and John Pálffy completely routed the Turks at Pétervárad: two months later, after 164 years of Turkish occupation, the stronghold of Temesvár and the Banat of Temes were reconquered; and the latter was made a Military District. In 1717 Prince Eugene annihilated the Grand Vizier's army before Belgrade; that all-important fortress surrendered, and the northern Balkan provinces were occupied. The following year, through the intervention of England and Holland, the Treaty of *Passarovitz* (Pozsarevácz) was concluded; the Sultan renounced all Hungarian territory left in his possession by the Treaty of Karlovicz, as well as parts of Servia and Wallachia. However, there was little rejoicing in Hungary; the King's Hungarian advisers had not been consulted; the reconquered territory

was claimed as Austrian; and the Banat of Temes was actually incorporated as such.

Eugene of Savoy demanded the extradition of the Hungarian refugees: but the demand was refused, though the Turks agreed to compel Rákóczi and his followers to live at a distance from the Hungarian frontier. The Government feared that its policy of religious persecution and centralisation, and the violence of the foreign mercenaries, might lead to a recall of the popular hero.

The most important political event of the reign of Charles III. was the passing into law of the *Pragmatic Sanction* (1723). Already in 1713 the King had introduced the succession of the female line in the hereditary provinces (Austria): the principle was now adopted by the Hungarian Estates. It was codified in the form of a treaty as between the House of Habsburg and the Hungarian nation. It was taken as an occasion of exacting certain conditions of the sovereign. Thus if the female line, too, became extinct the right of electing a sovereign was to revert to the nation; the King's legal successor was at all times to take the coronation oath to observe the rights and liberties of the independent Kingdom of Hungary. *The only bonds of union between Hungary and the hereditary provinces were to be of the monarch's person* (personal union) *and* of a principle of *mutual defence*, though it was expressly declared that the sovereign of Hungary must always be the same as rules over the hereditary provinces of Austria. Hungary was not to be ruled after the manner of other countries, but only as prescribed by her own independent laws.



Kecskemét. Part of the Town.

In 1737 Charles again declared war on Turkey, this time as the ally of Anne, Czarina of Russia. But Eugene of Savoy was dead; the Court refused to entrust the chief command to John Pálffy, the ablest general of the day, because he was a Hungarian; and the Austrian commanders showed an incapacity that proved humiliating. So in 1739 General Neipperg, acting on the instructions of Charles, concluded the *Treaty of Belgrade*. The King renounced all the conquests made by Eugene of Savoy, except the Banat of Temes: and Hungary lay open to the invasion of the plague, which ravaged the country for two years.

The Pragmatic Sanction was a conces-

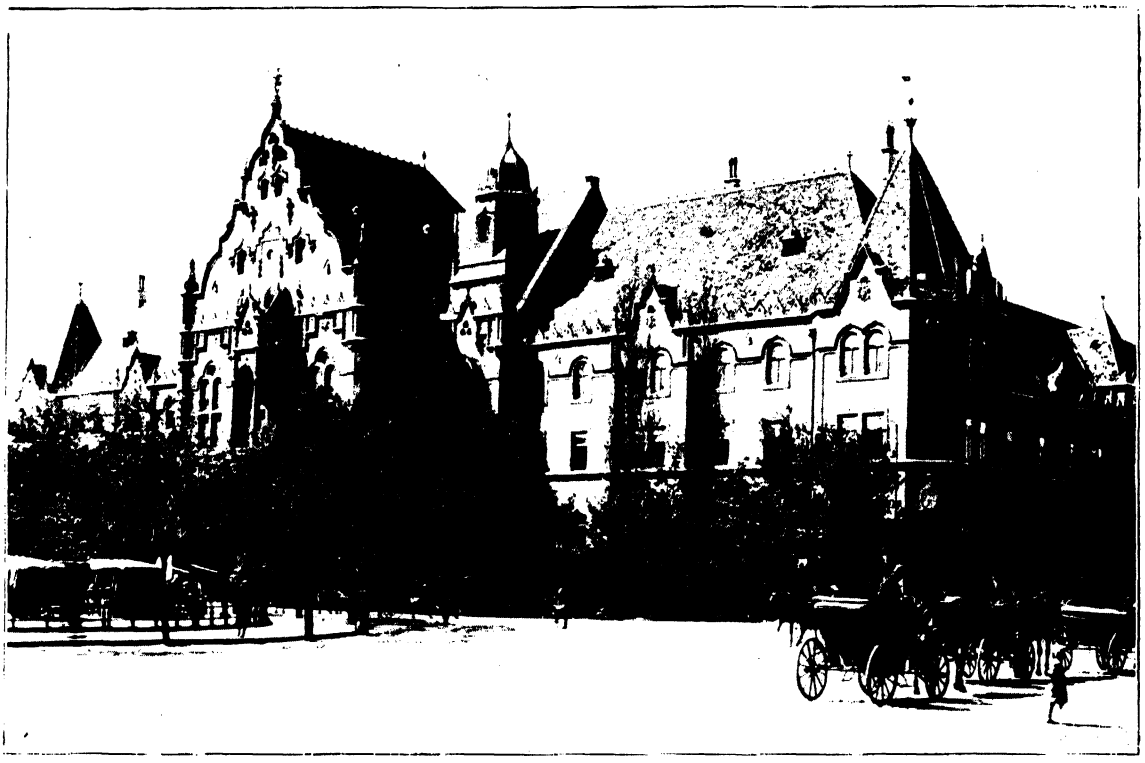
sion to the King, in return for his good intentions and his endeavours to introduce welcome reforms; but at the same time it codified and put into legal form the guarantees without which Hungary was not safe from the attacks of absolutism and centralising tendencies. It was echoed in 1790—91, and it was taken as the basis for the Compromise of 1867.

Charles III. died on October 20, 1740. He was succeeded by his daughter, *Maria Theresa* (1740—80), whose consort was Francis of Lorraine. Immediately after her accession, foreign princes began to intrigue for the overthrow of the House of Habsburg. Frederick the Great invaded Silesia; Charles of Bavaria, aided by the French, attacked Bohemia; while half Europe was in arms against the young Queen. The War of the Austrian Succession (1740—48) had begun.

The imperial coffers were empty; the Austrian provinces renounced their loyalty; the young Queen's only hope lay in Hungary, the country which Vienna had so long regarded with eyes of suspicion and mistrust. The Hungarians demanded a redress of all their grievances, in particular the appointment of Hungarians to govern the country. The Queen asked for the recognition of her consort's right to join her in her prerogatives. The Estates consented, and decided to postpone their protests: and Maria Theresa was crowned at Pozsony on June 25, 1741.

Linz was taken by the enemy, and Vienna itself was threatened. In the hearts of the Hungarians loyalty triumphed over all other feelings; an army of volunteers, who served at their own expense, was raised by John Pálffy for the defence of Austria. On September 11, the Queen, who had returned to Pozsony, summoned the Diet to her presence in the royal castle, the ruins of which are still extant. After the Chancellor, Count Louis Batthyány, had explained the danger menacing even Hungary, Maria Theresa, dressed in black, appealed to the chivalry of the Hungarian nation. The effect of the appeal was instantaneous: the traditional chivalry of the Hungarian nation has never been invoked in vain. The nobles drew their swords and exclaimed: „Vitam et sanguinem! Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresia!"

Kecskemét. Reformed Law College.



Kecskemét. Town Hall.

The Hungarians soon proved their sincerity. Before long 100,000 men, raised by the unselfish generosity of the nobles, and recruited from all classes, were at the disposal of the Queen. Money, too, and corn were furnished in abundance. Hungarian soldiers and commanders now became the chief support of the Crown. The hussars of *Count Francis Nádasdy* made a name for dashing bravery and invincible tactics the echo of which reverberated throughout the length and breadth of Europe: they took Munich and drove the French over the Rhine. The Hungarian troops cleared Bohemia of French and Bavarian invaders; the overtures made to the nation by Frederick the Great were repudiated with scorn; and in 1744 *Count Charles Batthyány's* hussars put even the great Prussian monarch to flight. However, in 1748, Maria Theresa was compelled to make peace at the price of losing Silesia.

During the Seven Year's War the Hungarians again distinguished themselves (1756—63). In 1757 *General Andrew Hadik*, with a small army (3000) of Hungarian and Croatian cavalry, appeared before Berlin, compelling the city to pay a fine of 200,000 thalers; three years later the hussars of *Count Nicholas Eszterházy* seized Potsdam; they destroyed the military stores, but did no other damage. The victory at Kollin was due to Nádasdy as much as to Daun.

Maria Theresa could not recover Silesia, but her consort was elected Emperor of Germany; the prestige of the House of Habsburg was saved; and she readily acknowledged her indebtedness to the loyal and chivalrous Hungarian nation.

„I am a good Hungarian", she said; „and my heart is full of gratitude to the nation". Eugéne of Savoy had declared that the true centre of gravity of the monarchy was to be Hungary; and the decline of the imperial power of the Habsburgs had led the Hungarians to believe that their dearest ambitions would be realised. But the Court thought otherwise: tradition and the German interests of the dynasty marked Vienna as the centre of governmental activity; and the example of Frederick the Great led the Queen to sympathise with the absolutistic and centralising tendencies of her advisers. The State Council (Staatsrath) was established in 1760 for the purpose of subordinating the various countries

and provinces under her rule to one central authority.

The Parliament of 1751 voted only half of the increase in taxation required for the maintenance of a standing army: the Queen was exasperated and refused to convene the Diet for thirteen years. However, after the Seven Year's War (in 1764) she was compelled to summon Parliament again. The Estates raised the contribution in taxes; but their refusal to undertake a share of the public debt and to establish a military tax as commutation for the nobles' obligation to do military service, so enraged her that she never assembled Parliament again.

Transylvania was made a Grand Duchy, with a military governor; but the Queen refused to incorporate it in Hungary. However, she restored to Hungary those districts which had been reconquered from the Turks by her father, as well as the thirteen Szepes towns pledged by Sigismund to Poland (1772); she added Fiume, Hungary's only seaport; and she replaced the military authorities of the frontier districts (marches) by the civil ones. Slavonia, too, became a Hungarian province.

The conceptions of democracy which were stirring France and paving the way for the Revolution, awoke no echo in the hearts of the Hungarian nobility. On Hungarian literature, however, these conceptions and ideas had a far-reaching influence. The new classical school founded by George Bessenyei was under the spell of Voltaire and the Encyclopaedists, of Rousseau and Goethe (Werther), of Milton and Pope. Count Joseph Gvadányi, the author of „A Notary's Journey to Buda", entered a protest against the foreign tendencies of the day. Michael Vitéz Csokonai, the imitator of Pope, has been regarded as the Bürger of Hungary; and he maintained his national character despite the foreign influences under which he fell. He was the poet of Lake Balaton; and his poetry was under the spell of its beauties; it is reminiscent of the English „Lake School". The influence of Rousseau in political life is shown in the career of the Abbot, Ignatius Martinovics.

The reforms urged in the field of national economy by Turgot and Quesnay were received by the nobility with impatience and indignation: it was left to the Queen and her son (Joseph II.) to endeavour to enforce some of them by the issue of *decrees*. So the nation took only a passive part in the alleviation of the burdens of the peasantry and in the essential financial and economic reforms.

As a fervent Catholic, Maria Theresa did her best to strengthen the Catholic Church. She established five bishoprics (Besztercebánya, Rozsnyó, Szepes, Székesfehérvár, Szombathely); she endowed schools and benefices. But unfortunately she emulated the intolerance of her father towards Protestants, depriving them of their churches and schools, disqualifying them for public

Kaposvár. Town Hall.

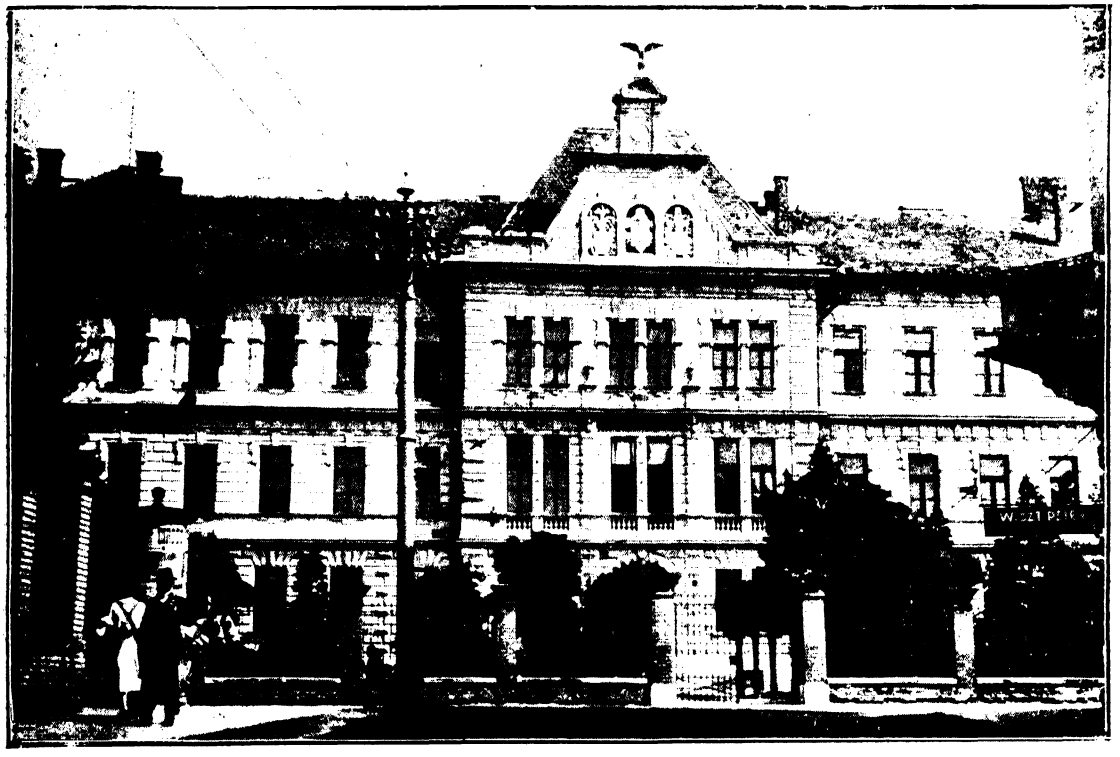
offices, and endeavouring, by bribes and threats, to enforce their conversion. However, her perscution only begot determination.

The standard of education was on the decline. The Catholic schools were poorly staffed; those of the Protestants were the object of persecution. Maria Theresa professed the principle that education was an affair of the State. So in 1772 she issued the famous *Ratio Educationis*, an edict the principal object of which was to make education uniform all over the country. The Order of Jesuits was dissolved. There

was no attempt made to nationalise education; the Hungarian language played a merely subordinate part in the scheme. But the work of Sonnenfels, Van Svieten, Ürményi, and Tersztyánszky offered a sound basis for the organisation of a good uniform system.

Maria Theresa founded academies at Győr, Kassa, Nagyvárad, Zágráb, and Nagyszombat. The last-named was added to in 1769, when it received a medical faculty and became a university. In 1777 it was reorganised and transferred to Buda; it was the nucleus of the University established in Pest by Joseph II., and has now become the Royal Hungarian University of Sciences of Budapest. In 1765 the Queen founded the *Theresianum* at Vienna, originally a school for Hungarians only. The impulse thus given to science and scholarship produced a Latin literature of very high standard, the chief representatives of which were Matthias Bél, George Pray, and Stephen Katona.

The Queen endeavoured to break the power of Hungarian nationalism by inducing the nobles to settle in her Court; and she succeeded in transforming the tastes and sentiments of the magnates, who, fascinated by her charms and the allurements of the life of Vienna, practically ceased to be Hungarians except in name, and spent the revenues of their estates in a foreign country. Her formation of a Hungarian bodyguard aimed at the denationalisation of the gentry too (1760): but its members, prominent among whon was George Bessenyei, merely utilised their experience and the knowledge of foreign manners and literatures they thus acquired to give a fresh impulse to the use of their national tongue. Hungary was subordinated to Austria in the fields of commerce and customs. The policy of Germanisation failed; but the gentry were driven to see the need for selfeducation; and the backbone of the nation was still further strengthened.



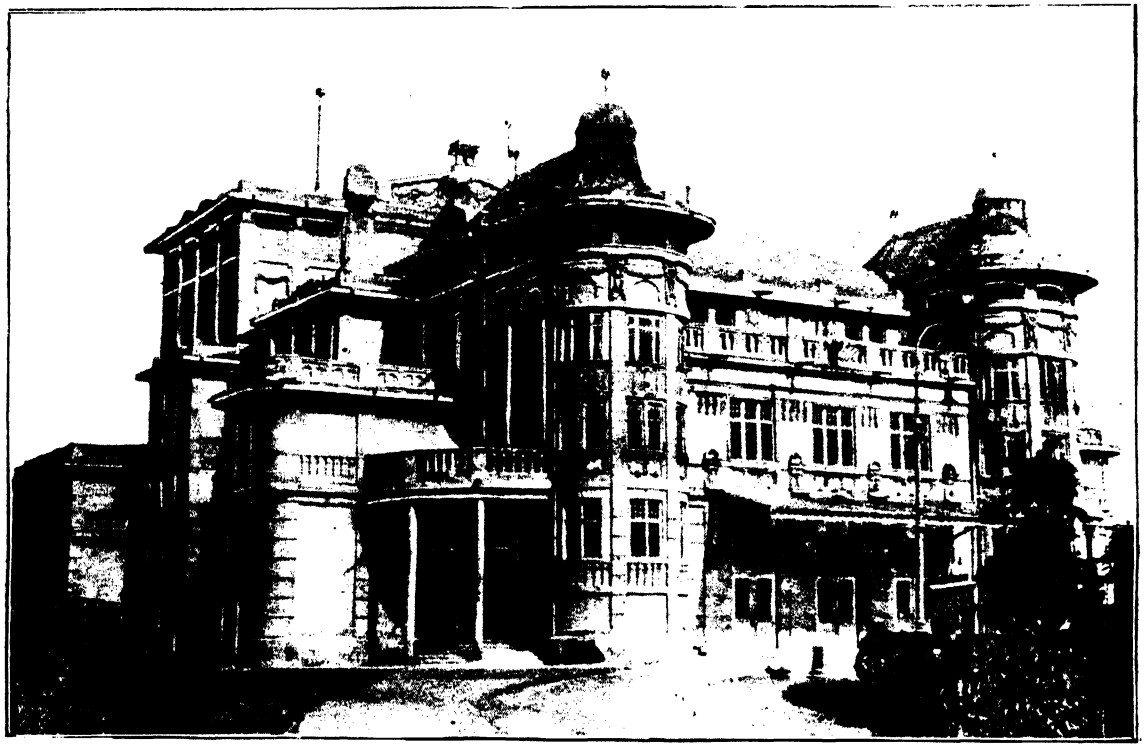
Kaposvár. State High School.

Maria Theresa died on November 29, 1780. Her intentions were most praiseworthy; but her methods were not above reproach, though the result they produced was just the opposite to what she had expected.

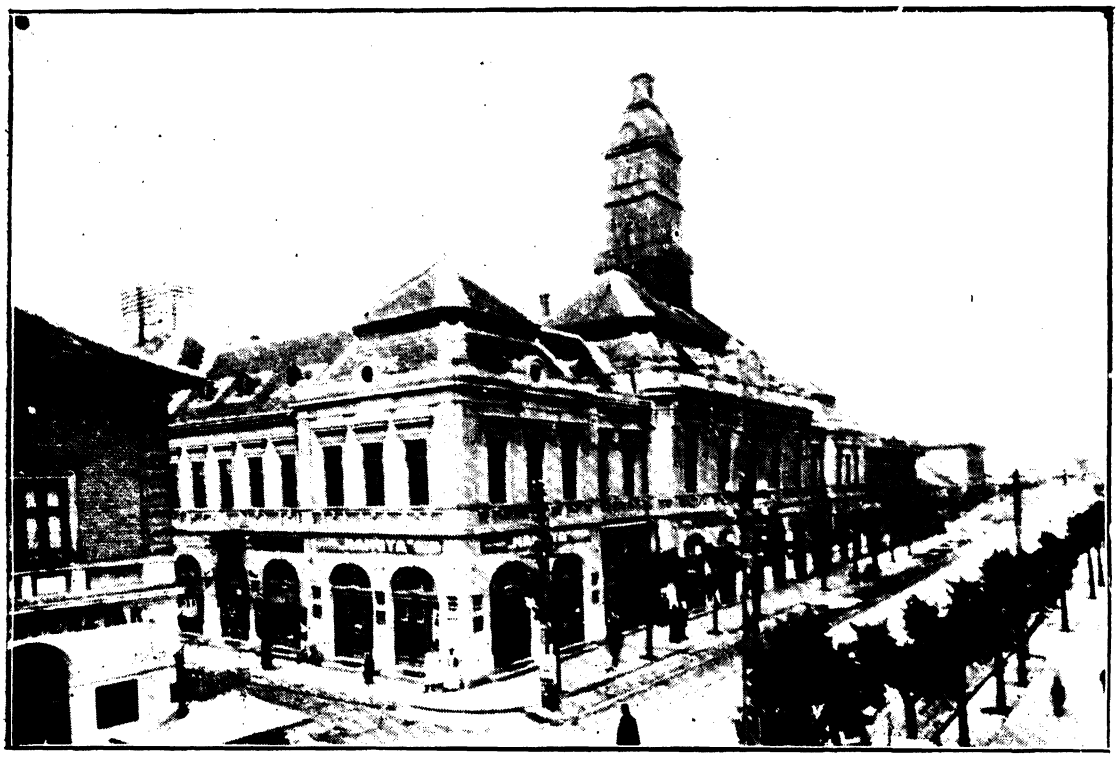
CHAPTER XVIII.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

The childhood of *Joseph II.* (1780—90) was passed in selfsuppression. His training had been entrusted first to a Hungarian, Prince Batthyány, whose strictness and military schooling fostered in the young prince his love of soldiering and his persistence; then to Christopher Bartenstein, his mother's favourite adviser and a distinguished advocate of political centralisation. The Spanish etiquette of the Vienna Court awoke in his heart that desire for simplicity and that love of informality which has made him the hero of innumerable anecdotes. His thirst for knowledge was but poorly satisfied by the scheme for his education mapped out for him by his tutors: so, when in 1765 he succeeded his father as German Emperor, he set himself to study life. Early a widower (his first consort, Princess Isabella Maria Louisa of Parma, whom he loved passionately, died in 1763), Joseph chafed at the restraint imposed upon him by the Court and his mother's care, and started to travel in his future dominions—in the strictest incognito. Burning the Consols inherited from his father (twenty-two million florins in value) to lighten the burdens of the people, reducing the civil list by disbanding the separate households of the Archdukes and Archduchesses, dismissing the French and Italian comedians who had been a perpetual obstacle to the development of Austrian drama, and stopping the pensions of the innumerable parasites who had lived on the bounty of his mother, he set the whole world an example of the strictest economy. He journeyed from Bohemia, where he provided for the famine-stricken people by measures which were by no means palatable to the speculators, to the Banat of Temesvár, where he witnessed for himself the exactions and extortion of the military authorities. Thus he learned to know the character and dispositions which he was planning to reform. He emulated



Kaposvár. National Theatre.



Kalocsa. Town Hall.

the example of Louis the Great and Matthias; and his good heart and sincere sympathy endeared him to the people.

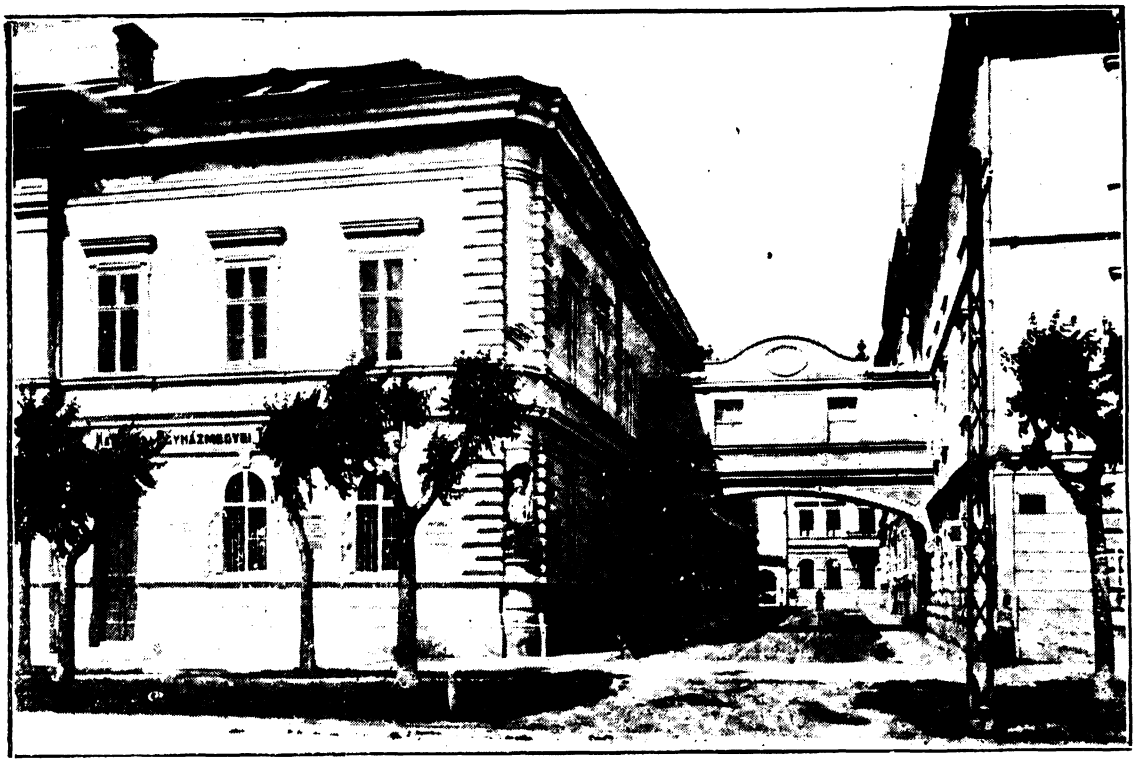
Joseph took part in the diplomatic negotiations at Berlin resulting in the first partition of Poland, the greatest and least justifiable diplomatic *coup* of the eighteenth century. Austria received Galicia and Lodomeria as her share. In 1777 he paid a visit, as „Count Falkenstein", to the Court of Louis XVI., whose consort was his sister, Marie Antoinette. At first he was the darling of the French public, which grew to worship an Emperor who spent his time in hospitals and libraries: but his refusal to see Voltaire produced a reaction; and he left Versailles the owner of the nickname of „the eccentric", without having accomplished his real object—the establishment of a *rapproachement* between the traditional antagonists.

Joseph's first act after his accession in 1780 was to issue a rescript or edict informing the Estates of Hungary that he had taken over his inheritance. No mention was made of the ceremony of coronation or the issue of the coronation oath: nor did he suggest that Parliament should be convened—though this latter omission had but little effect on the Hungarians, whom Maria Theresa had already accustomed to the idea of being governed without a Parliament.

But Joseph had no intention of submitting to the formality of coronation or the trammels which a coronation oath would impose on his liberty of action. He intended to go his own way on the path of reform without being compelled to respect traditions or restrictions of any kind. So he was never crowned; and the Hungarians spoke of him as the „Emperor", while to Hungarian history he is known as the „hatted King".

„He was the most enlightened monarch of his age, but his ideal was a benevolent despotism, which differed in spirit only and not in effect from ordinary tyranny, and threatened Hungarian liberty just as surely."

Able to display a youthful enthusiasm for cosmopolitan liberty, for humanitarianism and progress, this man, with an implacable impatience of opposition and whose early training had taught him to believe in his divine mission, overrode and trampled down every form of historical right, authority, and tradition. Yet his good

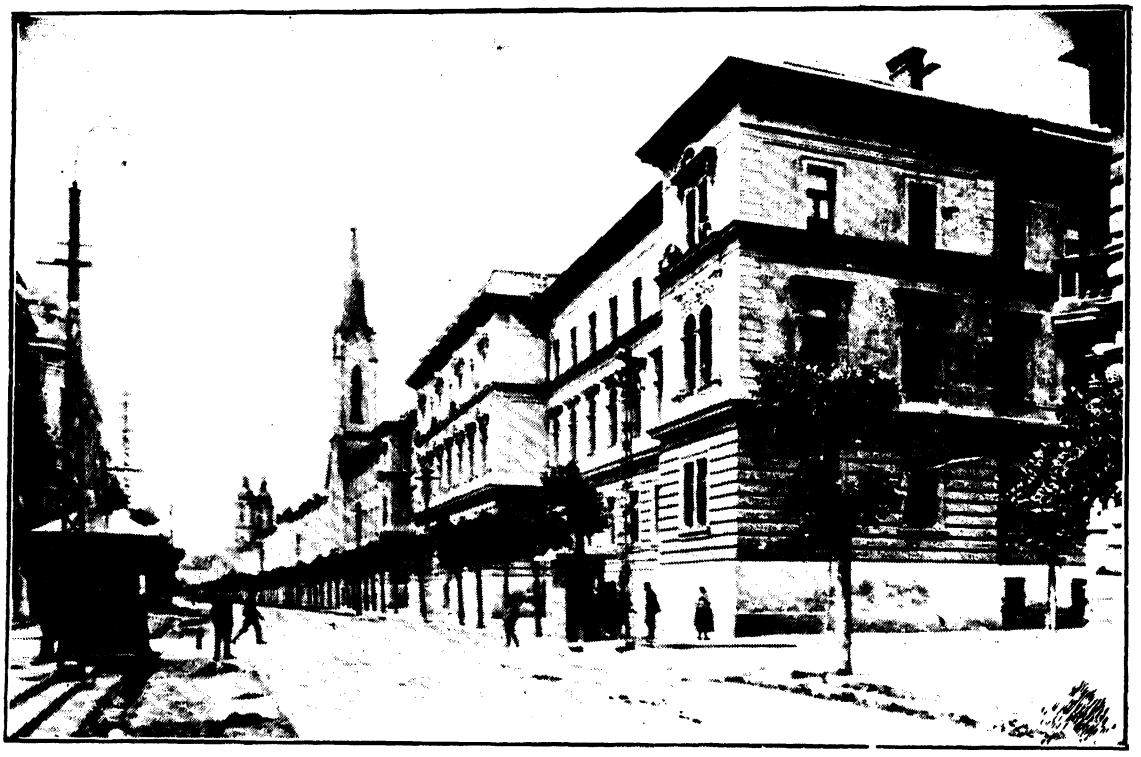


Kalocsa. R. C. High School.

intentions were manifest. In his endeavour to create *an absolute monarchy, uniform in language and administration,* divided into provinces of which Hungary was to be one, he regarded himself as working solely to further the public weal; his uncontrolled authority was to be exercised for the common good of all alike; and the happiness of his subjects was his only ultimate aim. The mistake he made, of believing that so many different nationalities could be welded into one uniform whole without their consent, was fatal; and the tragedy of his failure culminated in his death-bed renunciation.

The Holy Crown, the symbol of the national prerogatives and of the jurisdictional power of the State, was removed (1784) from Pozsony to Vienna. The Transylvanian Chancellery was abolished, and its functions transferred to the Hungarian office in Vienna: the administration of the royal *Kamara* ceased and was entrusted to the *consilium locumtenentiale,* whose seat was removed to Buda: the Palatine ceased to be its president, his place being taken by an official whose bureaucratic sympathies could be implicitly trusted: the county and town courts were abolished, their place being taken by thirty-eight uniform courts of first instance in which Austrian criminal law was adopted. These courts had one good point. They did not use torture, and they did not recognise the distinction between noble and commoner.

In 1785 the *autonomy of the counties,* which showed no enthusiasm for Joseph's conception of Greater Austria and defied his edicts, *was abolished.* The holding of assemblies was forbidden: the office of deputy sheriff *(alispán)* was made hereditary and the right of appointment of this official was reserved as a royal prerogative: the other officials were appointed by the district „commissaries", and were made personally responsible for all their actions. The country was divided into ten districts, each with a royal commissary, to whom even the royal free boroughs were subordinated. A system of bureaucracy completely foreign to the ancestral traditions of liberty and autonomy was introduced; and the German language became the official tongue of the administration, the judicature, the executive and the schools. It was a deliberate effort to Germanise a country which hated everything German: and it could not fail to suffer shipwreck on the



A Street in Kalocsa.

adamant rock of that piety and attachment to the traditions and sentiments of the past which had frustrated the more violent, but not more autocratic attempts of Leopold I.

„The influence of the clergy in political questions is out of place; I consider it far from necessary that those who ought to occupy themselves with spiritual matters should busy themselves with secular affairs". So wrote Joseph II. to Choiseul in December 1780. Joseph broke with the traditional policy of his House in his dealings with the Church, and subordinated the clergy to the State. The first blow to the authority of the Church was his decree (1780) abolishing the censorship of books as exercised by the ecclesiastics: he thus laid the foundations for the future liberty of the press. The clergy were regarded as servants of the State; they received salaries from the Treasury; and their property was sold for the benefit of the Educational Fund. All orders of monks or nuns, except those engaged in teaching or nursing, were dissolved, and their property confiscated; while those allowed to stay were forbidden to have any direct communication with Rome or other foreign countries. The *Placetum Regium* was revised: the interference of the Pope in questions relating to the appointment to bishoprics was prohibited: the bishops were not allowed to refer matters of absolution and dispensation to Rome; the convents and monasteries were closed or converted into schools; while the number of parishes was increased by 950.

Joseph determined to put the principle of religious tolerance into practice; so, in 1781, he issued his edict of toleration, which restored to the Protestants full liberty of conscience. It met with considerable opposition on the part of the prelacy and Catholic magnates. But the form in which the privileges of the Protestants were restored — that of an act of royal grace — made the edict unpalatable even to the Protestants themselves.

In the field of education, Joseph introduced sweeping reforms. A special Board of Education was appointed to provide for the establishment of new schools with a uniform scheme of education based on modern principles. The masters were to be chosen for their qualifications, not for their faith.

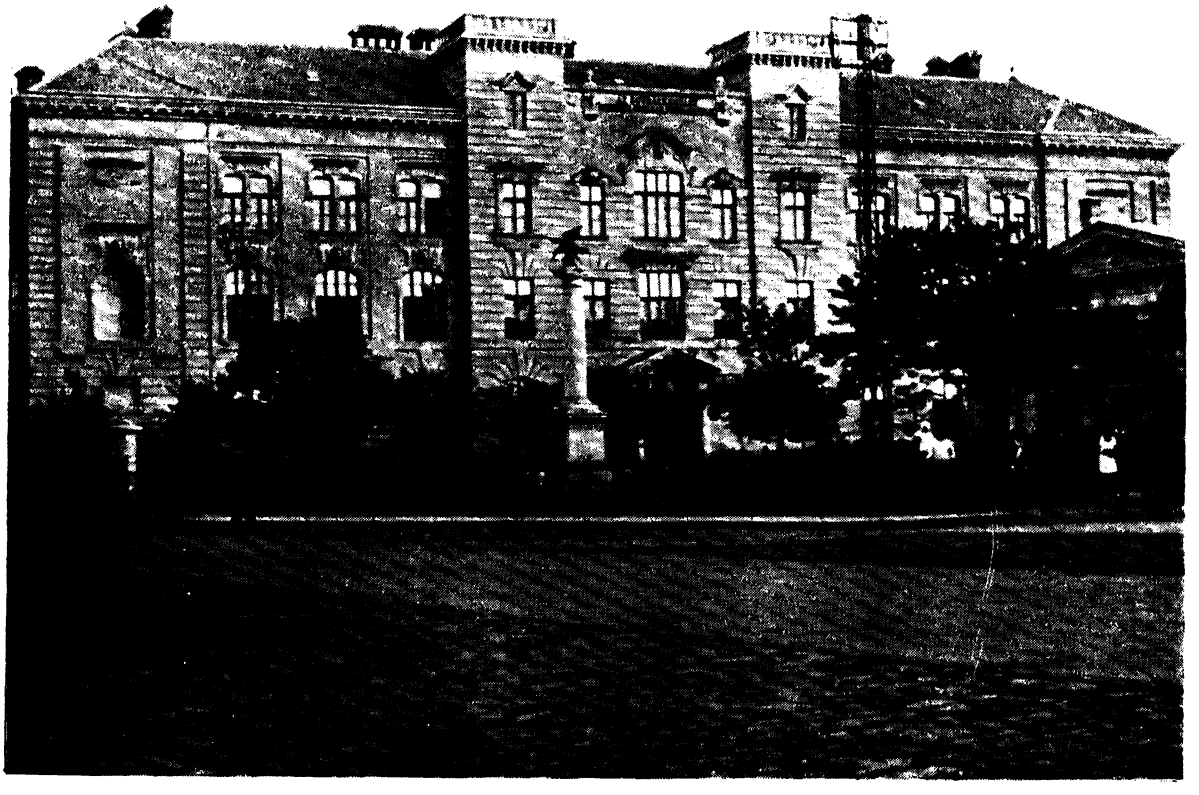
The University was transferred from Buda to Pest and housed in modern buil-

Pápa. Teachers Traunig School.

dings which Joseph had erected for the purpose.

In order to introduce a fairer system of taxation, Joseph instituted a formal *survey of the country*. To this both nobles and peasants objected. So the work proceeded slowly and was not completed for many years. Similar opposition was provoked by the attempt to compile a *census* of the population, which when made gave a return of 7,000.000, of whom 325,000 were nobles. But the Emperor was determined to have his own way and he counted on the support of the peasantry. Here he was not mistaken; but unfortunately his endeavour to enforce the terms of his mother's *Urbarium* in the face of the nobles' resistance, was misunderstood by many of the serfs, who were not yet ripe or sufficiently educated to understand the true meaning of Joseph's ideas of reform. They imagined that their allegiance to their feudal lords had ceased, and that they were expected to help Government to overcome the opposition of the nobility. In Transylvania this perverted conception of the Emperor's liberalism was the cause of a terrible tragedy, the work of the Wallachian peasants goaded into fury by the demagogy of Hora and Kloska. They committed the most terrible atrocities, sparing neither women nor children; and it was not until several thousand homesteads and one hundred and thirty villages had been swept out of existence that the Government at last intervened. A military force was sent to quell the insurrection; and the ringleaders were executed.

The disaffection in the country had assumed formidable dimensions when, in 1788, Joseph, as the ally of the Czarina Catherine, declared war on Turkey. The counties demanded the convening of Parliament and refused to supply grain for a war which was unpopular and entailed burdensome sacrifices. The army was demoralised and could not fight. The nation refused to pay taxes: emboldened by



Pápa. Reformed College.

the ill-succes of the Emperor's military adventure undertaken for the aggrandisement of Russia, they determined to leave no stone unturned to recover their old independence and to vindicate their constitutional liberties. Even the turn of the tide of military fortune failed to shake this determination. The breath of revolution was in the air; the Bastille had fallen; the Belgians had driven the Austrian troops out of their country: Prussia was intriguing to depose Joseph in favour of Charles Augustus of Wiemar, the friend of Goethe and Schiller; the ambassadors of Prussia, Holland, and Germany protested against a continuation of the Turkish war; the Lord Chief Justice had received instructions from the counties to convene Parliament if the King failed to do so by May, 1790; it became evident that, in an age when liberty had become the watchword of Europe, any further attempt to trample down the constitutional traditions of Hungary must prove abortive. So on January 28, 1790, Joseph, who was suffering from a terrible illness, revoked all his decrees except those relating to the clergy, to religious tolerance and to the condition of the serfs : he promised to convene Parliament and restored the Holy Crown to Hungary.

He died on February 20; on his deathbed he expressed a desire that his tomb should bear the following epitaph: „Here lies a sovereign who, despite the purity of his motives, was unfortunate enough to have to witness the shipwreck of all his schemes". His peoples were unable to appreciate the value of his reforms, which were far too advanced to meet their tastes or requirements: while the instrument he employed — absolutism — was already out of date. The fate of his great policy reminds us of the misfortunes of the country whose national will he strove in vain to bend before his own — a country which has already paid a heavy price for anticipating the conscience of Europe. Joseph will go down to history as a monarch

whose aims were generous and noble, but whose means were incompatible with the spirit of freedom: while Hungary will remain the only consistent champion of nationality and national aspirations in Europe, who, unfortunately for herself, strove to put her principles into practice sixty-six years too, soon.

Pápa. Benedictine High School.

The position of the new King, Leopold II. (1790—92), was no enviable one. The spirit of nationalism, suppressed for ten years by the force of autocratic rule, awoke and clamoured for satisfaction. Language, nation, institutions, the liberty of the individual, — all had come near to extinction. The country was on the verge of revolution; the events in France and Belgium had confirmed the Hungarians' love of liberty and hatred of absolutism, without in any way impairing the aristocratic character of their democracy. Leopold, who was as enlightened as his predecessor, was resolved to respect the laws and the constitution, and to adapt himself to the traditions of the people.

His first act was to summon Parliament to assemble in Buda. For the first time in history, women asked to be allowed to be present as listeners: so great was the interest in what was regarded as an epoch-making session. The nation was quite ready to entertain the idea of reform; but the reforms must be carried out in a constitutional manner; and the history of the next sixty years shows that the nation was in earnest.

The first question was that of a coronation oath. The Estates demanded some form of declaration offering guarantees far more effectual than those of previous mo-

narchs: but Leopold prevailed on them to accept a repetition of the *diploma inaugurale* of Maria Theresa.

The Diet continued its session at Pozsony. Archduke Alexander Leopold, the King's son, was elected Palatine. On November 15, after the issue of the *diploma inaugurale*, Leopold was duly crowned. The French Revolution had given rise to three distinct parties: the *democrats*, who urged absolute equality and preached the principles of the majesty of the people; the *moderate aristocrats*, who insisted on the restitution of the ancestral constitution in its entirety and did not care for reforms except in the matter of socage; and the *ultra-conservatives*, recruited from the gentry, who shrank from the idea of reforms as likely to endanger the ancient privileges of the nobility.

The most important Acts passed by the Diet of 1790—91 (there were seventy-five in all) aimed at securing the safety and stability of the constitution and at making concessions to the spirit of the age.

Act III. provided that the King should be crowned within six months of his accession; that the Holy Crown should be kept in Hungary; that the King should issue his *diploma inaugurale* before his coronation, and should spend a considerable portion of the year in the country. Act X. declared once again that Hungary with her *partes adnexae* should be treated as an independent and free country, to be ruled by her own laws and not in the same manner as the provinces of Austria: in return for this stipulation, the Estates ratified the terms of the Pragmatic Sanction once more, while they distinctly repudiated the system initiated by Joseph II. No laws could be altered, modified, or explained, no taxes could be levied, no supplies exacted, no recruits forced to serve except by the King and the nation in common through Parliament. Parliament was to be convened at least every three years: and all grievances were to be entitled to redress by the Diet.

Unfortunately the opposition of the ultra-conservatives prevented the realisation of all the reforms which the French Revolution had shown to be imperative: but some work was done in this direction. The *Urbarium* of Maria Theresa was ratified; and the serfs once more obtained the right of migration at will.

The victory of Protestantism as an established form of faith was assured by the laws which gave it a legal basis and returned to the conditions laid down in the Treaties of Vienna and Linz.

Finally the Estates appointed a committee to study the question of reforms. There was as yet no question of the extension of political rights: the bulk of the nobility was determined to confine its energies to securing the full restitution of its own privileges. But the unprivileged classes were astir; the conceptions of Joseph II. had found an echo in their hearts, and they had the sympathy of some of the most intelligent and powerful members of the Diet: and the appointment of the special committee was a concession wrung from the Estates and the gentry majority by the menace of a popular revolution.

The Hungarian language was restored to its former position in the schools; and it was resolved that the Parliament should adopt Latin as its official tongue.

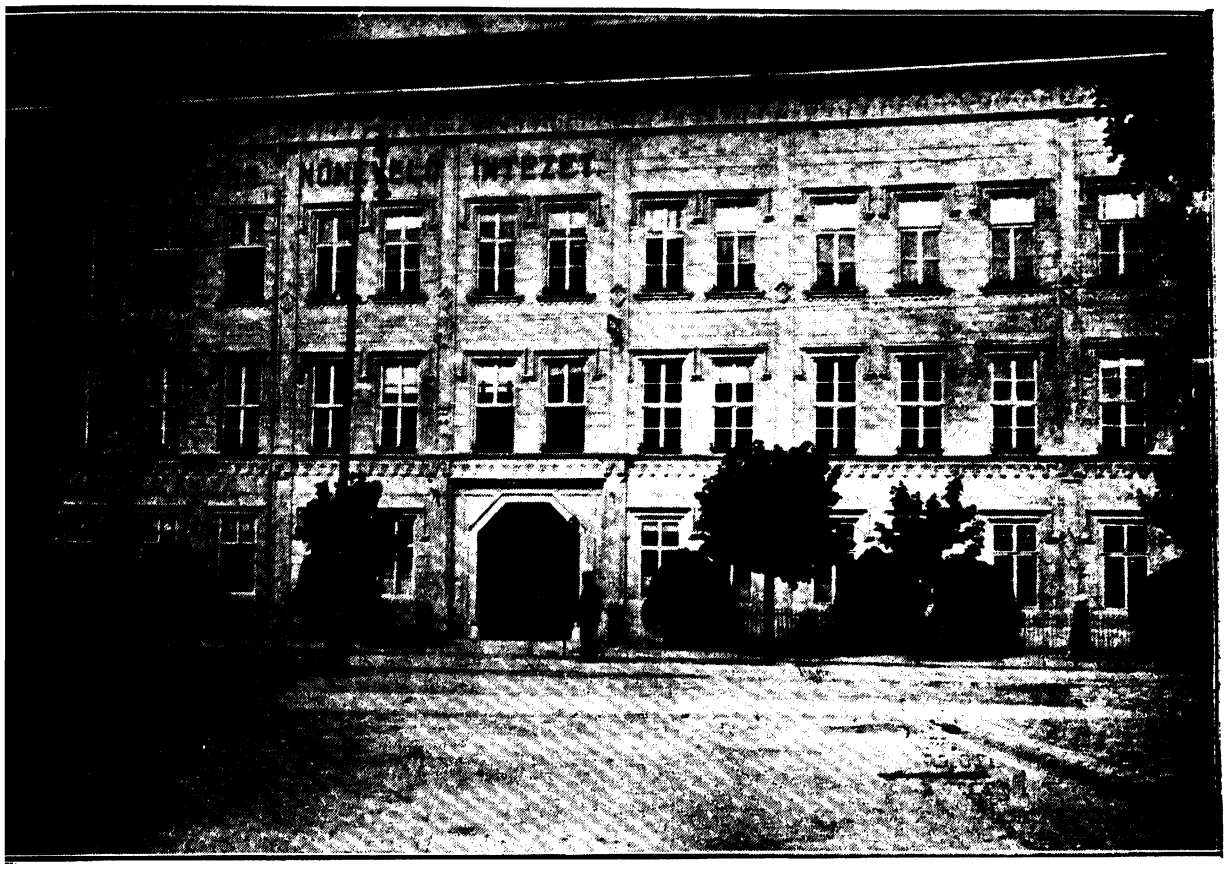
The Transylvanian Diet, too, held a session to give expression to its satisfaction at the restitution of constitutional life: but Leopold refused to consent to the union with Hungary.

Meanwhile echoes of the French Revolution were being heard all over Europe. French exiles toured Germany, urging the princes to declare war on France; the Czarina, Catherine II., incited Prussia and Austria to espouse the exiles cause, hoping thereby to ensure a fresh partition of Poland: but Leopold kept his head, and merely made an alliance with Frederick William II. of Prussia (Pillnitz: August 25, 1791). Hereupon the Girondist Government determined to declare war on Austria and Prussia: but Leopold did not live to see the outbreak of hostilities.

In 1791 Leopold made peace with the Turks on a basis of the *status quo*, only Belgrade being restored to Turkey *(Treaty of Sistovo)*: the treaty was ratified in the presence of the representative of Hungary, Count Francis Eszterházy.

Leopold died on March, 1, 1792.

Francis I. (1792—1835) inherited from his father a legacy which demanded the highest qualities of statesmanship and all the resources of a brilliant soldier. Unfortunately the young King was devoid of both; Kaunitz was too old to be of any great service; Laudon was dead: and Hungary did not possess any men of pre-emi-



Pápa. Reformed Church's Girl's Hostel.

nent genius. Retiring in disposition, leading a private life that was as exemplary as it was unusual, Francis shrank from the very idea of reform, was suspicious of popularity, and showed no inclination to further the cause of art and scholarship.

He hastened to comply with the constitutional formalities; he was crowned on June 6; and the Estates, who saw in this alacrity the promise of happier days, willingly voted the money and supplies required to prosecute the French war. But the hopes of the nation were doomed to disappointment. The French armies defeated the Austro-Prussian allies both on the Rhine and in Belgium; Louis XVI. was deposed, and both he and his consort, Marie Antoinette, were executed: Francis became possessed of a veritable horror of the revolutionary spirit and democratic reforms. The censorship and the secret police worked hand in hand to suppress the writings and preaching of the apostles of progress. The democratic minority, whose leader was *Abbot Ignatius Martinovics,* felt that its hour had come. A society was formed, opposed to a maintenance of the privileged position of the nobility and to the absolutistic tendencies of the Government. It aimed at the realisation of radical reforms. These „Hungarian Jacobins" desired to redress the grievances of the people in the spirit of Locke and Rousseau: with the exception of Martinovics, who was a true demagogue, none of the members professed subversionary or antidynastic doctrines, but in 1794 the members of the Society were all arrested and taken to Vienna. The counties protested and demanded that they should be tried by Hungarian courts; but the servile Hungarian courts condemned the leaders of the „Jacobins" to death; however Francis, fearing the consequences, pardoned all but seven. These were executed—the first martyrs in Hungary for the cause of democratic liberty and universal freedom. The rest of the members were, almost without exception, thrown into prison. The Government hoped by this system of intimidation to deter the friends of

reform from desiring to carry their policy into effect.

The Parliament of 1796 was a further triumph for the reactionaries: the magnates were whole-heartedly on the side of the King, and branded as a traitor to his country and his sovereign any man who presumed to disturb the existing order. The cause of reform, which under Leopold II. had made so praiseworthy an effort to assert itself, was doomed to inaction for some time to come.

The Hungarian nobility as a whole sympathised with the efforts of the European Coalition to overthrow the Republic of France: they were just as loth as Francis to welcome the democratic conceptions of liberty and equality; in 1795 Prussia left the Coalition and Francis was left to his own resources; he determined to continue the struggle; and the Diet of 1796, which elected Archduke Joseph Palatine, voted him all the taxes, supplies, and recruits he required, and even offered to call out the *posse comitatus*. The new commander-in-chief of the armies of the Directoire, Napoleon Bonaparte, defeated the imperial generals in Lombardy and advanced towards Vienna. Francis was alarmed: and in 1797 he made peace with Napoleon. „The *Treaty of Campo Formio* left England without an ally and France without an enemy on the Continent".

The year following the Battle the Nile saw the initiation of a second European Coalition. „Russia formed a close alliance with Austria; and it was with renewed hope that Pitt lavished subsidies on the two allies". The monarchs of Europe were alarmed at the spread of revolutionary ideas, and they continued the struggle even after the fall of the Directoire and the election of Napoleon as Consul. But in 1801, after the defeats of Marengo and Hohenlinden, Francis renewed the terms of Campo Formio in the *Peace of Luneville*.

In 1804 Francis assumed the title of *Austrian Emperor*, at the same time assuring Hungary that his new dignity did not involve any attempt on the constitution of the country. He was driven to this act by the arrogance of Napoleon, who had at last thrown off the mask and revealed his true object, and by the formation of the Rhenish League, which involved the break-up of the German Empire. Francis refused the opportunity of transferring his capital to Buda and making Hungary the centre of his empire.

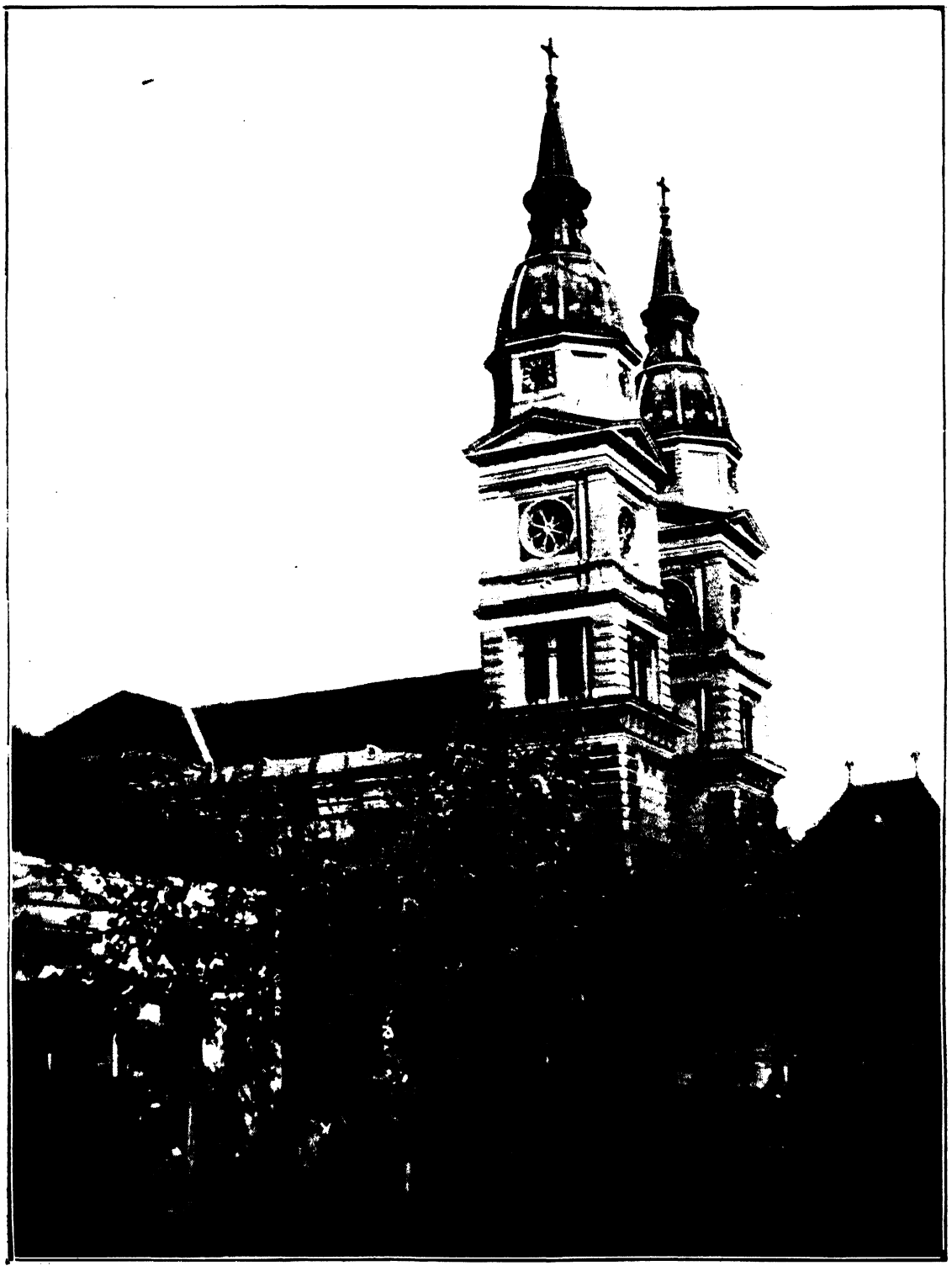
In 1805 the alarm of the Continental Powers had been brought to a head by Napoleon's annexation of Genoa. Russia, Austria, and Sweden joined in a new league subsidised by Pitt to wrest Italy and the Low Countries from the grasp of the French Emperor. Napoleon took Ulm and advanced as far as Schönbrunn: Francis fled to Buda. The victories gained by the Hungarian troops under Archduke Charles at Caldiero could not prevent Napoleon from taking Vienna: Marshal Davoust seized Pozsony; and after the decisive defeat of the allied Austrian and Russian armies at *Austerlitz*, Francis was compelled to sign the Peace of Pozsony (December 26), ceding Venice, Istria and Dalmatia to the French Emperor, surrendering Tyrol to Bavaria, and paying an indemnity of 50 million florins.

Francis was desirous of continuing the struggle: but the Diet of Buda (1807) formulated most energetic demands for the redress of the innumerable grievances from which the country was suffering. Paul Nagy de Felsőbükk, the deputy for the county of Sopron, put in an eloquent plea for the national tongue but met only with rebuke.

The nobility voted the taxes required, adding considerably to the burdens — already heavy enough — of their own revenue.

It was at the Diet of 1807 that Count Francis Széchenyi announced his intention of founding the *National Museum*.

Disaffection with the existing order of things was rife throughout the country, which was infested with spies and secret agents: so the Government resolved to pursue an even stricter policy. Many members of the „opposition" were deprived of their rank; and other methods of pressure were brought to bear on the disaffected. So the Diet of 1808 met in a very humble frame of mind. The Estates were only too anxious to show their loyalty. They voted fresh contingents of recruits and fresh supplies; they discussed the organisation of a permanent *posse comitatus;* and in honour of the third consort of the King, Maria Ludovica, and to commemorate her coronation, they decided to build out of public subscriptions collected for the purpose, a national military academy, the *Ludovika*, the object of which was „to train the Hungarian youth to fight, not only with brute force, but by the rules of military



Kiskunfélegyháza. R. C. Church.

Kiskunfélegyháza. High School.

science, for their country, the ancient constitution, and the ruling dynasty".

In 1809, after the humiliation of Prussia and Spain, Napoleon turned against Austria. He advanced rapidly as far as Vienna; he made Schönnbrunn once more his headquarters; and Francis fled to Eger. On May 15, Napoleon issued his famous manifesto to the Hungarian nation, calling on them to throw off the Habsburg yoke, to assemble on the Field of Rákos and elect a king of their own. But the chivalrous Hungarian nation refused to desert their dynasty in its hour of need; they preferred to share the trials of their lawful King, and were not to be cajoled into disloyalty by the specious promises of a tyrant. The *posse comitatus* rallied round the standard of the Palatine, and made its last appearance on the battlefield, only to be defeated at Győr (June 14). The French seized Győr and Pozsony: and the defeat at *Wagram* compelled Francis to sue for peace. The result was the *Peace of Schönbrunn* (or Vienna, October 14, 1809), by the terms of which Francis renounced part of Croatia and Fiume, which were converted into the kingdom of Illyria, as well as Carniola and the northern half of Tyrol.

The cup was full. The disastrous wars had involved the country in financial ruin: and the paper currency added to the gravity of the economic crisis. In 1811 the Minister of Finance issued a decree reducing the value of the bank-notes, and even of the copper coins, to one-fifth. The Diet of 1811—12 protested against this flagrant breach of the constitution and its terrible consequences: but the Government refused to listen, and demanded the levying of extra taxes. The Court reckoned on the exhaustion of the nation: and the system which has become associated with the name of Metternich was inaugurated. But the courage of the Diet, which had been expected to follow the example of its predecessor of 1807, saved the form of the constitution and preserved the legal continuity which served Francis Deák so well in his struggle against the absolutism of later days.

The wars against Napoleon once more monopolised the energies of the country. This time the European coalition succeeded in breaking Napoleon's power and finally bringing about his fall on the field of Waterloo. The Hungarian regiments again distinguished themselves, particulary at the battle

of *Leipzig* (1813) where the great reformer, Count Stephen Széchenyi — then an officer in the Hussars — first came into prominence. In 1814, the Hungarian Hussars, under Colonel Joseph Simonyi, were with the Allies at Paris; the Colonel forbade his men to plunder the castle of Fontainebleau, which they had taken, telling them to remember that they were Hungarians.

Metternich had already advised Francis to institute an era of absolute rule and to centralise the Government of all his dominions, including Hungary, in Vienna: he suppressed the liberty of the press, persecuted the Protestants and determined to destroy the autonomy of the counties, the most persistent upholders of Hungarian independence. So the only reward Hungary received for her loyalty to the dynasty and the sacrifices she had made during the French wars was — the *Holy Alliance*, that league of European sovereigns formed with the object of suppressing constitutional liberty and the rights of their peoples.

Kiskunfélegyháza. Statue of Alexander Petőfi.

Taxes were levied without the consent of Parliament; recruits were called up by decrees; and free speech in the county assemblies was suppressed by royal commissaries appointed for the purpose.

In 1821 the Chancellor (Metternich) demanded 35,000 recruits: even the Royal Chancellery protested against the flagrant breach of the constitution. Parliament had not assembled since 1812. Of the fifty-two counties, thirty-seven refused to comply with the illegal decrees. Force was resorted to; the military were called out to assist the commissaries to perform their unconstitutional duties. The Public Prosecutor (John Németh) was ordered to prosecute the „insurgents"; but he replied to the effect that he would not bring illegal charges against innocent persons. Metternich became alarmed, and advised the Crown to convoke Parliament.

The principle of „nationality" advocated by Paul Nagy at the Diet of 1807 had triumphed. The national literature had gained new strength: the work of the martyrs of 1795, of *Stephen Horváth*, the *Budai*

brothers, and *Benedeict Virág* in the field of history, of *Alexander Kisfaludy* and his brother *Charles*, of *Francis Kazinczy* (after his release in 1801), of *Francis Kölcsey*, the author of Hungary's National Anthem. *Daniel Berzsenyi*, *Michael Vörösmarty* and *Joseph Katona*, of *John Kis* and *Paul Szemere*, in the field of poetry and criticism, had at length borne fruit.

The stormy character of the eighteenth century impeded the progress of art and architecture. But we have still some eminent examples of the architectural art of the day. The town-hall and cathedral of *Temesvár;* the cathedral of *Székesfehérvár* (Baroque); the Grassalkovich Palace at *Pozsony;* the royal chateau of *Gödöllő;* these are some of the monuments telling of efforts made to restore the splendid culture of the past, efforts which, to be truly national, required the lead of a man or men who could rely upon the support of the whole nation. The man was about to enter on the scene: his name was *Count Stephen Széchenyi*.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE AGE OF ENDEAVOUR.

The Court and the Government had failed to destroy the national spirit.

Now they thought the nation would rest content with the preservation of the outward form.

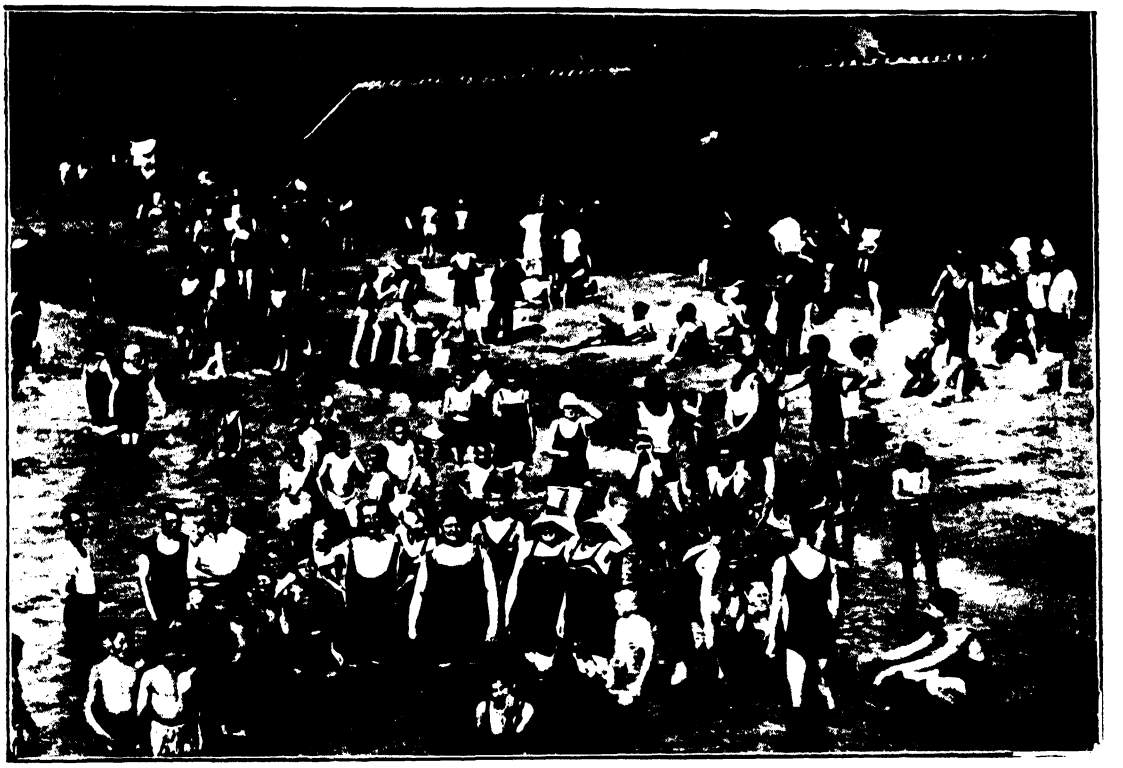
The Court and Metternich were again mistaken.

The triumvirate of brilliant orators — Paul Nagy de Felsőbükk, Thomas Ragályi, and Abraham Vay — were bent on securing the constitution by the establishment of fresh guarantees and promises. The party committed the error of desiring to realise all the innovations at once. Here they were outvoted: but the belief in the necessity for reform brought *Count Stephen Széchenyi* on the scenes; and his appearance was a terrible shock to Vienna.

The Court had hoped that the Diet of 1825 would exhaust itself in protest which would find no echo in the Upper House. So when, on November 3, in answer to a fiery oration delivered by Paul Nagy, who suggested the establishment of a Hungarian Academy as the most effectual means of encouragng the development of the Magyar language, *Széchenyi* rose and, in a speech of simple sincerity, offered a whole year's income for the purpose, his example being followed by other wealthy magnates, the Court was dumbfounded. The blow had fallen from a quarter from which it had been least expected. *Széchenyi*, the son of Francis Széchenyi, the founder of the National Museum, met Metternich who endeavoured to use persuasion. However, the Count resigned his military rank and devoted himself with renewed energy to the work of reform of which the foundation of the Academy was the first step.

His conviction was that reforms, to be stable, must be introduced with the consent and support of the King and Government; and must be gradual and rational; and that intellectual and material welfare must precede political progress and political emancipation. „Do not let us brood on the past", he said, „but work to build up the future". He was to a great extent in agreement with the apostles of radicalism. But he regarded with anxiety the breathless rapidity with which they desired to realise the scheme. He wished to educate the people first.

He realised that the magnates would continue to be the unflinching adherents of the Court so long as their headquarters were at Vienna. So he devised plans to lure them to the capital of their own country. He founded the Hungarian Horsebreeder's Association and established racing as a pastime and as a means of encouraging the breeding of horses. He then founded the National Casino of Pest. He determined to beautify the capital and provide it with institutions for the development of trade and commerce and social intercourse. He engaged an English engineer (Adam Clark) to build the superb Chain Bridge (Lánczhid), one of the most beautiful bridges in Europe and the first permanent connecting link between the two cities of Buda and Pest, the two halves of Hungary. He gave his country the benefit of Fulton's invention; the first steamboat appeared on the Danube in 1830; and he induced men of



Kiskunfélegyháza. Open-air Baths.

means to take shares in the Danube Steamship Company. He had the tunnel connecting the two parts of Buda bored through Castle Hill. Decent streets were made; and people were encouraged to erect modern edifices. The modernisation of the capital was thus cleverly exploited to counteract the policy of the Court and to restore to the Hungarian magnates their Hungarian character.

Széchenyi also advocated a gradual abolition of the exemption of the nobility from taxation.

He created an Economic Association for the discussion of questions relating to Agriculture and industry. He wrote a book — „Credit" (1830) — with the object of arousing the nation to the necessity of creating a sound financial system and enhancing the value of the land. He told the nobles „Hungary has not been, but shall be".

Széchenyi not only enunciated principles: he suggested the means for carrying them into practice. Besides a national bank exhibitions should be held, and rewards offered to those farmers whose produce excelled: and every effort should be made to educate the future generation in the spirit of democratic and national progress.

His book was received, at first with indifference, then with indignation, and finally with universal approbation. The nation could not fail to recognise the true value of schemes which aimed at the consolidation of all the resources, intellectual, social, and material, of the nation for the work of political regeneration.

In 1830 Parliament met again at Pozsony. The Estates had Ferdinand, Francis's son, crowned as his successor: the reform party pressed for a discussion of their schemes. But the Conservatives (who had been thoroughly alarmed by Széchenyi's activity), supported by the Chancellor, Reviczky, decided to postpone the debate till the following session. A contingent of 48,000 recruits was voted; and, despite the protests of Edmund Beöthy, „the Danton of Hungary", Parliament adjourned without redressing the grievances of the Protestants, the only „sop" administered to the patriotism of the gentry being a resolution that no one could be appointed to a public office (civil service) unless he was acquainted with the Hungarian language.

The following year Hungary was visited by a terrible epidemic of cholera. Fifty-six thousand died. The Slovaks of Upper Hungary were induced by Russian agents to believe that their feudal lords had poisoned the wells: they rose in revolt, and were not checked until they had emulated the example of the Wallachian hordes of Hora and Kloska.

In 1832 Parliament met again, and remained in session for four years.

The form and spirit of the Lower House had changed: the Reform Party, led by Francis Kölcsey, the poet and orator, Francis Deák, later the author of the Compromise, John Balogh, Edmund Beöthy, Stephen Bezerédy, and others, were in the majority and were able to voice the real needs of the country. But the Upper House was still the stronghold of the Conservatives; and Széchenyi and his comrade-in-arms, Nicholas Wesselényi, strove in vain to obtain the magnates' approval of their policy. The Court, which in the eighteenth century had looked to the peasantry for support against the nobility, now changed their tactics: they relied upon the Conservative majority of the upper chamber to frustrate the liberal endeavours of the commons. The magnates rejected the proposal for a restitution of complete religious liberty; the resolution relating to the union with Transylvania; the civil code; the bill for the establishment of a system of credit and a national bank; the resolution relating to the use of the Hungarian instead of the Latin language; and the proposal for the support of the Polish revolution.

However, the Reform Party succeeded in carrying its proposals for the amelioration of the condition of the serfs. Brilliant speeches in support of these proposals were made by Deák and Kölcsey, the latter declaring it was high time that the country should possess „ten million free citizens, instead of 700,000 poor souls wrapped in a morbid sleep". The Government, however, refused to ratify the points involving political rights, which were too liberal and too democratic: and the bill had to be modified accordingly.

Parliament began the work completed by the Diet of 1848. It was resolved that members of the gentry living on sessions should pay taxes, and that the expenses of the Diet should be borne by nobles and clergymen with noble privileges, as well as by the peasants.

It was in 1832 that Louis Kossuth started the publication of his „Records of Parliament", the idea being to arouse interest all over the country in the proceedings of the national assembly. The paper was in manuscript, and thus evaded the regulations referring to the censoring of printed matter. It appeared twice weekly, and was sent to all the county assemblies, to the gentry, and to the towns. The leaders of the opposition became popular heroes: and the Government was alarmed. In 1834 Baron Nicholas Wesselényi followed Kossuth's example, prepared records of the proceedings of the Transylvanian Diet, and had then lithographed in his own house. During the intervals between the sessions of Parliament, Kossuth issued records of the debates of the various county assemblies, thus affording an opportunity for an exchange of views and a combination of forces against any illegal measures of the Government.

But Metternich, the real ruler of the country, resolved to employ the harshest reprisals. In 1835 he dissolved the Transylvanian Diet, had Wesselényi arrested, and threw him into prison on a charge of treason.

Francis died in 1835; he was succeeded by his son Ferdinand V. (1835—48), a man of good intentions but indifferent qualities who allowed himself to be guided in all his actions by Metternich. To the nobles who brought the Address of the Hungarian Parliament to Vienna, the all-powerful Chancellor replied, somewhat cynically: „Tell the gentlemen everything will be as before".

The Diet protested against the arrest of Wesselényi: but the Government took no notice. The laws passed provided (1) for the erection of the Chain Bridge between Buda and Pest, the tolls to be paid by everybody, commoner and noble alike (the first definite abolition of the principle that nobles should be exempt from all taxation; (2) for the regulation of the Danube; (3) *for the drating of all laws in Latin and Hungarian*, the latter, in cases of dispute, to be the standard text. The Government, however, rejected the proposals that the language of instruction of the Ludovika should be Hungarian, and that the nation should establish at Pest, at its own expense, a technical college and a modern school.

Parliament was dissolved: but the spirit in which the deputies departed to their

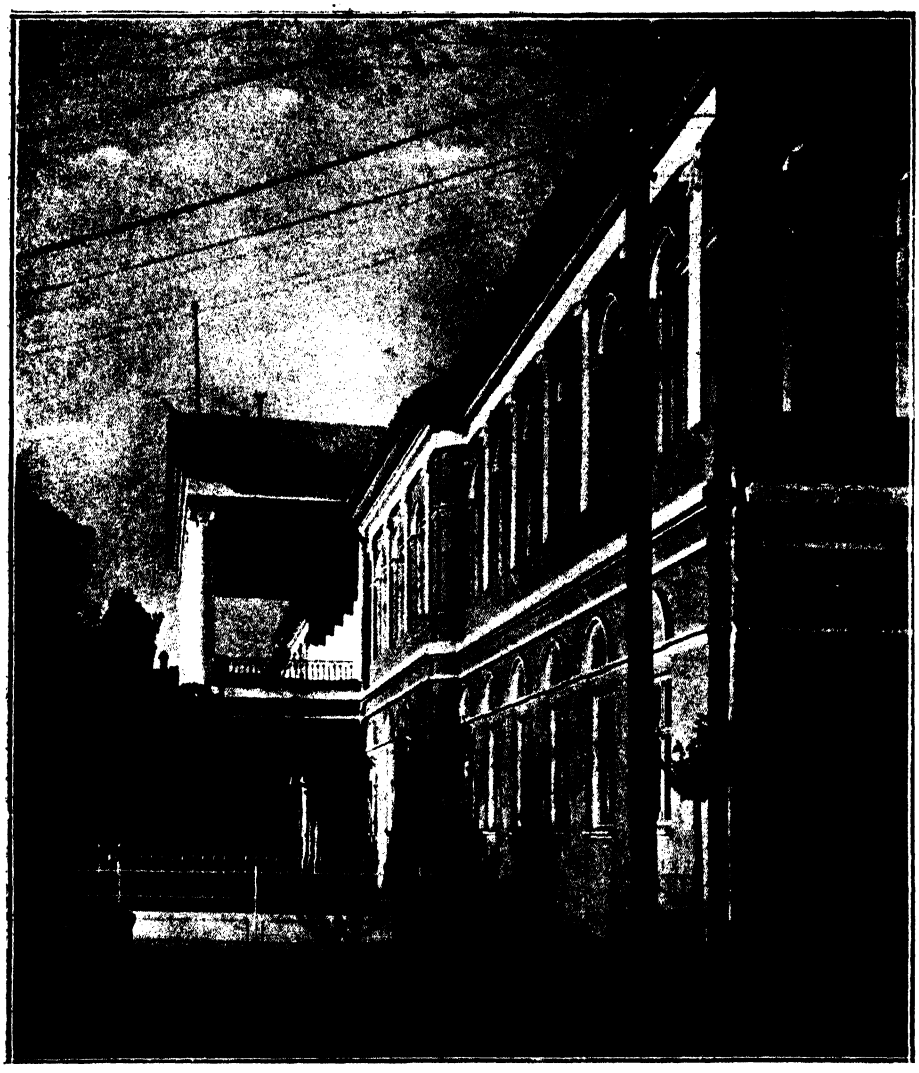
Makó. View showing High School and Theatre.

homes boded no good for the future. The seeds of revolution had already been sown: Széchenyi felt that the catastrophe could hardly be averted; and the events of the next few years, in particular the action of the Government and the consequent popularity of the radicals, were destined to justify his anxiety.

Metternich resolved to crush Hungary by the institution of a reign of terror: he chose as Chancellor an unscrupulus man Count Fidél Pálffy, a Hungarian who did not know a word of his native tongue, and was a violent and unscrupulous reactionary.

The first blow was struck at the university students, who attended the meetings of Parliament, copied the reports of the proceedings, and idolised the leaders of the Opposition. The most prominent among them, including Bartholomew Szemere and Ladislas Lovassy, were arrested. Lovassy was condemned, illegally, to ten years' imprisonment: but his confinement unhinged his mind; and he returned home a physical wreck. Louis Kossuth, too, was arrested. After a mock trial, which was both secret and illegal, Kossuth was sentenced to four years' confinement in the fortress of Buda.

The arbitrary measures initiated by Metternich produced a result exactly the reverse of what he had expected. Wesselényi, Szemere, Lovassy, Kossuth, and the other victims of his despotic rage, were regarded as national martyrs. The nation felt that the moment was approaching for a final reckoning with absolutism. As the time for the elections was approaching, Metternich endeavoured to conciliate the people by removing Pálffy and appointing Count Anthony Majláth in his place. But it was too late. The elections were fought for the first time in Hungarian history by two definite parties with well-defined principles — the Liberals and the Conservatives. Victory rested with the former. The Opposition was in the majority in the Lower House; while, in the



Makó.
County Building.

Upper House, the Conservative or Government Party professed the principles of utilitarianism, though their leader, Count Aurelius Dessewffy, desired a centralisation of authority in the hands of government. The policy they advocated was too liberal for the Court and too reactionary for the gentry.

Parliament began by demanding a general amnesty for political offenders and liberty of speech: Government finally consented, thus, to use the words of Deák, a prominent leader of the Opposition, „cooling the feeling of indignation and putting an end to the dangerous epoch of terrorism."

The Diet then proceeded to enact laws. The Government would not ratify all the proposals: but the Liberals were able to enforce the codification of measures which incorporated many of Széchenyi's most important suggestions and laid the foundations of democratic liberty and national prosperity. The serfs obtained the right to redeem themselves and their land; the term of military service was reduced to ten years (it had been „for life"); press-gangs were abolished, and the drawing of lots substituted; the Hungarian language was introduced as the official tongue of the royal council and the Chamber, and was to be used in drafting the Addresses of the House.

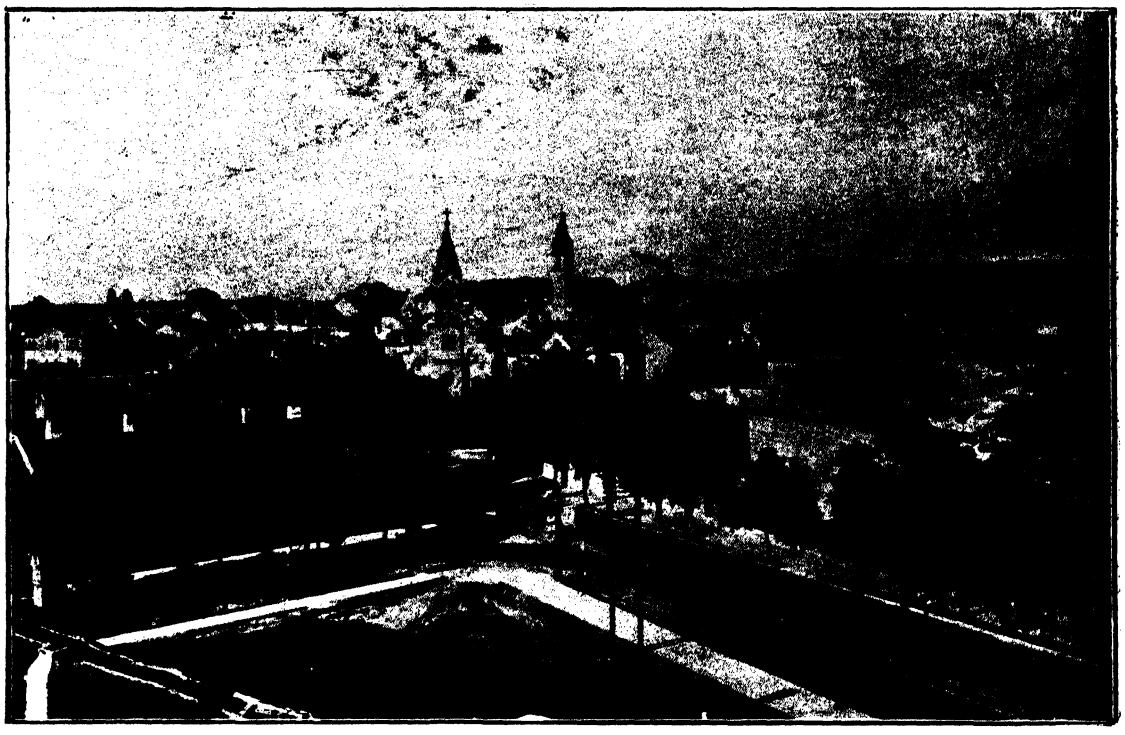
The Government had attempted to absorb Hungary in Austria by methods of terrorism and all the instruments of absolutism: but the temper of the country was aptly expressed by Széchenyi, when he said: „We may perhaps be murdered, but we shall never allow ourselves to become an Austrian province."

Makó. Town Hall.

The law passed by the Parliament of 1839—40 providing for the registers to be kept in Hungarian, met with but little opposition from the Court. There was a reason for this: and the disaffection that followed among the Slovaks, who dreamed of Pan-Slavism, and among the Croatians, who aspired to be „Illyrians", showed what that reason was. But the movement was disturbing to the mind of Stephen Széchenyi, who saw in it the shadow of future trouble. And he was disturbed at the growing influence of Louis Kossuth (now released), who started the first political newspaper, the *Pesti Hirlap* (Pest News), in 1841. The country gentry swore by Kossuth, who proclaimed reforms in every department of public life. These reforms were practically identical with those urged by Széchenyi: but he thought the order of the process should be different. Kossuth believed that the first duty of the nation was to reform and regenerate the constitution and that independence and liberty would be the best means of securing intellectual and material welfare. Kossuth attacked the enemies of progress with extreme violence, refused to believe any more in the sincerity of the Government (with whom Széchenyi wished to act in harmony), and declared war on absolutism in all its forms. Széchenyi was alarmed. In 1841 he wrote his *„People of the East"* (Kelet népe), which unfortunately contained a personal attack on Kossuth. The writer did not assail Kossuth's political creed, but, while reproaching the Conservatives for their hostility to reform, accused Kossuth of demagogy, of an undignified attempt to court popularity. The attack did Széchenyi no good: he could not fight against the forces of popularity; even the more moderate reformers, such as Deák, condemned his action. Széchenyi retired into private life, where he still continued to work for the realisation of his great schemes. Dessewffy, who for some time edited a paper, the *„World"* (Világ), in opposition to Kossuth, died in 1842. Kosuth reigned supreme in Hungarian politics.

The opposition shown by the Government and the attemps of the Court party to instigate the non-Magyar nationalities to resist all endeavours to create a national Hungarian state, convinced even those who hesitated that the time for the moderation preached by Széchenyi was past, and added to the lustre of Kossuth's name.

Various societies were formed for the spread of useful knowledge, for the protection and encouragement of Hungarian



Magyaróvár. General View.

industry and craftsmanship; members of the opposition established a commercial bank and a company for the erection of factories: Kossuth proposed to build a railway from Vukovár to Fiume, in order to secure direct communication with England by sea. The schemes were the schemes of Széchenyi: but the determination to take the initiative and not wait for the co-operation of Government was the spirit of Kossuth.

The age was alive with ideas; the country was in a ferment: and the triumph of public discussion heralded the advent of the freedom of the press. Széchenyi's protest had merely served to alarm the friends of reform, who saw in Kossuth their most steadfast champion, and feared that the quarrel would weaken their cause.

The *congregation* of the county of Szatmár had passed a resolution calling upon Parliament to adopt the reforms urged by Kossuth. The Government was alarmed, and left no stone unturned to secure a majority. In the county of Zala scenes of riot and disorder were provoked by the agent of the Government, a certain George Forintos: Deák's friends rallied round his standard: but Deák refused to stand for a constituency in which such scenes could be enacted. So Parliament assembled without „the sage of Hungary": but the Opposition was still in the majority, and was enabled to carry some important reforms. The triumph of the Hungarian language was complete; it now became the official tongue of all offices, of the schools and of the courts: laws could henceforth be drafted in Hungarian only. The question of mixed marriages was settled in favour of the Protestants. In the case of mixed marriages, clergymen of any denomination were allowed to perform the marriage ceremony. The civil service and all offices were to be open to non-nobles, who could also possess real estate. But Metternich prevailed on the Conservative majority of the Upper House to reject the bills relating to the obligations of all citizens alike to share in the public burdens, the new code of criminal law elaborated by Deák, the bill for introducing trial by jury, the proposal for a union with Transylvania, and the bill for regulating the privileges of the royal free boroughs.

Parliament adjourned in a spirit of dissatisfaction with the existing order. Radical changes must be made if the Diet was to emancipate itself from the paralysing control of Government.

Magyaróvár. Statue of St. John, from the time of Maria Theresa (1740—80).

Metternich desired to anticipate the Opposition: so he decided to appoint a „mailfisted" government, and take the initiative himself. But he had failed to comprehend the national spirit of Hungary. In 1844 he addressed a letter to Archduke Joseph, the Palatine, confessing that, owing to the incompatibility of Austrian absolutism and Hungarian constitutionalism, the reign of Ferdinand had so far been barren of results for Hungary, that he wished to secure a reliable conservative majority in both houses, willing to guarantee the passing of bills elaborated by the Government. His programme practically involved a transition from the mediavel Hungarian system to the modern European system of constitutional representative government. The whole country was engaged in a lively discussion of the respective merits and demerits of the two systems when, in 1845, Count George Apponyi, the leader of the Conservatives in the Upper House, was appointed Chancellor in place of Anthony Majláth. In conjunction with Baron Samuel Josika, the Chancellor of Transylvania, the newly-appointed head of the Hungarian Government set to work to prepare the way to securing the majority desired by Metternich. The counties immediately suspected the real intentions of Metternich. The „reforms" promised by the Chancellor were not welcome to the bulk of the nobility — at the price of their autonomy. This fresh attempt at centralisation proved abortive: though for a time a difference of opinion relating to the methods and to the exact value of local autonomy divided the Opposition into two fractions, the scheme elaborated by Deák, at the request and with the aid of Kossuth, and presented to a common conference in June, 1847, once more united them in a determination to resist what was after all only absolutism in disguise.

So the exertions of Metternich ended in a return to the *status quo ante.* Nothing could prevent the Opposition scoring a fresh victory at the elections.

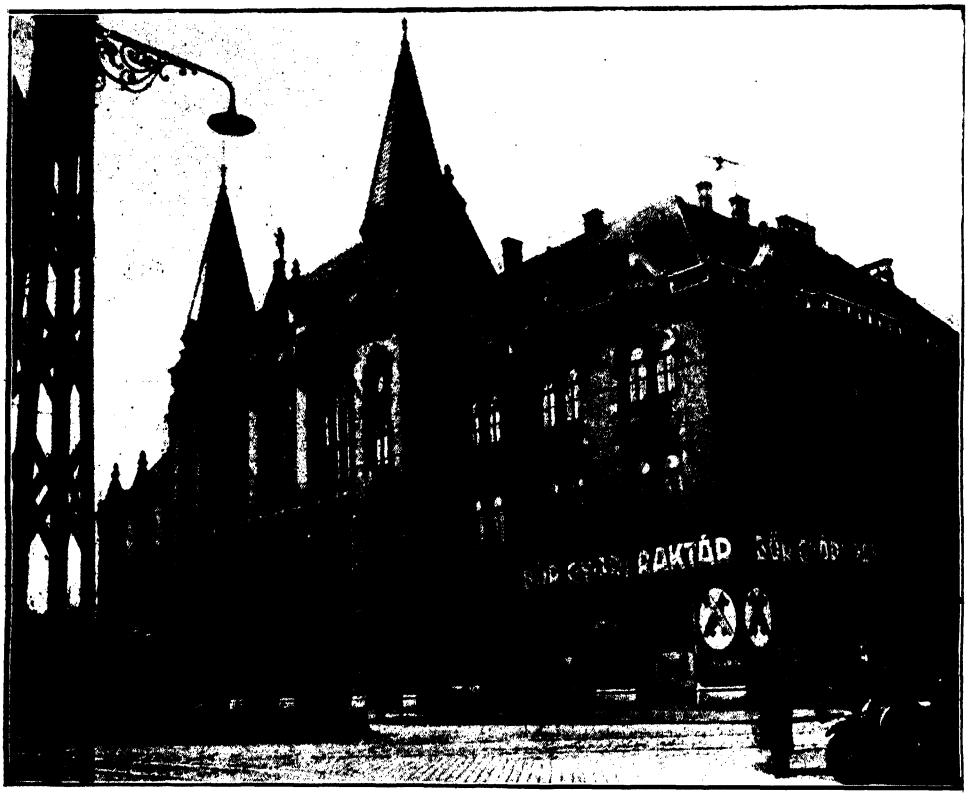
While the rival parties were engaged in preparations for the struggle the issue of which could no longer be in doubt, the Palatine, Archduke Joseph, died: Ferdinand appointed his son, Stephen, Governor *(locum tenens)* of Hungary.

On November 12, 1847, Ferdinand opened Parliament in person in the Bishop's palace at Pozsony, *speaking in Hungarian.*

This was the first time for three hundred years that the King of Hungary had used the vernacular when addressing Parliament.

As yet there was nothing to indicate that this Diet was to be epoch-making, adopting the leading ideas of the age and placing Hungary on a level with the other modern constitutional states of Europe. There were the same parties (Liberals and Conservatives) as before; Széchenyi was bent on having his great schemes codified, but his mind was full of melancholy foreboding and he refused to take any part in the work of political reform: but Deák was back again, and Louis Kossuth had been returned, together with Count Louis Batthyány, for Pest. Archduke Stephen was elected Palatine. Despite the opposition of Government, the system of administrators was abolished. The Liberals succeeded in securing the abolition of entail and the acceptance of the principle of *taxation for all:* in this they were supported by the Conservatives; and the renunciation of some of their dearest privileges was thus a voluntary act on the part of the whole nobility.

But the French Revolution of February (1848) was followed, on March 13, by a revolutionary outbreak in Vienna. Metternich's system collapsed at once and he fled to England. Kossuth, who was already the most brilliant orator in Parliament, prevailed upon the Lower House to pass an Address comprising all the reforms demanded by the Liberals: it was accepted by the Upper House; and on March 15, a deputation left Pozsony for Vienna, to present the Address to the King.



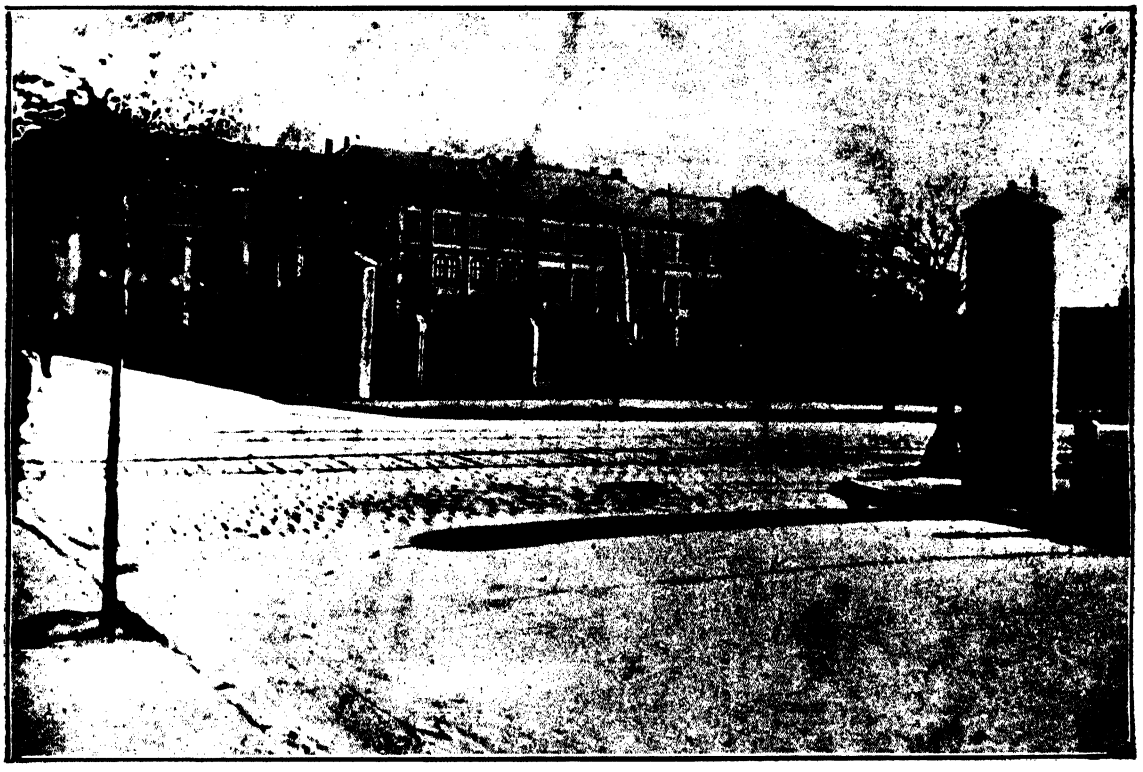
Ujpest. Town Hall.

The same day, in Pest, never-to-be-forgotten events were taking place. The University students, led by the editors of *The Present Age* and by *Alexander Petőfi*, the popular poet, *Maurice Jókai, Aloysius Degré, Daniel Irányi, Imre Vahot*, and others, drew up a manifesto containing, in twelve points, the demands of the nation, and printed it themselves, without asking the permission of the censor. On the steps of the National Museum Jókai read the terms of the manifesto; while Petőfi recited his poem, „Arise Magyar", which he had composed under the inspiration of the moment. The municipal assembly of Pest

adopted the manifesto amid scenes of indescribable enthusiasm. This bloodless revolution sealed the triumph of Kossuth's policy.

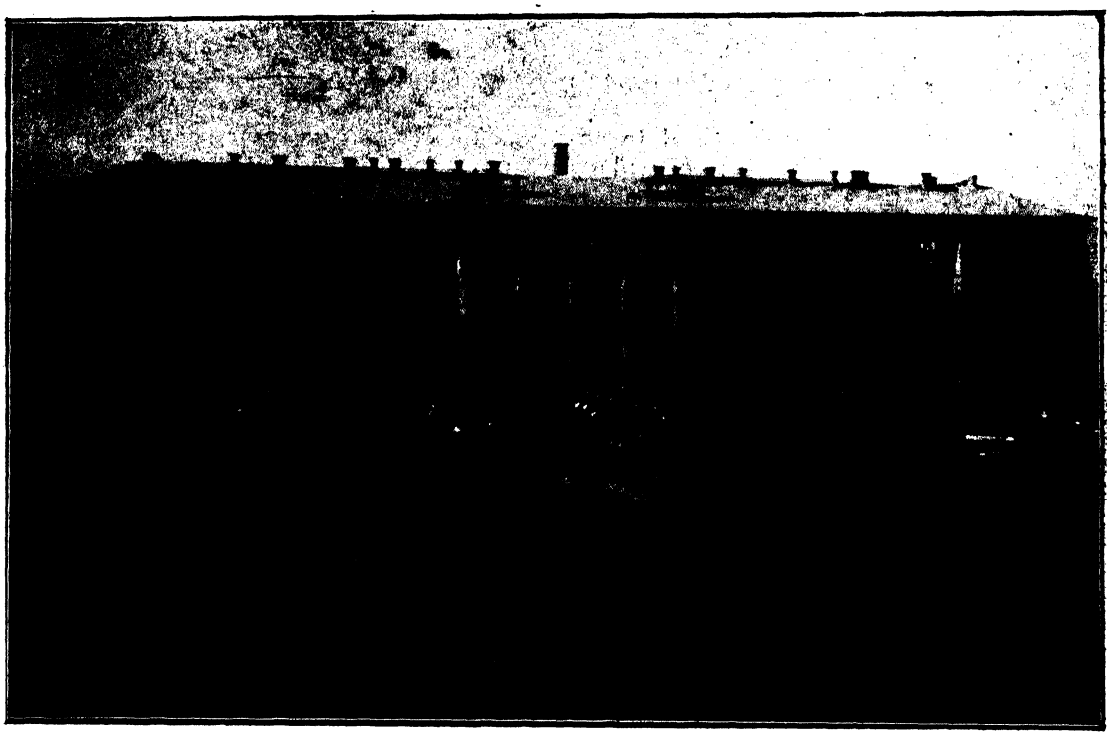
On March 17, Ferdinand agreed to accept the demands of the Liberals; and on April 7 the first responsible Hungarian Cabinet was appointed. The triumph of the principles of constitutional government was complete: the nightmare of absolutism had been removed: the continuity of the Hungarian constitution was assured.

On April 11, Ferdinand gave his royal sanction to the laws discussed and passed, without opposition, by the Diet (now truly Parliament) of Pozsony. These included: provisions for the vindication of the political status of Hungary by the appointment of a Hungarian Cabinet responsible to Parliament and resident at Budapest; for the assembling of Parliament once every year; for the extension of the franchise and the election of Parliament by popular suffrage; for the equality of all citizens before the law; for the union of Transylvania with Hungary proper; for the abolition of feudalism, socage, all tithes and „ninths"; for the equality of all citizens relative to the possession of real estate; for the abolition of manor courts and all judical functions of feudal lords; for the non-dissolution of Parliament before the passing of the next year's budget; for the suppression of the former instruments of government *(consilium locumtenentiale, Kamara* and Chancellery), to be replaced by the responsible ministry; for the taxation of all members of the community alike; for the abolition of entail and of the censorship; for the freedom of education and of the press; and for the absolute equality of all religious denominations recognised by law.



Ujpest. Boys Secondary School.

The work of legislation performed by the first modern Parliament of Hungary shows how complete the triumph of the ideas of progress and democracy had been. Despite its mediaeval organisation and character, this Parliament, which was the last convened on the basis of the ancestral constitution, may well take rank with the more advanced assemblies of Western Europe. The nobility of Hungary had set an example of magnanimity and enlightenment which could not fail to awaken an echo in far-distant lands. But the triumph of



Ujpest. High School.

democracy and constitutionalism promised the consolidation of a national state which would be a perpetual menace to imperialism'

The Court party of Vienna felt that the sudden and radical transformation would offer an opportunity to undo the work which the untiring labour of Széchenyi, the honest thoroughness of Deák, and the brilliant oratory of Kossuth had done.

The supposition proved correct.

CHAPTER XX.

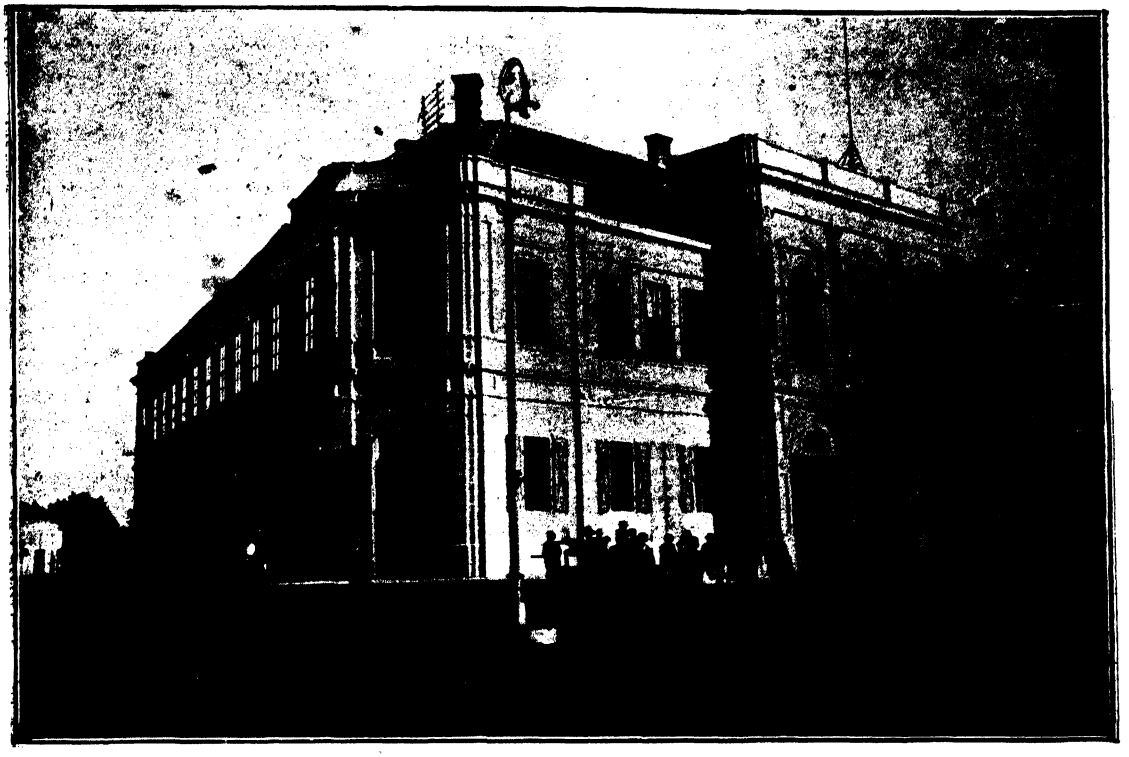
THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE COMPROMISE OF 1867.

The new system involved too radical and sudden a change to be immediately successful.

The Hungarian nobility had voluntarily renounced their ancient privileges and were quite prepared to abide by the consequences; but the new democratic system, which gave such undreamed-of power to the people at large, was a terrible blow to those circles, political and military, which had hitherto ruled the country and wielded all the real power from Vienna.

The lower classes of the non-Magyar nationalities, who did not possess the education necessary to a complete understanding of the blessings and privileges involved in their political emancipation, fell an easy prey to the demagogues hired for the work of creating discord and trouble by the imperialists of Vienna. The new constitution could be attacked most easily by an appeal to the jealousies of an illiterate and ignorant rabble; and the circles which shrank from adopting the principles did not shrink from imitating the methods of the French Revolution of 1789.

The work of intrigue began in Croatia. Baron Jellatchitch was only too eager to lend himself as an instrument. He incited the Croatians to refuse to obey the new laws and to persecute the Magyars living among them: he took a deputation to Vienna to demand complete autonomy from the King. *Ferdinand called upon Jellatchitch to observe the terms of the Hungarian constitution;* but at the same time he



Hajdunánás. Town Hall.

appointed him to the office of Ban, an appointment which showed that the Court was in no mood to respect the constitution itself. The Serbs joined the movement, and demanded the cession of a separate Serb province with an autonomy of its own and independent of the Hungarian Government. At the close of April, Jellatchitch proclaimed the separation of Croatia, Slavonia, and the seaboard: he took no heed of the commands of the King or Palatine: he trusted in the power of his patrons in Vienna. He was deprived of his office; but he knew that his mission was to bring about the fall of the Hungarian ministers of war and finance; the Court had consented very unwillingly to the decentralisation of these two important branches of the administration; and on his return to Croatia at the end of June, he assumed the powers and authority of dictator. To meet the evident danger threatening Hungary from this quarter, the Government resolved to organise a „National Guard" of volunteers, which later became the nucleus of the famous Honvéd (National Defence) Army.

On May 30, the Transylvanian Diet had voted for the union with Hungary; but the antagonistic attitude of the Saxons and Wallachians caused grave anxiety. The dread of an impending catastrophe darkened the mind of Széchenyi, who became insane and had to be removed to a private asylum at Döbling near Vienna, where he soon recovered, only to see the liberty of his nation still deferred and to put an end to his own life in 1860.

The first Parliament elected by popular suffrage met at Pest on July 5; it was attended by representatives of Transylvania. The King appointed the Palatine governor (viceroy) with full powers, conferring on him even authority to ratify laws; and the whole country was convinced that the constitution at least was safe.

Meanwhile Jellatchitch was threatening Hungary; and the Serb insurgents were ravaging, pillaging, and murdering in the South. On July 11 Parliament voted 200,000 recruits and a war credit of 42 million florins. The Croatian and Serb danger was aggravated by an insurrection among the Wallachians of Transylvania. General Mészáros led an army against the Serbs; Hungarian officers and regiments serving in Austria hastened home; and the recruiting of the new army proceeded with unexampled rapidity.

The Hungarians had taken up arms so-

lely and exclusively to defend the sanctity of the constitution and of the royal prerogatives: the intrigues of the Vienna imperialists were ignored; and no attempt was made by the Hungarian Parliament to take advantage of the situation to force an issue with Austria. *But the Court party refused to take the only justifiable and rational view of the situation* and to leave the Hungarians to fight their own battles. Such measures were resorted to as could not fail to provoke an Austro-Hungarian crisis. In the middle of August the King withdrew the Palatine's plenipotentiary authority, reinstated Jellatchitch in his office as Ban, and refused to sanction the resolutions passed on July 11. Jellatchitch invaded Hungary and marched towards Buda: the Palatine retired from the country: Kossuth visited the Lowlands and fired the population into a frenzy of patriotism: the indignation at the intrigues of the Court, which had wantonly interfered in matters that did not concern it, changed to fury when Count Lamberg was appointed—in defiance of the new constitution—commander-in-chief of the Hungarian armies. He did not enjoy his dignity long: he was seized as he was crossing the Chain Bridge from Buda to Pest and killed. The Court party had achieved its purpose: the death of its *agent provocateur* gave it the semblance of a pretext for armed intervention. Jellatchitch was appointed commander-in-chief in Lamberg's place: and, since the Court party had now thrown off its mask, he was instructed to „punish the Hungarians." But at the end of September, Jellatchitch was routed by the Hungarian „Honvéd" troops under Maurice Perczel and *Arthur Görgey* at Pákozd, while the Croatian reserves were compelled to surrender. The trans-Danubian districts were clear of enemies.

The Court dissolved Parliament. Parliament took no notice of the edict; and, seeing that the Cabinet as such had ceased to exist, a Committee of National Defence was formed under the presidency of Louis Kossuth.

Hitherto the national army had been fighting in the King's name and in defence of the King's prerogatives: now, the fight for the constitution was transformed into a war of independence. The loyal subjects of Ferdinand became rebels; and the struggle developed into a revolution.

The Vienna Court decided to send troops to the aid of Jellatchitch, who had fled to save his life: the people of Vienna rose in insurrection and murdered Count Latour, the War Minister. The Hungarian Parliament decided to send an army to the assistance of the Viennese insurgents; but General Móga, who was put in command, was defeated at Schwechat: Prince Windischgraetz occupied Vienna (October 31) and wreaked a terrible vengance on the inhabitants.

Meanwhile, in Transylvania, the Wallachians joined forces with the Saxons in an attempt to overthrow the Hungarian constitution. They committed the most terrible atrocities. The dreams portrayed in glowing terms by the demagogue hirelings of the Vienna imperialists, worked them into a frenzy of barbaric savagery: they spared neither wonen nor children. The imperial commander of Transylvania, Puchner, who at first contented himself with the rôle of spectator, finally joined the insurgents; and the imperial troops supported the savage hordes of „babykillers" in their campaign of bloodthirsty „vengeance." We may well ask what they had to avenge: they had received complete emancipation and possessed the same rights as their compatriots of other races. The cry of „vengeance" was the work of unscrupulous imperialist hirelings. No more convincing proof of the magnanimity of the Magyars could be desired than the manner in which they have contrived to forget and to forgive the cruel barbarity of these hired assassins, the victims of a soulless system and — of their own ignorance.

By the autumn, the whole of Transylvania, with the exception of the County of Háromszék, was in the hands of Hungary's enemies.

Ferdinand did not feel equal to facing the crisis which his own Court had provoked: so, on December 2, 1848, he abdicated in favour of his nephew, Archduke Francis Joseph, who is still on the throne. The new sovereign at once commanded Windischgraetz to subdue Hungary and suppress the rebellion.

The Austrian commander-in-chief, joining forces with Jellatchitch, invaded Hungary. Before long he was master of Upper Hungary and the trans-Danubian districts. Görgey retired before his advance; and Parliament withdrew (January 1, 1849) to Debreczen, the capital of the Lowlands and the „Rome of Calvinism."

Lillafüred. Summer beolth resort. The Lake.

Windischgraetz occupied Budapest. A deputation of the Hungarian Parliament, which was still anxious to come to terms, waited on him and proposed negotiations: but the arrogance of the Austrian generalissimo, who demanded „unconditional submission", rendered any arrangement impossible, while at the same time it betrayed the real reason for the provocative attitude of the Vienna Court party.

Meanwhile the Polish general, Bem, had reconquered practically the whole of Transylvania. And in February, Görgey joined forces with George Klapka at Kassa. His retreat had been a piece of masterful strategy, but the jealousy of the central committee conferred the chief command on Dembinszky, another Polish general, who was unable to win the confidence of his officers and did not possess the capacity of either Görgey or Bem. After the disastrous defeat at Kápolna, Dembinszky was obliged to retire in favour of Görgey.

The object of Görgey's brilliant spring campaign was the relief of the fortress of *Komárom*. The Austrian armies could not withstand the impetuous onslaught of the Honvéds. At *Szolnok, Hatvan, Tápió-Bicske, Isaszeg* and *Vácz*, the Hungarians won signal victories. Windischgraetz was driven to resign his command; but his successor, *Welden*, fared no better. After the defeat of the Austrians at *Nagy-Sarló* (April 19), the new commander-in-chief was compelled to retire from Budapest, leaving a small garrison, under the command of *General Hentzi*, in the fortress of Buda. Görgey advanced towards Komárom, thrashed General Schlick, and relieved Komárom. Then, in obedience to the commands of Kossuth, he returned to invest Buda. On May 21 he took the fortress by assault, a mistaken step, as he would have brought Austria to her knees if he had been allowed to follow up his victories.

Meanwhile, after completely routing the Austro-Wallachian rabble in Transylvania, Bem proceeded by way of the Iron Gate to Lower Hungary, where he joined forces with Maurice Perczel against the Serbs. Dislodged from their stronghold at *Szent-Tamás*, the latter were finally overthrown; and by the middle of May Southern Hungary had been cleared of enemies. In the North, the Honvéds had suppressed the movement among the Slovaks under Hurbán: and the next move should undoubtedly have been an advance towards Vienna. With the internal troubles practically at an end, Hungary could have con-

Pécs. Town Hall.

centrated her energies on an attack upon her only formidable foe. But Kossuth willed otherwise: and Kossuth was already omnipotent.

On March 4, after the battle of Kápolna, which the incapacity of Dembinszky turned into a rout, the Emperor issued an edict giving a new constitution to his Empire. Hungary was treated as a province of the Austrian Empire. Her reply to this humiliating act of absolutism was the brilliant spring campaign conducted by Görgey. Schwechat and Kápolna were avenged; and the Court awoke to the consciousness that Hungary was not dead. However, the Hungarian Parliament went further than it had ever intended to go: the challenge of Vienna was taken up; and on April 14, 1849, in the Great Church of Debreczen, the resolution moved by Louis Kossuth that the House of Habsburg should be dethroned, was carried unanimously.

Kossuth was elected Governor. In his capacity as such he appointed the first republican cabinet of independent Hungary.

The Court resolved to appeal for aid to Russia. So in June 200,000 Russians entered Hungary. At first the Hungarians held their own; indeed, at *Ó-Szőny*, on July 2, Görgey, aided by Count Leiningen and General Klapka, completely routed the Austro-Russian army. Görgey led the decisive charge of the Honvéd Hussars in person: he was severely wounded, but he had the satisfaction of knowing that the enemy had taken to their heels. At *Hegyes* (July 13) in the county of Bács, Generals Guyon and Vetter administered a severe defeat to the imperial army under Jellatchitch. But superior strategy and enthusiasm could not maintain the unequal fight for long, Parliament withdrew to Szeged and then to Arad, Bem was defeated by the Russians, in the battle of *Segesvár*, where Petőfi fell, and driven out of Transylvania. The invincible Görgey withdrew gradually, fighting rearguard engagements and winning the respect of his Russian enemies, who did not dare to close with him, as far as Arad, where he hoped to concentrate his army and join forces with Bem and Damjanich. But Bem was again defeated, at Temesvár: Görgey was entrusted by Kossuth with the supreme military and civil control of the country; and on August 13, 1849, on the field of Világos, after a conference with his staff, he surrendered to the Russians. He desired to save the country from shedding more blood in vain; for he saw that to continue the struggle with any chance of success was out of the question. And he desired to humiliate Austria by surrendering to the Czar. He did not trust the Austrians; but the hoped that Paskievitch, the Russian commander-in-chief, would stipulate for pardon for his officers. He despised the Austrians as foes, and would not humiliate himself or his Honvéds by surrendering to an enemy whom he and they had so often beaten.

Kossuth, accompanied by Szemere, Perczel, Bem, Guyon, and others, fled to Turkey. General Klapka, who was now in command of the fortress of Komárom, defied all attempts on the part of the Austrians to dislodge him. He only surrendered when finally convinced that the national cause was lost; and he made Haynau, the Austrian commander-in-chief, sign a declaration guaranteeing that neither the rank and file nor the officers of his garrison should be molested. The terms of ca-

pitulation were such as to leave the honour of the Hungarians intact.

Görgey's action in surrendering instead of fighting to the bitter end, gave rise to a dispute which has only recently been settled. There can be no doubt that he acted for the best. Further bloodshed was useles; a protraction of the struggle would only have hardened the terms of the inevitable surrender; and, by capitulating to the Russians, Görgey had hoped to save the lives of his principal officers, as well as the honour of his country and his army.

He was mistaken; but he was only human.

A Street in Pécs.

The Austrian Government was bent on vengeance. *Baron Haynau*, the „hyena of Brescia", whose name is still an object of execration all over Hungary, and who, during a visit to London, very nearly met the fate he deserved, was appointed *Dictator of Hungary*. He lost no time in carrying out his policy of terrorism. On *October* 6, 1849, *Count Louis Batthyány*, the first constitutional premier of Hungary, was shot at Pest: on the same day the thirteen martyrs were executed at *Arad*. The anniversary is still a day of national mourning.

But Haynau's thirst for blood was not yet satisfied: his courts-martial were set to work all over the country. More than one hundred sentences of death were passed: the prisons and fortress-dungeons were filled to overflowing: estates were confiscated on the very mention of the word „freedom"; and thousands of innocent victims were dragged off to serve in the Austrian army. But the conscience of Europe was aroused at last; and the Vienna Court, alarmed at the growing dissatisfaction and loud protests against tha barbarity of the system, in June 1850, was compelled to recall Haynau.

The methods were modified; but the system remained the same. Hungary was to be crushed, her national spirit extinguished: the *Bach Government* was to complete the work which Haynau had begun. The country was divided into five districts; Transylvania and Croatia were separated from Hungary; and a large tract of fertile territory (the counties of Szerém, Torontál, Temes, Krassó and Bács-Bodrog) was cut off and organised as a Serb province. No stone was left unturned to Germanise every department of public life: the offices were filled by Germans and Czechs; the German language became the official tongue, not only of the army, but of the administration, the courts, and even the schools. The liberty of the press was suppressed: and an army of spies and *agents provocateurs* rendered life in Hungary intolerable. Even in the drawing-rooms of the nobles, in the most intimate circles of friends, conversations were carried on in a whisper. Vörösmarty and Arany, and the band of heroic writers whom they led and inspired, despite the despair that filled their hearts, worked defiantly to keep alive the national spirit: they too were persecuted, but the influence of their warnings and their exhortations was not lost.

In 1857 the King made a tour through Hungary, accompanied by his beautiful and noble-hearted consort, Queen Elizabeth. The Queen's heart was touched by the sight of so much suffering and despair; and the King pardoned many political offenders, and resolved to modify the system of government and to forbid the Germanisation by force of the country.

Louis Kossuth and his fellow-exiles were endeavouring to arouse the sympathy of foreign countries; but the sympathy refused to assume a political form; and it was left

to the disastrous war against Italy (1859—60) to wring concessions of real value from the Austrian Government. Bach was dismissed; and, though for a time the main principles of absolutism remained in force, the events of March 15, 1860, on which day Hungary for the first time commemorated the bloodless revolution of 1848, and the military fired on the University students who went to place wreaths on the graves of the martyrs of 1849, roused public excitement to such a pitch of frenzy, that the

A Street in Pécs.

Government was at last compelled to take measures to allay the feelings of the nation.

The *October Diploma* (October 20, 1860) proposed to restore the order of things in force in 1847; in other words, the constitution of 1848 was abolished. However flattering this concession may have been to the nobility, it was out of season. Public opinion demanded the restitution of the system of government inaugurated in 1848.

The *February Patent* of 1861 decreed the assembling of an imperial parliament *(Reichsrath)* in Vienna, and commanded the Hungarian *Diet* (as such it was still regarded in Austria) to send delegates. Thus Hungary was put on a level with the hereditary provinces of Austria.

The Parliament convened for the purpose of electing these delegates refused to do so. The more moderate party, under the leadership of *Francis Deák*, wishing to avoid an open conflict with the Throne and the possibility of a renewal of the sufferings of the past, decided to reply to the Diploma in the form of an Address explaining the reasons why Hungary could not entertain the suggestion of sending delegates to the Reichsrath. Deák based the rights of the nation on those of the dynasty, and showed convincingly that the only possible solution of the crisis was a return to the state of things existing before the revolution.

The royal rescript sent in answer to the Address refused to acknowledge the legality of the essential points of the legislation of 1848. In his reply, Deák warned the sovereign that the nation could afford to wait, trusting in the future to bring about a favourable solution.

The King dissolved Parliament; and the Government once more resorted to absolutism (1861—65). The sovereign was willing to yield: but his advisers — including Schmerling and the famous Professor Lustkandl — persuaded him that the laws of 1848 involved danger to the proper conduct of military and foreign affairs.

On April 15, 1865, Deák's celebrated „Easter Article" appeared in the Pesti Napló. It explained, clearly and convincingly, the principles underlying the Pragmatic Sanction, and showed that these involved mutual defence and personal union, that the Hungarians had at all times honestly done their duty by the dynasty, and that there was no danger in the laws of 1848, which, in connection with the questions of the army and foreign affairs, offered no obstacles to a satisfactory arrangement.

The King withdrew his October Diploma, entrusted the Government to two patriotic, but conservative Hungarians, George Majláth and Paul Sennyey, and summoned Parliament to assemble on December 15.

Parliament, following the advice of Deák, insisted on the principle of legal continuity; but a committee was formed to discuss the conduct of common affairs, and the first step towards the Compromise of 1867 had been taken.

Pécs. View from the Havi Hill crucifix.

The disastrous result of the Austro-Prussian War hastened the final settlement. The Emperor of Austria was obliged to renounce his title of German Emperor; and Austria was compelled to leave the German federation.

Hungarian soldiers had fought with distinction both in Bohemia, at Custozza, and elsewhere. They had proved that they could be relied on in the hour of danger. So the King had no hesitation in appealing to Deák after the battle of Königgrätz. „What does Hungary want now?" was the monarch's question. „Just the same", replied the statesman, „as before the war". Deák's policy had been consistent all through; and it was now to be rewarded by complete triumph.

Parliament, which had been adjourned during the war, met again at the end of November (1866).

The negotiations between *Baron Beust* and *Deák* relative to the conclusion of an agreement for the conduct of common affairs were crowned with success: and on February 17, 1867, the King appointed the second responsible Hungarian Ministry, thus setting the final seal on the reconciliation of Crown and Nation. The persistence and unflinching determination of the people was rewarded by a return to the *status quo ante:* the policy of Louis Kossuth and his party had received the sanction of the King and of time. The principles of 1848 had triumphed; and democratic Hungary might well look forward to a happier future.

On March 30, Parliament passed the bill for regulating the relations of Hungary and Austria. On June 8, the King and Queen were crowned: the same day Francis Joseph I., as constitutional King of Hungary, gave his sanction to the bills introduced in Parliament. They thus became Acts; and among them was the *Compromise.* This important contract is generally known by its German name — „Ausgleich". But the „K i e g y e z é s", to give it its Hungarian name, was drafted by Deák; the original text has been considerably altered in the process of translation into German. It was based on the Pragmatic Sanction and the laws of 1790—91, from which it differed in so far as it was *a contract,* not between an absolute monarch as representing Austria and the Hungarian Parliament as representing Hungary, but *between two constitutional* states. Deák insisted on this point; and it is to his insistence that Austria owes her constitution and her parliamentary system of government. Act

View of the surroundings of Pécs.

their actions (through the Delegations) to the legislative assemblies of both sides. The fact that „Austria" and „Austrian" became familiar terms before 1867 had led conservative elements to ignore the existence of Hungary altogether; but of late she has been coming more and more to the front. It has been quite the usual thing to look upon Hungary as a kind of „province" of Austria with a peculiar autonomy of her own, and to class her with Bohemia: she is nothing of the kind, but an independent sovereign state, with a constitution nearly as old as that of England and an unbroken continuity of constitutional

XII. of 1867 determined the exact relations between Austria and Hungary, and brought into being the *Dual Monarchy*. The „Dual Monarchy" is composed of two absolutely independent sovereign states — Hungary and Austria — each with a Parliament and a ministry of its own. As far as the Dual Monarchy is concerned, there is no „Vienna Government" or „Austro-Hungarian Cabinet". Each state has its own Government; and a Hungarian citizen is as little subject to the Austrian authorities as an Austrian is subject to those of Hungary. As for „Austro-Hungarians", they are simply non-existent. Except in respect of the „common" affairs referred to below, Austria is, for Hungary, a foreign country. Neither the Hungarian Parliament nor the Austrian Reichsrath is subordinate to the „common" ministries, all of which are responsible for

Pécs. Railway Station.

government which has never been definitively absorbed by Austria, despite all attempts in that direction, and is to-day merely allied to Austria by the person of her sovereign and for purposes of mutual defence.

The Compromise defined as „common" affairs of Hungary and Austria those departments of government which are connected with mutual defence. This principle of mutual defence is a natural consequence of the Pragmatic Sanction of 1723, which establishes the *personal union* of the two states of Hungary and Austria. These departments are *foreign affairs, war* (the „common" Austro-Hungarian army and navy) and *finance* (in so far as the expenses of maintaining the „common" ministries are concerned). Besides, a common

Near Pécs.

Austro-Hungarian Bank was established; and a community of responsibility for the public debt contracted in the management of common affairs was determined.

In all other respects Hungary and Austria were declared to be independent states, to be governed separately in accordance with their respective laws.

The common ministers were made responsible to the respective Parliaments of Hungary and Austria; and they were instructed not to act without consulting both the Hungarian and Austrian premiers, who, being themselves responsible to Parliament, would have to consult their colleagues and the respective legislatures.

The common ministries are in Vienna: this fact, together with the presence in the

Near Pécs.

same city of the embassies of foreign states, has given rise to the erroneous notion that Vienna is the capital of the Dual Monarchy and has confirmed the belief of those people who are unaware of the existence of Hungary as a separate state.

The *Delegations* are committees of sixty members appointed by each Parliament to discuss the policy of the common ministers, pass their budgets and report to their respective legislatures. The two delegations sit separately, unless unable to come to an agreement on a particular point, when they hold a common session, deciding without discussion by a show of hands; they elect their own sub-committees (foreign affairs, war, finance): the reports of these

Near Pécs.

sub-committees are submitted to the plenary session. They meet alternately at Budapest and Vienna.

The control of common affairs is thus fairly complete; but of late years the system has met with strenuous opposition on the part of the extreme Left, who desire complete separation from Austria.

The *Compromise* was concluded for a term of ten years, to be renewed on each occasion for a similar period.

Deák's work was done. The constitution of Hungary was restored in its entirety; the reconciliation with the dynasty was complete; and a firm community of interests with Austria was established. But the Austrian imperialists were disappointed. The new era of constitutional government, welcomed by all parties in Hungary alike with unbounded enthusiasm, was distasteful to the disciples of Metternich; and the Hungarians could not be allowed to enjoy the fruits of their magnificent struggle in peace or to work out their destinies in their own way. Open violence and undisguised absolutism were to be replaced by a policy of obstruction and intrigue. The „nationa-

Near Pécs.

list question" of Hungary was about to enter on a new phase. Thwarted in their efforts to modernise their institutions and to keep pace with the progress of the West, the Hungarian statesmen have had to contend, for fifty years, against the sensitiveness of Austria and the miscomprehension of the outer world. Condemned for four centuries to fight against the forces of barbarism, imperialism, and absolutism, to serve as the cockpit of Eastern Europe, and to suffer from ravages and devastation, from the jealousy of her neighbours and the mistrust of her rulers, Hungary began her march on the path of democratic progress when the more fortunate nations of the West had already laid the foundations of their future greatness: her advance has been remarkably rapid; but the liberal-mindedness of her statesmen has been misunderstood and misrepresented; and writers who know nothing of her history and still less of her people are found posing on the pedestal of omniscience and charging „racial oppression" and „racial exclusiveness" to the account of one of the noblest peoples on earth, whose only mistake has been an honest conviction of their own innocence.

CHAPTER XXI.

MODERN HUNGARY.

The act of Coronation had served as the outward symbol of the reconciliation of Dynasty and Nation. But the path of the ministry of *Court Gyula Andrássy* was not strewn with roses. The difficulties attending the fulfilment of the terms of the Compromise required all the tact of an Andrássy and the firmness of a Deák to overcome them.

Among the Acts passed by Parliament in 1867 was that abolishing the political disabilities of the Jews (Act XVII.). The same session did away with the last remnants of feudalism and incorporated the Compromise with Croatia, establishing for the latter country that system of Home Rule, the main principles of which constitute the basis of the Irish Bill introduced by the present British Government. The „Nationality Act" (XLIV.), failed to satisfy the ambitions of the Serb and Roumanian extremists; but, as the events of the present war have proved beyond a doubt, these ambitions were purely personal, and have never represented the political aspirations of either „nationality". The Elementary Education Act, introduced by *Baron Joseph Eötvös*, was regarded by the Protestants as detrimental to their autonomy. The Union of Transylvania was once more incorporated in law; and the system of universal military service (conscription) was established.

By letters patent, dated November 14, 1868, the King appointed „Austria-Hungary" as the official designation of the Dual Monarchy.

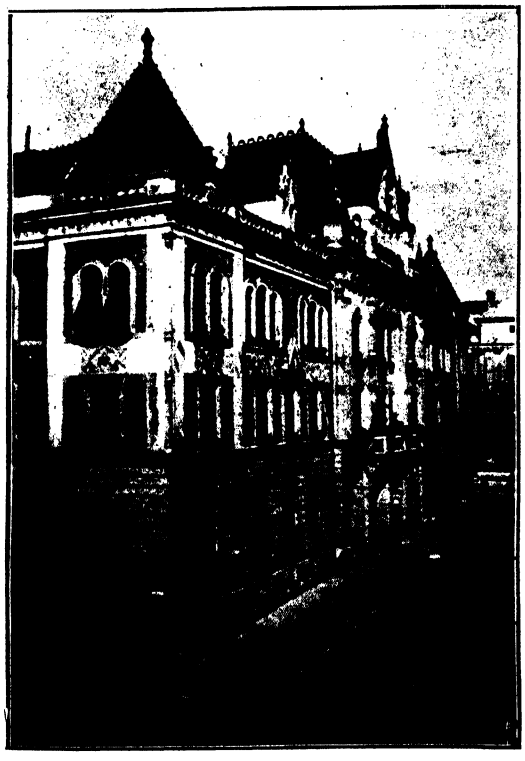
The elections of 1869 provoked a bitter struggle. The Opposition gained most of the constituencies composed of pure Magyars, who were dissatisfied both with the terms of the Compromise, and with the manner of its interpretation. But the support lent them by the prelacy, the aristocracy, and the wealthy burgesses, as well as their personal influence and the loyalty of Transylvania, enabled Andrássy and Deák to carry the day. The most important work done by the new Parliament was the reorganisation of the administration of justice, which resulted in a restriction of the sphere of authority of the counties. The Franco-Prussian War and the political conditions of Austria caused a temporary stagnation of the work of reform: but *Andrássy*, who opposed the policy of *Count Beust*, and protested against the idea of intervention on the side of France, was enabled to place Hungary in the position of predominance in the affairs of the Dual Monarchy, due to her greater cohesion and stability. In November, 1871, he became Foreign Minister, in place of Beust. He was the first Hungarian to occupy this positon. The status of Hungary as a sovereign kingdom thus received Royal recognition in a form which would make it evident abroad too.

Andrássy's successor as Prime Minister of Hungary was *Menyhért Lónyay*. But he was lacking in the personality and consequent authority of his great predecessor. The Opposition fought strenuously against the realisation of the terms of the Compro-

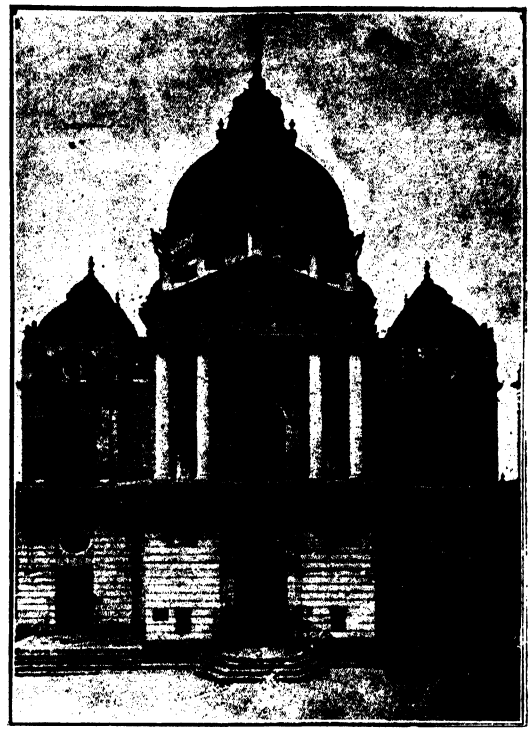
mise; the scheme of railway-building, so essential for the economic development of the country, met with the most strenuous antagonism on account of the suspicion that it served private interests too; the Franchise Bill was talked out, and the elections of 1872 were fought on the basis of the older laws

Meanwhile ministers rose and fell in quick succession. *Deák* was in retirement, but made one last great speech in the June of 1873, about the relations of Church and State. He died in 1876; and royal princes joined in the procession which followed him to the grave.

The fusion of the Deák party and the adherents of *Kálmán Tisza*, in 1875, brought into being the *Liberal Party*, which was practically omnipotent in Hungary for thirty years. Tisza, who ruled Hungary almost as a dictator for a period of fifteen years, declared himself ready to suspend the principles he had hitherto avowed, in the interests of a strong Dual Monarchy. He assumed control, not only of the domestic affairs of his native country, but of the foreign policy of Austria-Hungary. He saved Europe from the complications which must have ensued on the intervention of



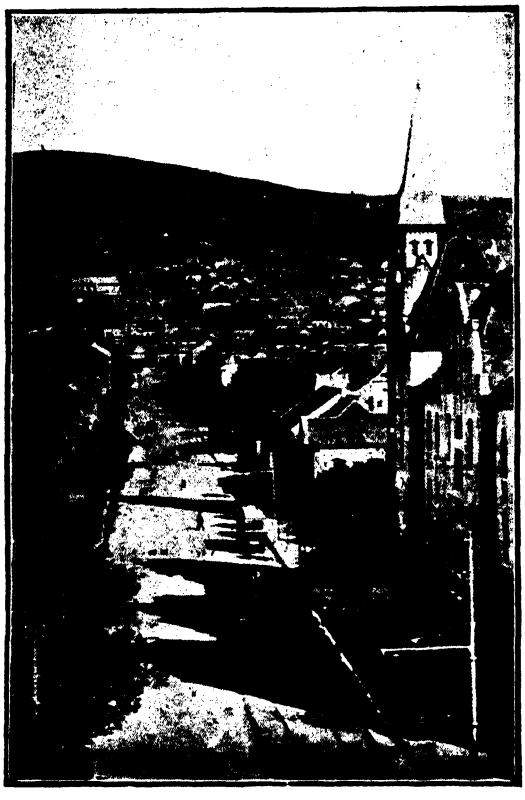
Pécs. Post Office.



Pécs. Theatre.

the Dual Monarchy in the Russo-Turkish War (1877—78); he improved the financial resources of Hungary and enhanced her credit in foreign money markets; he reformed the system of county administration in the direction of centralisation; and he initiated a new criminal code (*„Lex Csemegi"*, 1878). But the renewal of the Compromise with Austria threw almost insuperable difficulties in his path. Austria which had not codified the terms of the Compromise in accordance with the original text (the discrepancies, serious enough in character, still exist), refused to meet the objections of the Hungarian Opposition; Tisza resigned, but his resignation was not accepted; two groups of dissidents, under the leadership of *Baron Louis Simonyi* (Minister of Commerce) and of *Dezső Szilágyi* respectively, left the Government Party and joined the Opposition. This was in 1876. The country was pronouncedly Turcophile; the hatred of the Muscovites and the dread of Slav predominance was almost universal. *Tisza* and Andrássy, not content with defying the popular feeling, took steps to effectuate the occupation of Bosnia. The new elections took place at a moment when the political atmosphere was peculiarly oppressive; the story of the disaster of

Magláj and the fate of the Hungarian hussars spread like wildfire over the country; Tisza himself lost his seat (Debrecen); the Independence Party gained numerous contituencies; while the several fractions of dissidents formed a „moderate" Opposition under the leadership of *Count Albert Apponyi* and *Dezső Szilágyi*. The task of the Premier was rendered doubly difficult by the resignation of the Minister of Finance, *Kálmán Széll*, who refused to undertake the responsibility for the financial consequences of the mobilisation. But Tisza held out, and enjoyed the loyal support of the bulk of his party. Public opinion gradually reconciled itself to the inevitable, and accepted the occupation of Bosnia as a *fait accompli*. While professing the principle *quieta non movere*, Tisza set himself to accomplish, gradually and carefully, his scheme of reform. The Bill for mixed marriages between Christians and Jews was thrown out by the Upper House; but that securing the State the right of supervision of denominational (secondary) schools, was duly passed (1883).



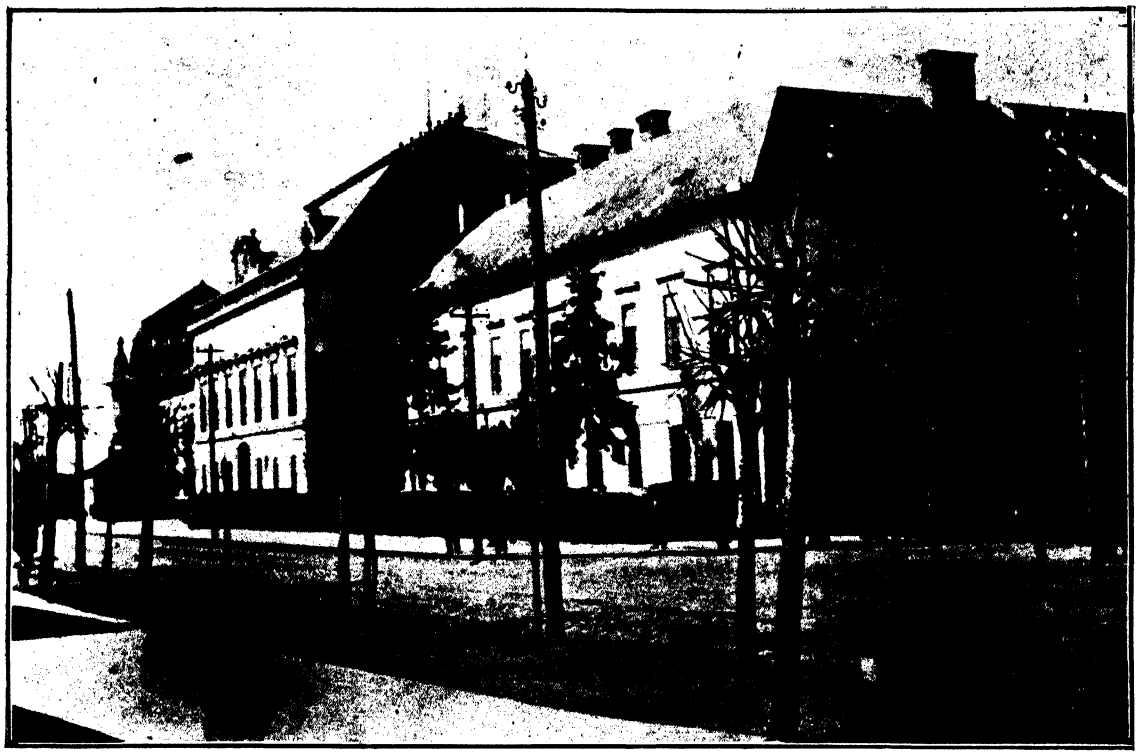
Pécs. Francis Joseph St.

Meanwhile, trouble had been brewing in Croatia. The concessions made by the Hungarian Government, in their anxiety to secure the votes of the Croatian delegates; the occupation of Bosnia, and the growth of Pan-Slavism; the free scope allowed to agitation in Church, schools and literature-all this culminated in the dream of an independent Croatia, which necessitated energetic intervention. In 1883 Croatia was placed in a state of siege; and it required all the tact and determination of the newly-appointed Ban, *Count Charles Khuen-Héderváry*, to restore order and enforce a carrying-out of the terms of the Home Rule Act of 1868.

The strong government of *Tisza* furthered the material and political progress of the country, the satisfactory character of which was made manifest by the Exhibition of 1885. The concrete results of its policy strengthened the hands of the Cabinet; the financial reforms, including the nationalisation of the royalties on the liquor traffic and the development of the tobacco *regie*, were ;acquiesced in by the nation *Gabriel Baross*, Minister of Public Traffic, purchased the more important private railways, introduced the „zone" system of fares, and developed goods traffic by the aid of a rational scale of charges; the network of local railways was extended; while the financial genius of *Alexander Wekerle*, who was just coming into prominence, enabled Tisza to restore the financial balance of the State.

The economic Compromise made with Austria in 1887 was a further step towards the relisation of the principles professed by the Moderates; the absolute equality of the two states was placed beyond a doubt by the reorganisation of the governing council of the Austro-Hungarian Bank. This fact received royal sanction in 1889, when the King issued a decree to the effect that all „common" institutions, including the „common" army, should bear the title of „Imperial and Royal".

At the same time the Opposition, or rather the National Party led by Count Albert Apponyi, agitated for a fuller recognition of the sovereign rights of Hungary. *Dezső Szilágyi* joined the Cabinet in 1888: the same year the Opposition obstructed certain clauses of the Army Bill-viz., those referring to the right of the Hungarian Parliament to fix the annual contingent of recruits, and to the two years'



Balassagyarmat. County Buildings.

service, under given circumstances, of the so-called „volunteers". The former clause was worded ambiguously; the latter involved an abuse of privilege. Street demonstrations encouraged the Opposition in their work of obstruction; even *Count Andrássy* was compelled to express his misgivings as to the advisability of continuing to force the pace; and only the death of the Heir Apparent, *Archduke Rudolph*, whom the Hungarians idolised, forestalled the break of the storm. National mourning for the moment overshadowed national ambitions; and the Government, taking advantage of the temporary lull, withdrew the clauses which wounded national susceptibility.

But the authority of Tisza was on the wane. The Opposition regarded his Nationalisation Bill as an attempt to deprive *Louis Kossuth* of the rights of Hungarian citizenship; and even the Premier's colleagues, in particular *Dezső Szilágyi*, refused to accept his apologetic explanation. So Tisza resigned (March 15, 1890); and this time his resignation was accepted. His government marks an era of general progress and development, particularly in financial and economic affairs. His iron hand saved the country from many an upheaval; but his implacable energy in suppressing the ambitions of the Opposition, and his conciliatory attitude towards the members of his own party, laid him open to the charge of corruption (of which he was, personally, however, absolutely innocent), and has made the tradition of his name anything but popular in Hungary. Yet events have proved how wise were his efforts to promote the consolidation of his country.

The Calvinist Tisza, „the natural leader of the gentry", was succeeded by a Catholic magnate of Conservative bent, *Count Gyula Szapáry*. But the Opposition had recruited fresh energy from the fall of the allpowerful Premier; and the majority of the Government Party were still devoted to their former chief. The new Cabinet opened its *régime* with a Bill for placing administration entirely under the control of the State. *Count Albert Apponyi* and his followers, while accepting the principle, refused to agree with the system; and the Bill was withdrawn. The elections of 1892 strengthened the position of Apponyi and the Opposition; the National Party, led by the former, grew in authority and numbers; and the brilliant oratory of the popular statesman carried the day. It was in the

A Street in Balassagyarmat.

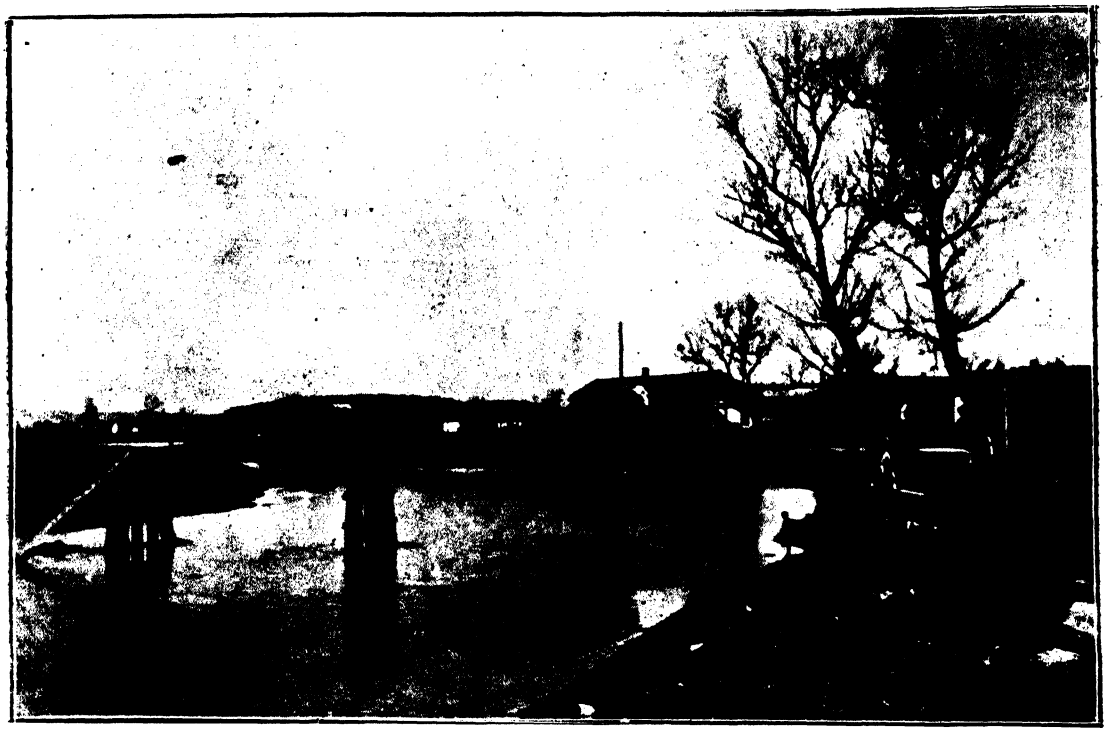
field of ecclesiastical policy that Apponyi demanded a thorough reform. He championed complete liberty of conscience, the unification of the marriage laws, the autonomy of the Roman Catholic Church, and the recognition of the Jewish confession. Szapáry was unwilling to concede the principle of compulsory civil marriage; and he made way for *Alexander Wekerle*, the first Premier of Hungary of *bourgeois* extraction.

When the discussion of the Civil Marriage Bill, drafted by *Count Albin Csáky* and *Dezső Szilágyi*, was opened, the new Premier found himself in an extremely difficult position. He was supported by the Extreme Left, at the suggestion of Kossuth led by *Gyula Justh* and *Charles Eötvös*, and by the moderate members of his own party: but he was opposed by the Conservatives and the followers of Apponyi; while the support given him by the heirs of the Kossuth tradition only served to estrange the Court party; and the non-Magyar nationalities joined forces with the prelacy and the aristocracy to defeat the Bill. But the popular agitation in its favour, which was enhanced by the news of the death of *Louis Kossuth* (at Turin, March 20, 1894), carried the day; the Bill was regarded as a fusion of the traditions of Deák and Kossuth: and the Lower House passed it with a large majority. However, the Upper House vetoed the Bill; and, having failed in his scheme to get it through by the creation of a number of new peers, Wekerle resigned.

His place was offered to *Count Charles Khuen-Héderváry:* but the Liberal Party, led by *Ignatius Darányi*, protested against the claim of the Upper House to put a Government out of office as contrary to the principles of parliamentarism. Their efforts were successful; the Wekerle Cabinet, with the exception of *Count Csáky*, who was regarded as the prime cause of the *impasse*, was reinstated in office.

However, as he did not succeed in overcoming the opposition of the peers or in securing the confidence of the sovereign, *Wekerle* resigned once more (1895), and was followed by *Baron Dezső Bánffy*, a former Speaker (President) of the Lower House, who enjoyed the confidence both of the monarch and the majority.

The *Wekerle Cabinet* had laid the foundations of a sound Liberalism in its measures for rendering civil marriage compulsory, for providing a system of civil registration, and for leaving the question of the



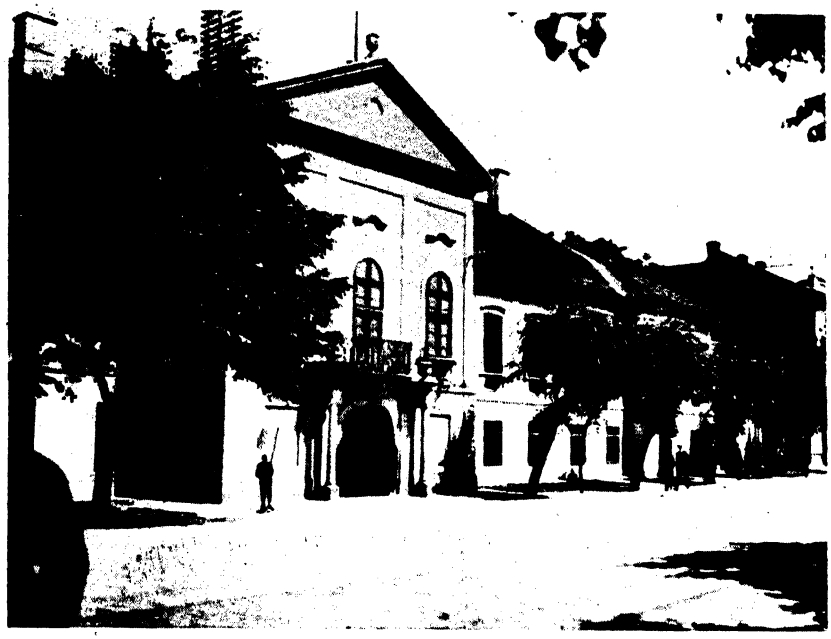
Balassagyarmat. The River Ipoly, dividing Hungary from Czecho-Slovakia, flows by the town.

faith of children to be decided by their parents. The task before *Baron Bánffy* was to break the opposition of the Upper House and to put an end to the excesses of the non-Magyar nationalities, which had revived their traditions of 1848. Having obtained the royal sanction for his scheme of appointing new peers, Bánffy was able to fulfil the first part of his task; and the measures initiated by Wekerle became law. But his success in this field, and the energy with which he opposed the illegal and destructive ambitions of the „nationalities", made him incur the displeasure of Vienna; a new party, that of the Christian Socialists, under the leadership of *Count Ferdinand Zichy*, began to assume a prominent role, demanding a revision of the marriage laws; the Roumanians and Saxons compiled their famous manifesto, in answer to which Bánffy dissolved the so-called „Roumanian Committee"; *Agliardi*, the Papal Nuncio, travelled through Hungary to agitate against the new reforms, and the Foreign Minister, *Count Gustavus Kálnoky*, refused to lodge a protest with Rome. The situation was critical; but the King decided in favour of Bánffy; Kálnoky had to resign, and *Count Goluchowski* was appointed to succeed him.

The year 1896 was a landmark in the history of Hungary. The nation celebrated the thousandth anniversary of the occupation of the country by Árpád and his followers. The Millenium Exhibition displayed the progress which Hungary had made in her efforts to further the cause of universal culture. The speech delivered by the King to the members of the Hungarian Parliament assembled in his presence (June 8) was a pledge of the harmony existing between the dynasty and the country which Bánffy and Apponyi were striving, each in his own way, to make the pivot of a strong, united Dual Monarchy. The same year, the *Iron Gate*, that triumph of Hungarian engineering skill and that permanent monument of Hungarian generosity which forms the connecting link on the Danube between Hungary and Roumania, was formally opened by the sovereign, in the presence of the late *King Charles of Roumania* and the unfortunate *King Alexander of Servia*, who a few years later fell a victim to an unholy conspiracy.

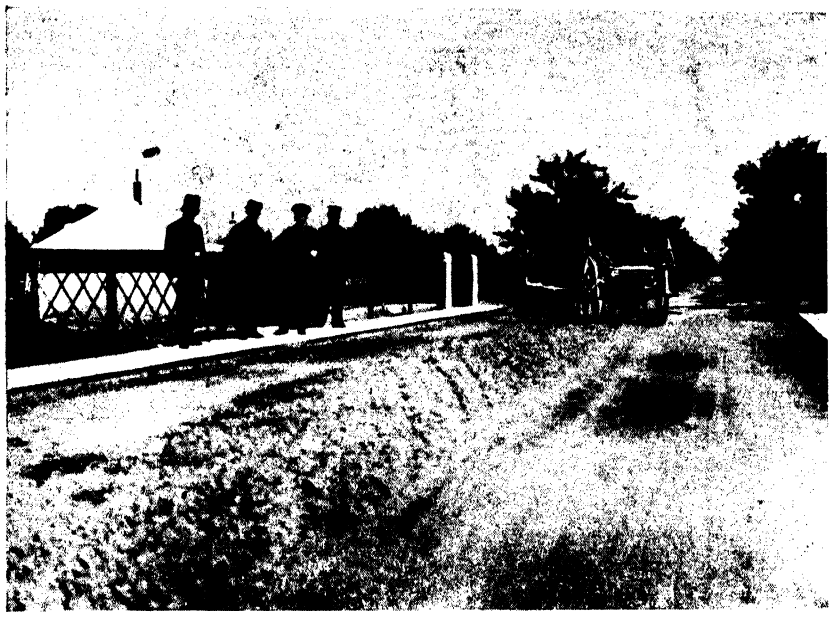
Two years later (September 10, 1898) the tragic death of *Queen Elizabeth* by assassination threw the whole country into mourning. Like her namesake, whose life inspired *Charles Kingsley* to write his

„Saint's Tragedy", she was the object of national reverence; and she had been a link of paramount importance in the chain of mutual sympathy and trust connecting the nation with the royal House of Habsburg. This chain had bidden fair to act as a pledge of the peaceful progress of the country on the path of reform and intellectual welfare which it had marked out for itself. But the conditions prevailing in Austria, where the constitution had to be suspended, and the difficulties attending the renewal of the economic Compromise, threatened to break the chain at its most vulnerable point. The Opposition had been „decimated" at the elections of 1896; but Apponyi was still dangerous, his party still a factor to be reckoned with; and the *„Clause of Ischl"*, the temporary measure by which *Ladislas Lukács*, Minister of Finance, proposed to obviate the difficulties attending a permanent settlement of the economic questions, provcked a storm. The Opposition, led by *Ferdinand Horánszky* and *Géza Polónyi*, started a technical obstruction; the Government was powerless to prevent the subtlety of the obstructionists; the President (Speaker) of the Lower House, *Dezső Szilágyi*, resigned; the Opposition drew up an address to the Throne, asking for the withdrawal of Bánffy, and charging him with political immorality and the application of force to counterfeit the will of the nation (November 28, 1898). The resolution drafted by *Kálmán Tisza* (known as the *„Lex Tisza")* assured Bánffy of the unswerving support of the majority, and protested against the claim of the Opposition, as being in the minority to demand the head of a Prime Minister as a *sine qua non* of Parliamentary peace. It looked as though the fundamental principles of Parliamentarism, the idol of every true Hungarian, were doomed to be eradicated. The discussion of the Budget was prevented; the Appropriations Bill was obstructed; and on Janu-



Sátoraljaujhely. County Buildings.

Sátoraljaujhely. Town Hall.



Sátoraljaujhely. Railway Frontier Bridge (Trianon Boundary.)

regiments, and the introduction of Hungarian words of command in those regiments of the „common" army which had been recruited from Hungary. The military question came to the forefront at a time when the irreconcilable differences between reaction and Liberalism threatened to upset the political equilibrium of the State, and when the increased cost of living had produced a vast social and economic upheaval; and it was welcomed by all parties as a means of keeping alive the glorious traditions of the Hungarian nation and of satisfying national ambitions without disturbing the troubled waters of domestic affairs. But the King refused to yield the point; the unsatisfactory character of the provisional economic agreement with Austria, the attempt of the agrarians to reduce the wages of field labourers, resulting in the emigration to

ary 1, 1899, the country entered the state of „*ex-lex*", there being no Budget, and thus no basis of government. Several leading members of the Liberal Party became dissidents; and the King, seeing that such a state of affairs could not continue, appointed a „*homo regius*" in the person of *Kálmán Széll*, to promote peace between the Opposition and the majority. Peace was made, and soon after (in February) *Széll* himself took over the reins of government.

At this time the Army Act was due for renewal; and, when the „common" War Office asked for 400 millions (nearly 17 million pounds sterling) for quick-firing guns and demanded an increase (12.500) in the number of recruits, the Opposition (i. e. the Kossuth Party, for Apponyi and his followers had decided to support Széll), elated by their success, refused to allow such concessions to be dreamed of for a moment, unless they were assured of compensation in the placing of Hungarian colours by Hungarian

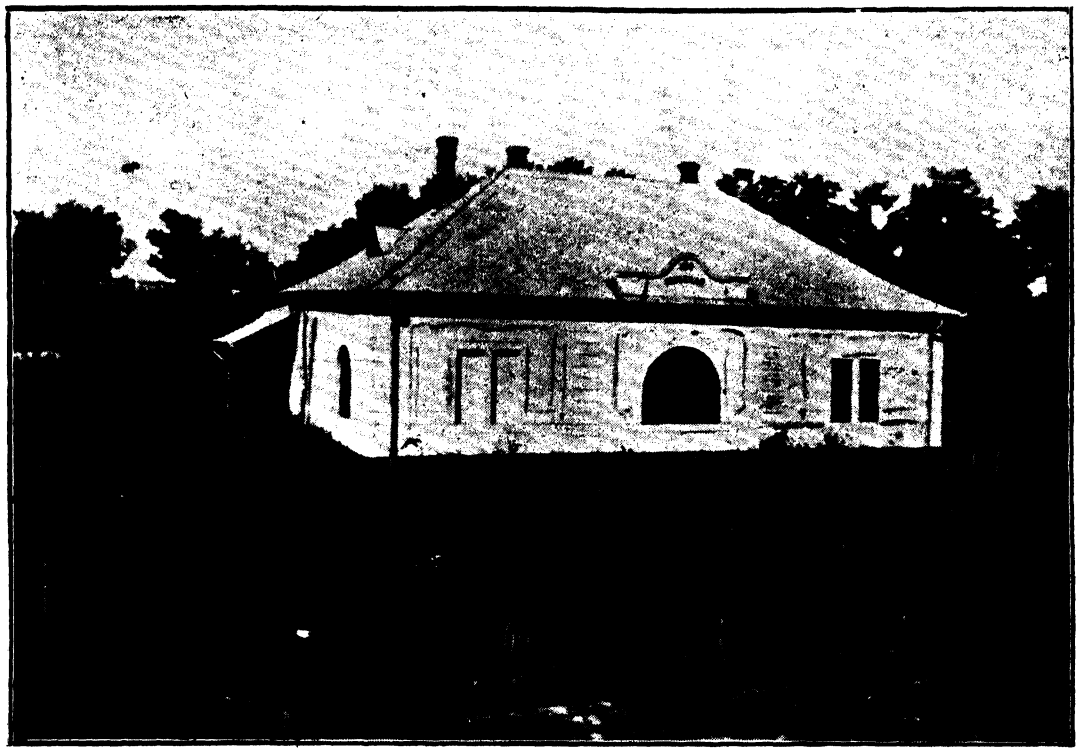
Sátoraljaujhely. Statue of Kossuth.

Sátoraljaujhely. High School.

America of hundreds of thousands of Hungarians, the raising of the contribution of Hungary *(„quota")* towards the expenses of the common administration, the dispute that arose in connection with the Bill relating to the marriage of the Heir Apparent with *Countess Sophia Chotek*, and the differences of opinion called into being by the Incompatibility Bill of 1901, strengthened the position of the Opposition. The elections recruited the ranks of the Independence Party, whose programme included Hungarian words of command and the dissolution of the customs union with Austria. It required all the diplomacy Széll could command to keep the loosely-bound elements of the Government Party together; the Lower House elected *Count Albert Apponyi*, Speaker; Parliament removed to its gorgeous new home on the banks of the Danube, where Parliamentary scenes became the order of the day; in 1902 the Opposition protested vehemently against the raising of the Civil List; not even the favourable economic Compromise concluded with Austria could restore the balance, seeing that the Austrian Premier, *Körber*, had but little hope of its acceptance by the Austrian Parliament; the renewal of the demand for an increase of the contingent of recruits (1903) was the signal for a fresh outbreak of the storm. On June 16 Széll was obliged to resign, the victim of a similar obstruction to that which had placed him in power.

Széll was succeeded by *Count Charles Khuen-Héderváry*. But the Opposition was implacable; not even the withdrawal of the offensive Army Bill or the acquiescence of *Francis Kossuth* could prevail on them to desist from their policy of obstruction. The assassination of *King Alexander of Servia* and the accession of *Peter Karageorgevitch* threw a cloud of doubt and uncertainty over the relations with Russia, and foreshadowed dangerous complications in the foreign policy of the Dual Monarchy; while in domestic politics complete anarchy prevailed. The Premier resigned, but his resignation was not accepted. The famous Army Order of Clopy (September 21), spoke of the Hungarians as a „tribe" and declared that the aspirations of the Hungarians as relating to military affairs should never be fulfilled, roused a storm of indignation all over the country. The relief caused by the royal proclamation of September 23, in which the King congratulated Hungary on the progress she had made since 1867, and, while maintaining his royal prerogatives intact, expressed a willingness to discuss institutions falling within the limits prescribed by former Hungarian Cabinets, was counteracted at once by the statement of the Austrian Premier to the effect that no changes could be made in the terms of the Compromise of 1867 without the consent of the Austrian Parliament. Khuen-Héderváry protested; but his protest was lukewarm, and failed to satisfy even his own party. Receiving a vote of no-confidence (this was *the first instance of the kind in the history of Hungarian Parliamentarism)*, the Premier resigned once more. He was succeeded by *Count Stephen Tisza*, the son of the former dictator.

The *„Committee of Nine"*, appointed for the purpose of finding a *modus vivendi* in connection with the military dispute, drew up a programme which should satisfy the ambitions of the Opposition without in any



Alap. Doctor's House.

way impairing the royal prerogatives. The new Premier's first appearance in Parliament promised well; his protest against the interference in the domestic affairs of Hungary of the Austrian Premier, whom he referred to as a *„distinguished foreigner"*, was received with universal enthusiasm. The Liberal Party remained for the moment united; though *Baron Géza Fejérváry* (National Defence) and *Wlassics* (Education) left the Cabinet, and Apponyi resigned the Speakership, his place being taken by *Dezső Perczel.* Tisza endeavoured to paralyse the work of the obstructionists by introducing a system of parallel sittings. Apponyi joined the ranks of the Opposition; and the efforts of Kosuth to bring about a compromise failed. Tisza demanded severer Standing Orders to enable him to apply the „guillotine". *Kálmán Thaly* suggested a fresh compromise; Tisza was to withdraw his demand, while the Opposition would desist from obstruction. The Premier agreed; the Army Bill and the Budget were passed; and it seemed as if the essence of Parliamentarism, so long threatned with extinction, had been saved. But the Cabinet was resolved to carry out the revision of the Standing Orders; the employees of the State railways, discontented with the provision made for them, went on strike; railway traffic became temporarily disorganised; and Tisza's *„Ugra Letter"*, in which he announced his intention to revise the Standing Orders, came as a surprise to all parties; Vienna was threatening to force on Hungary an economic Compromise far less favourable than that contemplated by Széll and Körber; *Baron Bánffy* formed his „New Party"; while the Opposition declared the introduction of a Radical system of suffrage to be the *sine qua non of* their participating in the work of the Standing Orders Committee. It was evident that a fresh storm was brewing; and, on November 18, 1904, Apponyi declared that the Opposition refused to accept as binding on them any revision of the Standing Orders forced on the House by the majority. The same day the revised Standing Orders were passed, tradition has it, on the waving of a handkerchief by the Speaker. Thus the so-called *„Lex Dániel"* became law. A terrible uproar followed; the Opposition left the Chamber singing revolutionary songs, and decided to address a manifesto to the nation. *Count Gyula Andrássy,* the

son of the former Foreign Minister, left the Liberal Party and turned openly against the Premier. Thus divided against itself, the Government Party was not strong enough to carry out the programme of the Premier by constitutional means; the formation of a Parliamentary guard (popularly called „chuckers-out") only incensed the Opposition, who, when Parliament met again in December, entered the House early in the morning, reversed the role of the „chuckers-out", and smashed the furniture of the chamber, in order to prevent the possibility of holding a sitting.

Alap. Roman Catholic Church, Interior.

All attempts to carry out Parliamentary work proving abortive, Parliament was dissolved. The General Elections decimated the Liberal Party. The triumph of the Independent Party, whose ranks had been joined by *Count Apponyi* and his followers, was complete, and was due in no small measure to the brilliant eloquence of the Count, who created a record in the the number of platform speeches delivered during the three weeks of the campaign, and himself secured a relative majority by winning over nearly one hundred constituencies to the cause.

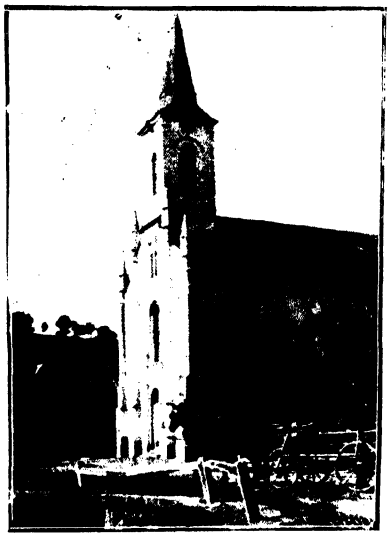
The programme of the Independent Party included economic separation from Austria, the establishment of a Hungarian National Army, an independent National Bank, and the reform, in a national spirit, of the existing system of diplomatic representation. Tisza, having no majority in Parliament, and being unable to persuade the Opposition to reduce their claims, resigned the Premiership; but was entrusted with the work of carrying on the affairs of the country. No Independent Cabinet could be appointed, as the standpoints of Crown and Opposition were irreconcilable; so, in June 1905, the King empowered *Baron Géza Fejérváry* to form a Ministry of officials, who possessed the experience requisite to the conduct of the business of their several departments, but had practically no adherents in Parliament. This anomalous state of affairs prevailed for nine months: Parliament ceased to act, and the task of resisting the measures of Government was entrusted to the municipalities; the Home Secretary, *Joseph Kristoffy*, endeavoured to turn the tables by introducing a hastily-drafted scheme of universal suffrage, which alarmed even Vienna by its irrational radicalism; the collection of taxes (only of those paid voluntarily) had to be effected by the appointment of new county sheriffs and commissaries; the Resolution presented by *Count Gyula Andrássy* and passed by Parliament (October 10; v. the author's *Hungarian Diet* of 1905) made it clear that the situation depended for its solution on the mutual confidence of Crown and Nation as represented in the National Assembly. *Count Tisza* himself declared his disapproval of the policy of continual adjournment; and the Upper House echoed the protest of the Lower. The Cabinet resigned, but, being entrusted with the management of affairs, made another desperate effort to capture the votes of the masses. In a speech delivered before his electors at *Német-Bogsán, Kristoffy* repeated his offer of universal suffrage. *Fejérváry* established his *Party of Progress*, which promised to realise every conceivable kind of reform; but his belief that this programme would attract a section of the Liberal Party to his side, proved unfounded, and the decided opposition of Tisza wrecked his hopes. Apponyi took up the challenge of Kristoffy, and included in his programme a rational extension of the suffrage. The struggle became so fierce and bitter that Parliament had to be dissolved

by force. So was the Executive Committee of the united Opposition, which was known as the *Coalition.*

Things looked black indeed, when Fejérváry had an interview with Francis Kossuth, the result of which was a compromise, by the terms of which the military questions were shelved temporarily, and a coalition ministry formed, with a Premier loyal to the traditions of 1867. Thus came into being the Wekerle Cabinet, the members of which were: *Alexander Wekerle* (Prime Minister), *Count Gyula Andrássy* (Home Affairs), *Count Albert Apponyi* (Religion and Education), *Francis Kossuth* (Commerce), *Ignatius Darányi* (Agriculture), *Géza Polonyi* (Justice), *Count Aladár Zichy* (Minister a latere), *Géza Josipovich* (Croatia).

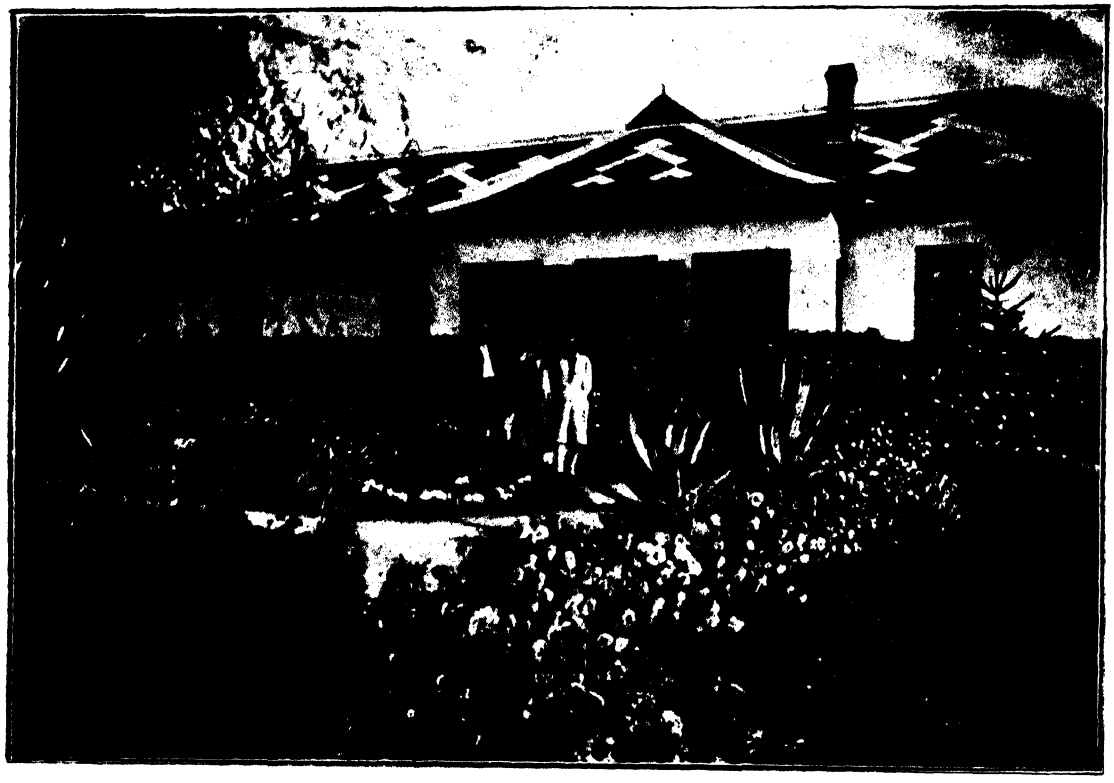
This was in April 1906, The General Elections held in May gave the Independent Party a considerable majority. The country thus ratified the action of the former Opposition, and expressed its unbroken confidence in the men who had striven against the arbitrary government of Fejérváry. Order was restored in all departments of public life; the bringing home of the mortal remains of *Francis Rákóczy* and their interment in the splendid cathedral of *Kassa,* arcused a wild enthusiasm throughout the country and bade fair to herald a definitive reconciliation of dynasty and people. But the promised era of complete understanding failed of realisation. The coalition system proved a bruised reed; the real power was in the hands of those fractions which formed the minority in the fusion of parties; Kossuth was unable to assert his independent principles, while the frank Liberalism of Apponyi was counteracted by clerical interests; Polonyi was compelled to resign; the economic „contract" (no longer a „compromise") with Austria proved to be far less advantageous than some of its predecessors; the new Austrian tariff threw great obstacles in the way of exports from Hungary; the contribution of Hungary towards the „common" budget was raised by two per cent; the military questions once more began to come to the front, at a time when the interests of both dynasty and people demanded a strengthening of the military forces of the Monarchy. The open action of Servia in furthering Pan-Servian propaganda coincided in point of time with the obstruction of the Croatian delegates; and the impracticability of the old Standing Orders, which had been revised, became evident even to the extremists. The „nationalist" deputies endeavoured to obstruct Apponyi's *Elementary Education Bill,* which offered free education to all alike, but, naturally enough, required certain concessions to the claims of the State language. It was decidedly favourable to the interests of denominational and „nationalist" schools, which were placed on a footing of absolute equality with those maintained by the State.

In 1908 Andrássy presented his Suffrage Bill, which was based on a system of plural voting calculated to anticipate the disastrous consequences of so radical a



Alsónána. Lutheran Church.

change. This Bill, which failed to satisfy the extreme left, gave the Justh fraction of the Independent Party their opportunity; they veiled their antagonism to Andrássy under a determination to enforce the principle of a „personal union" between Hungary and Austria. But the complications ensuing on the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina found Parliament again united. Andrássy strove to effect a compromise on the military questions, his object being to ensure the raising of the contingent of recruits and to redeem the confidence of the monarch, while securing such concessions as might satisfy the ambitions of the moderate Independents. However, his efforts, which were supported by the War Minister, *Baron Pitreich,* were frustrated by the Opposition

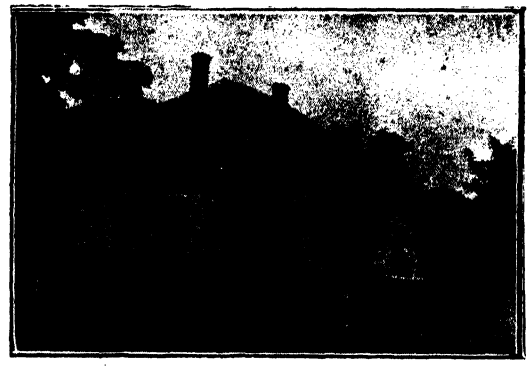


Álmosd. Notary's House.

of certain circles in Austria, and by the recalcitrant attitude of the *Justh Party*. The latter now insisted on the establishment of an independent National Bank. So, in 1909, the Wekerle Cabinet found itself face to face with a dilemma. The only feasible solution of the difficulty was that the Independent Party should take over the reins of government. But the party was divided against itself; so Wekerle's resignation and the negotiations carried on by *Ladislas Lukács* and *Count Khuen-Héderváry* led to no results.

In January 1910, *Count Khuen-Héderváry* was entrusted with the formation of a Ministry and the interim management of affairs. The new Premier relied upon the support of the old Liberals; while his Cabinet included men of such distinction as *Count Béla Serényi, Charles Hieronymi, Ladislas Lukács,* and *Count John Zichy,* the last a most valuable acquisition. A new party was formed, with the title of *„Nemzeti Munka-Párt"* (National Party of Work), which was joined by many prominent members of the Constitutional Party, the party led by Andrássy, who himself, however decided to remain neutral. The programme of the Government included adherence to the principles of the Compromise of 1867, and the necessity of a complete understanding between King and Nation. At the General Elections held in March, *Count Stephen Tisza* played a similar part in securing the triumph of the Nemzeti Munka-Párt to that played five years before by *Count Albert Apponyi.* The Government obtained an enormous majority by the use of corruption, which, later on, found an echo in the famous Désy—Lukács trial.

The Premier must, however, have been



Álmosd. Priest's House.

Almosd. Village Office.

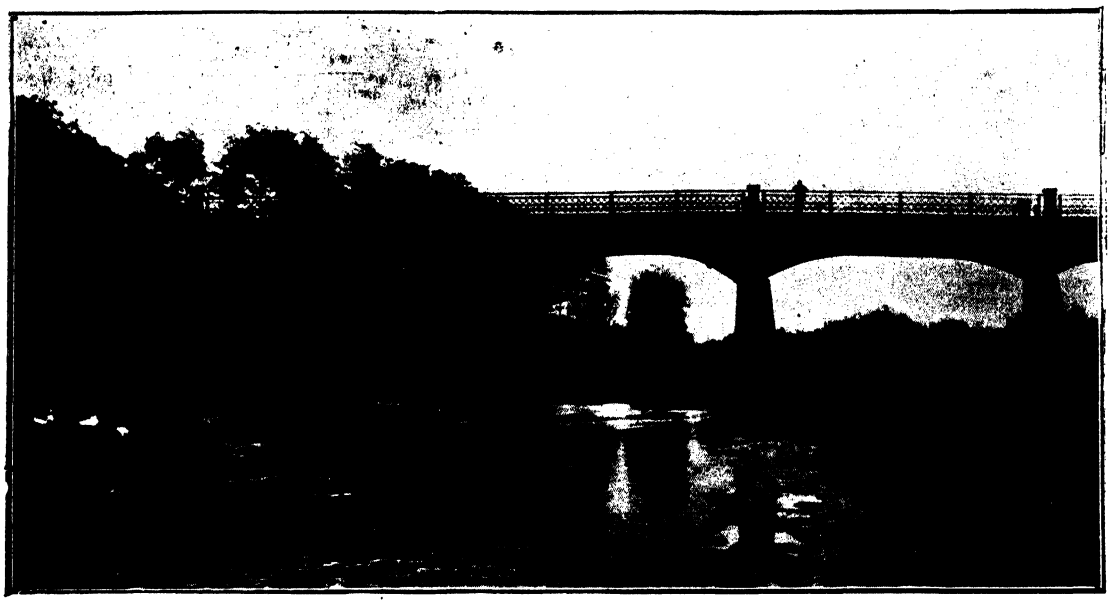
prepared for a renewal of the obstruction which had brought both Bánffy and Széll to their knees. There were pressing questions of social reform; labour was moving to break the power of capital; the measures taken by the Wekerle Cabinet, including the creation of the model settlement at *Kis-Pest* — an institution almost unique of its kind — showed the path that must be followed if the State were to play the part of social reformer. But the steady growth of Socialistic tendencies pointed to the necessity of caution; and thus the programme of the new Cabinet was bound to be conservative in character. No wonder that the *Justh Party*, now reduced to one-third of its original strength, provoked scenes of violence, declaring they would only bow to the decisions of a Parliament elected on the basis of universal suffrage. Despite the warnings of Tisza and *Baron Hazai* (Minister of National Defence) as to the sultry atmosphere of European politics, even Andrássy joined the obstructionists in the work of blocking the Army Bill. Unable to stem the tide of obstruction, or to find a *modus vivendi*, the Speaker, *Albert Berzeviczy*, resigned: but his successor, *Louis Návay*, could obtain no results; so, as the revision of the Standing Orders and the passing of the Army Bill had become an imperative necessity, Khuen-Héderváry made way for *Ladislas Lukács*, and Tisza undertook the onerous, and odious, task of „making order" as Speaker.

Almosd. Doctor's House.

Passions ran high; scandals were the order of the day; the Socialists took up the challenge, and in May 1912, the streets of Budapest became the scene of bloody encounters; on June 4, Tisza declared the Army Bill passed; he had the obstructionists removed by the police; on June 8, in the absence of the Opposition, the revised Standing Orders were passed; while the Government Party adressed a manifesto to the nation, explaining the reasons inducing them to adopt such forcible measures. *Deputy Kovács*, who, on June 7 had made an attempt on the life of the Speaker, was acquitted; and, when Parliament re-assembled in September, the Opposition demanded, as the price of non-obstruction, that both Lukács and Tisza should be dismissed. During a renewed absence of the Opposition, the followers of the Government passed a Bill providing for the creation of a Parliamentary guard on a military basis. Violent scenes followed; social intercourse between the opposing parties ceased; and Tisza was compelled to fight three duels, with *Count Michael Károlyi, Count Aladár Széchenyi* and *Marquis George Pallavicini*.

Almosd. R. C. Church and School.

Lukács was compelled to resign (1913), and was succeeded by *Count Stephen Tisza*. Hereupon *Andrássy* reconstituted the Constitutional Party; while the two fractions of Independents united under the leadership of *Count Károlyi, Gyula Justh* and *Francis Kossuth*. The Opposition refused to take part in the debates on the Suffrage Bill, which had been introdu-



Bakonyszeg. Railway Bridge on the Bakonyszeg Lake.

ced a year before by Lukács. It practically doubled the number of electors, and provided for secret ballot in the towns; but certain restrictions relating to the age-limit and the conditions of residence failed to satisfy the wishes of the Socialists.

To *Count John Zichy*, who resigned at the time of the Lukács—Désy trial, is due the credit for the establishment of two new universities, at *Debreczen* and *Pozsony*, which were finally opened in November 1914.

The political atmosphere of Europe was once more oppressive. The two Balkan Wars, the continual recurrence of symptoms pointing to the possibility of a European conflagration, and the unceasing efforts of Servian statesmen and publicists to keep alive the dream of a Greater Servia, warned Hungary, too, of the approaching danger. *Count Andrássy* delivered a stirring speech in defence of the Triple Alliance, the work of his father; the insidious pinpricks that fired the bomb at Debreczen led up to the assassination of the *Heir Apparent and his Consort* at Serajevo, on June 28, 1914.

World War.

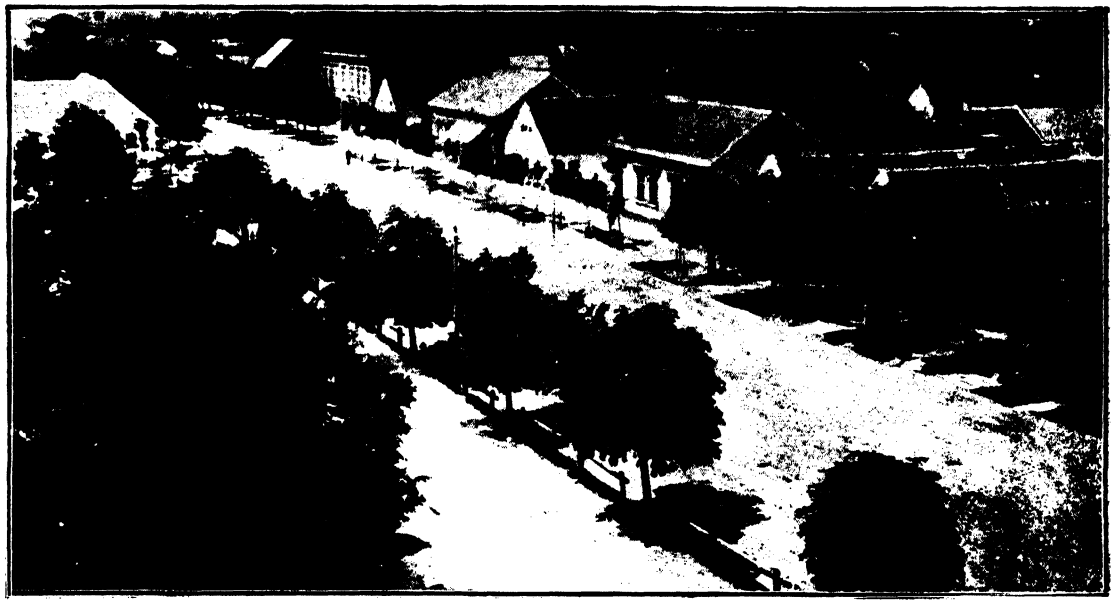
I.

When the World War broke out in 1914. Hungary had behind her half a century of peaceful development, the balance of which, all things considered, worked out in favour of the Kingdom. Judging from results, certain factors, however, became prominent (the nationalist question, the loss to pure Hungarian stock by emigration and disease, the social question and the land question, the loss of touch with foreign politics) which provided the foreign powers with opportunities of interference at the end of the War and facilitated the work of dismemberment.

Formally the political situation betrayed no weakness. The machinery of state worked without a hitch.

The Government, which had a large majority in Parliament, pursued a strong policy at home and counted for more than it ever had done in the affairs of the Dual Monarchy. It was led by Count Stephen Tisza as Prime Minister. The forces opposed to the free political development of the nation, which for a decade preceeding the War had been focussed in the person of the Crown Prince, Francis Ferdinand, were to all appearances dissipated by his death. The manifesto prepared and issued by them, which had pointedly ignored the fact that the aged Emperor was still alive, and envisaged a firmer consolidation of the Habsburg Empire under his successor, became a document of historical interest merely. Stephen Tisza. in his new year speech of 1915., officially declared that the era of Austrian centralism could be regarded as definitely closed.

The attention of the public was thereafter diverted from the internal problems



A Street in Barcs.

of the Monarchy to the storm whose lightnings had for years been drawing nearer and nearer to the Hungarian frontier. If we observe the last period of Tisza's ministry, it is immediately obvious that from 1911 onwards the most serious problems with which he had to deal were those which arose out of the nationalist question. Influenced by the aggressive French policy in Morocco, the Italian and Russian Governments made a hostile démarche against Turkey, presenting claims which could only be satisfied by a general breaking up of the status quo in Europe. This, in turn, threatened the safety of Austria-Hungary. While the Higher Command, true to the Austrian tradition, turned its attention to Italy, Stephen Tisza recognised that the real danger to the Monarchy came from Russia. The Greater Russia agitation case of Máramaros, the part Russia played in the Balkan Wars of 1912—13, the incident of the Russo-Roumanian assassination of 1914 in Debrecen, all these convinced the Prime Minister that the threatened dangers might be avoided by carrying out his old policy of uniting the various nationalities more closely within the Hungarian nation. The imperial authorities agreed with him in this and were willing to lessen the possibilities of an attack upon the Monarchy, by offering concessions to Roumania.

It was asserted of Count Otto Czernin, the ambassador in Bucharest, that his standpoint in the Transylvanian question was anti-Hungarian. He, of course, not feeling the constraint of any national interest, was moved simply by the desire to counter the promises which Russia was making to Serbia and Roumania with other promises; Tisza, on the other hand, would only consent to such concessions as did not touch the integrity of the Hungarian state. His policy was to lighten the bonds between the various nationalities and Hungary, in order that a more solid front should be presented to the Russian attack. The proposals of the Bucharest ambassador were merely noted by him, because he knew very well that the interests of Hungary were as much endangered by them as by the threatened seizure of Transylvania by Russia and Roumania.

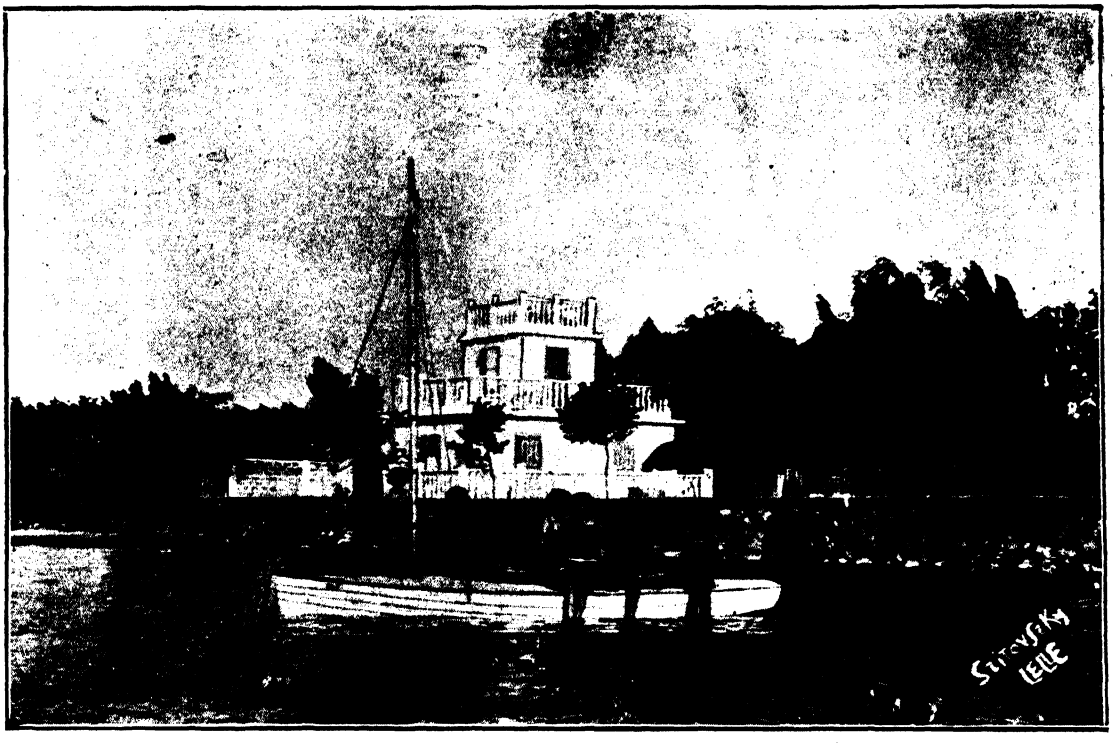
The Russian danger was increased by the fact that Austria offered many more points for attack than Hungary, because, apart from the fact that the Austrian government was entirely without any national character whate ver, the political aspirations and activities of the nationalities had quite turned their backs upon the idea of a united state. In the elections held in 1907, when the new election law of 1906 came into force, the Germans were returned to Parliament in a minority and thus, according to parliamentary precedents, the Govern-

Balatonlelle. Summer Resort.

ment should have been obliged to divest itself of its German character. Since, however, this would have been equivalent to a disruption of Austria and the dualistic system, the various governments which succeeded one another in rapid succession were granted plenary powers by the famous constitutional writ issued by the Emperor himself. Austria, in fact, abandoned the principle of majority government and returned to absolutism. The Imperial Diet had not met for a year and a half when the War broke out, and because of the disruptive tendencies of the nationalities, as a matter of fact, it was not summoned to meet. As a consequence, the importance of the Hungarian parliament and the Hungarian government steadily increased. The figure of Stephen Tisza drew such attention that the fire of hostile propaganda was quickly directed against him and the responsibility for the war was laid at his door, until the publication of certain secret documents later acquitted him completely.

None of the various Hungarian parties opposed to each other offered the enemy any excuse for attack. The Independence Party was busy with the task of organisation. In this connection Michael Károlyi visited America, and on his return, he was elected leader of the party in the place of Francis Kossuth who had died on the 28th of May 1914., and on June 22nd, was returned as the member for Cegléd, Kossuth's constituency. After the elections, Count Károlyi paid another visit to America, whence he did not succeed in returning until the 30th of September and then only with great difficulty.

While he was absent, the Russian storm was gathering over the Dual Monarchy. According to the evidence supplied by the official documents which have come to light, the Czar's government pursued its policy of aggression along the following lines: 1. it encouraged those responsible for the Sarajevo assassination and thus provoked the Austrian ultimatum with its demand for immediate satisfaction; 2. on the day before Serbia replied, mobilisation was begun against the monarchy, by which step Russia was taking sides in a quarrel which was none of hers; 3. at the same time, pressure was brought to bear on Roumania to join in, and liberal promises of Austrian territory made to a Serbo-Roumanian confederation which could only be



Balatonlelle. Summer Resort.

realised by a war and the defeat of the Monarchy; and without the armed intervention of Russia, the defeat of the Monarchy was impossible; 4. and lastly, as soon as war was declared, the main strength of the Russian army was directed against Austria.

Stephen Tisza's fears, in fact, were justified by the event. They were further justified by the politics of France which strove to hold up the German offensive against her, by a Russian offensive against Germany; and to this end gave Russia a free hand in the East. Among the twenty-five thousand secret documents dealing with the events leading up to the war, there is not one which gives the least grounds for suspecting the culpability of Hungary. Those who trumpeted abroad the guilt of Hungary and Stephen Tisza were either members of the governments of states carved out of Hungarian territory, or became such, or were in their pay.

II.

Hungarian public opinion took the threatening situation seriously and without distinction of parties, ranged itself solid behind the government. On the 24th of July, after the Belgrade Note had been handed over, the Opposition in a body assured Stephen Tisza whose strong hands held the reins of government in those critical and anxious days, that they would support him in any action he might be compelled to take for the safety of Hungary. The spokesman of the Opposition was Count Julius Andrássy. — On July 28th, Parliament was prorogued by a royal edict.

The Crown Prince Karl and his wife paid a visit to Budapest on the 2nd of August, which created some enthusiasm. And so began those terrible years and months during which the Hungarian nation had to fight for its life.

From the declaration of War, the Russian offensive determined the conduct of the campaign and the politics of Hungary. Von Conrad, the Commander-in-Chief, was quickly driven to the defensive, as, indeed, Tisza had forseen that he would be. The Hungarian government, once the War had began, considered itself in duty bound loyally to support the dispositions of the Austrian Imperial military authorities. The incompetency of the latter, however, compelled Tisza and the Hungarian Government to modify this attitude. When the

Balatonlelle. Summer Resort.

large forces sent against Serbia were hurriedly withdrawn and transported to the Northern front, before they had fired a shot in the South, the confidence of the Balkans in the military strength of the Dual Monarchy was destroyed. In consequence, Roumania was emboldened, after the defeat of Lemberg, to demand the whole of Transylvania, a demand the accession to which Count Czernin, the Bucharest ambassador, considered to be preferable to allowing Roumania to join in on the side of Russia. Tisza thought differently and appealled to Germany through Count Berchtold, the Imperial Foreign Minister. He pressed the German govrnment to take a stronger line in dealing with Bucharest where, up to that point, owing to dynastic affiliations, there had been a tendency to favour Roumania in all the questions which had arisen. He, on his part, declared himself ready to enter into discussion with the leaders of the Hungarian Roumanians. On Sept. 9, as a mater of fact, liberal proposals were made to the leaders of the Roumanian party with a view to satisfying their aspirations. On the 12th of the same month, Tisza met Tschirschky, the German ambassador in Vienna, who made him an offer of German trops to strengthen the Carpathian front, an offer which, for the good of Hungary, he was only too glad to accept.

With the Germans behind him, Tisza's hand was strenghtened to resist the demands of Roumania for the cession of Transylvania, even though Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian ambassador in Bucharest, advised the acceptance of them; and so, after the battle of Lemberg, the Roumanian army was ordered to advance towards the Transylvanian frontier.

Von Jagow, the German Foreign Minister, on Sept. 15., promised on behalf of the German government to send help to Hungary against the Russians; but he at the same time stressed the importance of the Monarchy's being able to win the goodwill of Roumania, even at the price of considerable sacrifice. After this, Marshal Ludendorf paid a visit to the Austrian General Headquarters at Neusandec, after which the conduct of the Monarchy's war policy was taken out of the hands of General Headquarters and entrusted to Berchtold and Tisza. The War, at this time, for the Monarchy's forces, was taking the character of the defensive war which Tisza had always considered to be both necessary and desirable from Hungary's point of view, but which the initial offensive tactics of von Conrad had made unnecessarily difficult.

The change was made not before it was time; and by Sept. 25, the advanced forces of the Russian Army were already in Hungary. On the 26th, Roumania made an unexpected threat to interfere, on the pretext that the weakness of the Monarchy made

Gáborján. Reformed Church.

it desirable that she should occupy Transylvania to prevent it falling into the Russians' hands. On this, Tisza warned Roumania, through Berchtold, of the consequences which such a step would bring upon her. Bratianu, the Roumanian Prime Minister, had certain information that the Austro-Hungarian Higher Command had given no thought to the defence of Transylvania. Tisza knew this also, but nevertheless, he made it quite clear that any attempt of the Roumanians to enter Transylvania would be vigorously resisted. On the same day, he sent instructions to Count Czernin explaining how things stood in the Roumanian nationality question in Trasylvania, and making definite promises of concrete concessions along certain lines to the Roumanian party.

Although Karl, the Roumanian king, did not continue these negotiations on the Transylvanian question, Tisza fulfilled his promise. He remained in constant touch with the leaders of the Transylvanian Roumanians and engaged himself to carry through the administrative reforms which he had promised them. This he was prevented from doing by the action of the Roumanian government which, before the end of Sept, was again toying with the idea of occupying Transylvania. Once more Tisza made it clear that he would never consent to any such occupation and on the very day, Oct. 1., on which he sent a message in these terms to Bratianu, the Roumanian Prime Minister concluded a secret convention with Russia concerning Transylvania. Later, at the peace conference of Paris, the Roumanian Prime Minister claimed that Roumania had joined the Allied Powers on this date.

Tisza saw that the key of this critical situation was not in Bucharest, but in the Russian invasion, and so, on Oct. 2., he sent a telegram to General Headquarters, peremptorily demanding the speedy expulsion of the Russians and the reinforcement of the defences of Transylvania. At the same time, he demanded an immediate reply indicating what steps were being taken. In truth, the situation had become serious. Aurelius Popovici, the Roumanian writer who had formerly been in close touch with the Austrian centralists and federalists, after the battle of Lemberg had approached Tisza, through Berchtold, in connection with the Transylvanian question. Now, however, he took advantage of the serious military situation to represent to the Ger-

man Foreign Office that it was the stubborness of the Hungarian government alone which stood in the way of Roumania's fulfilling her duties as Germany's ally. On Oct. 4., the German government requested Tisza to appoint a Roumanian Minister for Transylvania; but Tisza, although he was obliged to call upon the Germans for military help, rejected this demand on Oct. 10. King Karl who had been friendly to the Germans died, and thereupon Count Czernin pressed for new concessions. Tisza, however, made it quite clear that he would concede no more than he had done on the 9th of Sept. These concessions which he had already promised, included a reform of the state school laws in favour of the Roumanians in Transylvania, the permission to use the Roumanian language in the law courts and a change in the elections laws also favourable to the Roumanians.

Hindenburg sent a telegram on Nov. 3. urging expedition in the matter of these concessions. Tisza, on the other hand, while emphasising their finality, urged at the same time his opinion that the intervention of Roumania was dependent entirely upon the event of the Russian campaign. To avoid further misunderstandings, the Prime Minister paid a visit in person to the German General Headquarters, in order to clear up the situation. From that point, attention was concentrated on the Russian campaign. Then came the failure, in Serbia, of December, after which the Allies' propaganda made brisk play with the „Austrian question" again, and Italy began to make demands on the Central Powers. It was at this point that Berchtold's place was taken by a Hungarian, Stephen Burian, who was completely in Tisza's confidence (Jan. 13. 1915.); and now, when we remember that the members of the Parliament had had their mandates extended until the War should end, it becomes clear that the position of Tisza, both in Hungary itself and in the Empire in general, was an exceptionally strong one. Soon Italy entered the War, placing fresh burdens upon his shoulders, so that, indeed, upon his decisions the whole fate of the War depended.

As a matter of fact, the Allied Powers anticipated the collapse of the Dual Monarchy and a quick end to the War, once Italy had thrown in her lot with them. All preparations were made for the great day when the Italian and the Russian armies should meet along the line of the Danube. Panslav circles commissioned Thomas Masaryk, the refugee Prague professor, to hand over a memorandum setting forth their views and claims, through Seton Watson, to Sir George Clerk of the British Foreign Office. This happened just when Italy concluded the Convention of London. — These two documents clearly show what the fate of Hungary would have been, had the Allies been able to bring the War to a triumphant conclusion in April 1915. — Italy would have extended towards the Drave, while the Russian frontier would have been drawn over the Great Plain not far from Debrecen. In the north, Russia's neighbour was to have been Bohemia, for which Masaryk desired a Russian archduke as king, while to the south were Serbia and Roumania, whose crown princes were to have married Russian wives. That is to say, the Russian power, by way of Prague, Bucharest and Belgrade, would have reached the Adriatic, and Hungary would have been encircled by an iron ring which gradually would have stifled her.

This tragedy was averted through the excellent cooperation of the political and military authorities, by which, while the Italians were firmly held on the Isonzo line, the Russian front was broken at Gorlice. While the Italian army was meeting with great losses in the 11 battles of the Isonzo, the Russians were being speedily rolled back from the Carpathians. They promised Bratianu Máramarossziget, Szatmár, Nagyvárad, Arad, Temesvár; but though he had indicated that he would follow the lead of Italy, when he heard of the Russian catastrophe at Gorlice, he prudently drew back.

On the 26th of May, Parliament was prorogued by the King, and when it reassembled on the 30th Nov., it lost no time in testifying to the complete success which had attended the measures of defence taken against Russia and her eastern allies. The Russian armies had suffered a decisive defeat and no fresh attack was to be feared from them. Serbia and Montenegro had been overrun and their rulers forced to flee. Roumania was submissive and deferential. In the north, the victors were pressing forward into Russia and in the south, towards Salonica.

From the Hungarian point of view, the war could be considered as over; and so thought Stephen Tisza also, who, in the proposals which he drew up in the autumn

Battonya. Boys School.

Battonya. State Tobacco Store.

Battonya. Tax Offices.

Battonya. Convent.

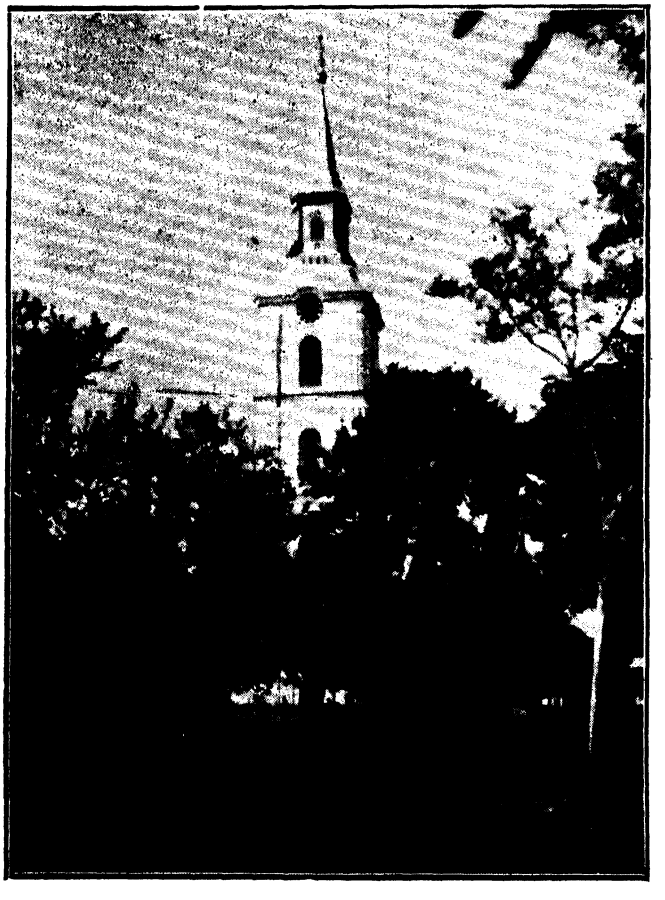
of 1915, set himself to use the successes already won as the basis for securing a stable and lasting peace.

III.

It was not to Hungary's advantage that the war was continued and that the Central Powers failed to turn the successes won on the Eastern Front to good account, either from a military or a political point of view. They were still left with the Eastern Front to hold, materially weakened; while on the political side, they were unable to force Russia to make a separate peace.

The consequence of this failure was that when troops were transferred to the Western Front, the Western Powers, in order to lighten the pressure upon their own forces, started an offensive on the Eastern Front.

While Marshal Falkenhayn at Verdun and Conrad on the Asiago were making premature and vain attempts to break through the Allies' lines of defence, in the summer of 1916 the whole Eastern Front burst into flame.



Báránd. Reformed Church.

The empire of the dying Francis Joseph was chosen for attack on this occasion, owing to the instigations of the Neo-Slav politicans (Miliukoff) and their agents in the west in Paris and London. That meant that Russia and her eastern allies were directed to carry out designs which in 1914 could not even get a hearing. — While the Hungarian troops were being thrown away on the Italian front, the Russians succeeded in breaking through the Austro-Hungarian front at Luck in June, 1916. — At the same time, a new activity developed on the front in the Balkans, and the French general, Serrail, began to advance northwards from Salonica, which the Central Powers had neglected to occupy. He had a large army behind him with which an Italian army had linked itself up on the west. — From Hungary's point of view, however, the most important thing was that Roumania was presented with the frontiers she had claimed in 1915, in the secret treaty concluded in Bucharest on the 17th August 1916, and secure from attack by the Russians and, indeed, under Russian military supervision, threw herself eagerly on Transylvania which at this time had been left open and uncovered by the Higher Command.

Heavy burdens now fell upon the shoulders of the Hungarian government when the triumphs of the war brought, instead of peace, such an attack on the part of the enemy which came to spell disaster, owing to the incompetence shown in meeting it. Tisza found that the troubles which the success of the self-defence campaign had dissipated, came charging back again upon him, refreshed and multiplied, along with the unfortunate consequences which followed the continuance of the war. — In June of 1915, after Gorlice, he was still able quite easily to reject the demand of the Opposition for a coalition by which they wanted to share both the responsibilities, and — though under another Prime

A Street in Beregböszörmény.

Minister — the approaching success of the government. Parliament, however, was clearly uneasy on the 1st June 1916, in view of the advance of the enemy forces, in face of which even Tisza seemed helples, since circumstances over which he had no control had made it possible. The party truce arranged at the beginning of 1916 was broken; and on July 4., Count Julius Andrássy demanded a full statement on the situation from the Government, whereupon the Opposition parties formed a representative council in which the leaders of each group had seats. This new combination, on the surface, seemed to be a concentration of the various forces opposed to the Gowernment; but, in reality, it was simply a sympton of an underlying uneasiness. In three days the whole „concentration" broke up; for the radical members of the Opposition, led by Count Michael Károlyi, Andrássy's son-in-law, broke away from the Independence Party which stood for the German alliance, and even though the war was still going on, declared war on those who were bound together in an alliance against the common enemy. — Serious as this departure was, extenuating circumstances could be pleaded for it. The Central Powers had certainly lost their sense of direction after the military operations on the Eastern front; but though this may be taken to explain Károlyi's actions, it does not excuse it, taking place as it did at the most critical period of the war. — Károlyi formed a new party, and while the more moderate united themselves under Count Apponyi, the new party under Károlyi set themselves to win the crowd by taking up the cry of „universal suffrage". Their aim, that is to say, was to detach the people from the German alliance, and this by every human computation simply meant the destruction of the united front in the time of danger. Since it was well-known that Stephen Tisza was opposed to universal suffrage, the attack was really directed against him; for thus, Tisza found himself exposed as the opponent, not only of the small group of opposition radicals, but also of the popular idea of universal suffrage. And having found this point of attack, the enemy propaganda did not scruple to make the very most of it; all the more since the detachment of the strong Germany from the weak Monarchy and the easy disarmament of the latter was the enemy's aim and programme. And now that very aim and programme was echoed back from Hungary, the very centre of the attack.

On Sept 5th, Andrássy, desirous of taking charge of the country's foreign policy, proposed to summon the „Delegations", but Austria bluntly refused. Since 1914, the political situation had shifted to the advantage of Hungary, and after the war, this would have meant a new arrangement of the basis on which Austria and Hungary

Bélapátfalva. Summer Resort.

were united to each other. The summoning of the „Delegations", of course, was constitutionally a step backwards, and besides, it would have been practically a fatal step to take, since Austria's various nationalities were ripe for rebellion and the occasion would undoubtedly, therefore, have strengthened Michael Károlyi's anti-German forces. Thus it might have led to the destruction of the united defensive front, just at that point where the attack was fiercest, and brought catastrophy. Tisza was in a difficult position, but he held his ground and even succeeded in forcing his election to the post of deputy-palatine.

On Dec. 30th, the coronation was carried out in the citadel of Buda and in spite of the war, it afforded an unusual perspective of the nine-hundred-years-old tradition behind the Hungarian Crown. — Neither Croatia nor the nationalities failed to demonstrate their allegiance. — And just at the moment of historic Hungary's apotheosis, the enemy had already left Hungarian territory and the nation looked forward into the future with new confidence.

It was only those who were in the know, who realised that the death of Francis Joseph on Nov. 21st. marked the end of an era. — Count Burian, who had Tisza's confidence, was succeeded by Count Czernin, on the return home of the latter from Bucharest; and Czernin, formerly one of Francis Ferdinand's friends, stood for the policy directly opposed to Tisza's in the nationalities question. The memorandum drawn up by the Opposition leaders, in which they set forth their demand for a coalition cabinet, came into his hands and through him they were allowed an audience with King Charles at General Headquarters in Baden where he was staying. The fate of the Monarchy was now in Czernin's hands.

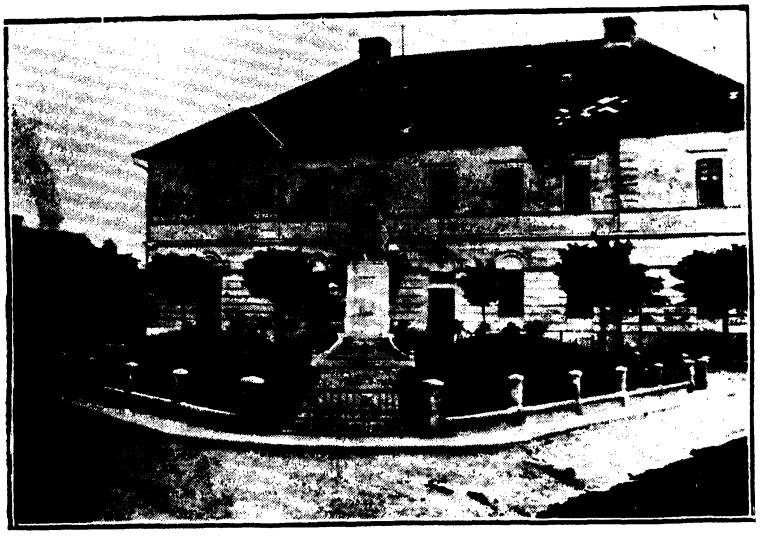
Tisza, however, with the majority behind him, felt able to deal even with this combination and on April 12th, 1917, he prorogued Parliament sine die. But on the 28th, April, a royal decree was issued, enjoining the majority government to take measures to introduce an extension of the franchise. Michael Károlyi and his friends joined the Democratic bloc which stood for Universal Suffrage, on the 8th. May, and thus formed an alliance, on the one hand with the Socialists who, after a secret congress held in Budapest on April 9th, had organised a demonstration in favour of Universal Suffrage on May 1st. and a one-hour strike on May 2nd; and on the other, with

Count Czernin, with whose policy his party concurred. — Stephen Tisza, facing an Opposition whose power had been so much strengthened by the royal decree, now took up the idea of a coalition himself. The members of the Constitutional Party, however, who were invited to join the government, refused to come in; and when he felt that he would be too weak to handle the disputes which were likely to arise, he sought an audience with the King while the latter was travelling by rail to Gyöngyös, a Hungarian town which had just been destroyed by fire, and in the Royal car he tendered his resignation.

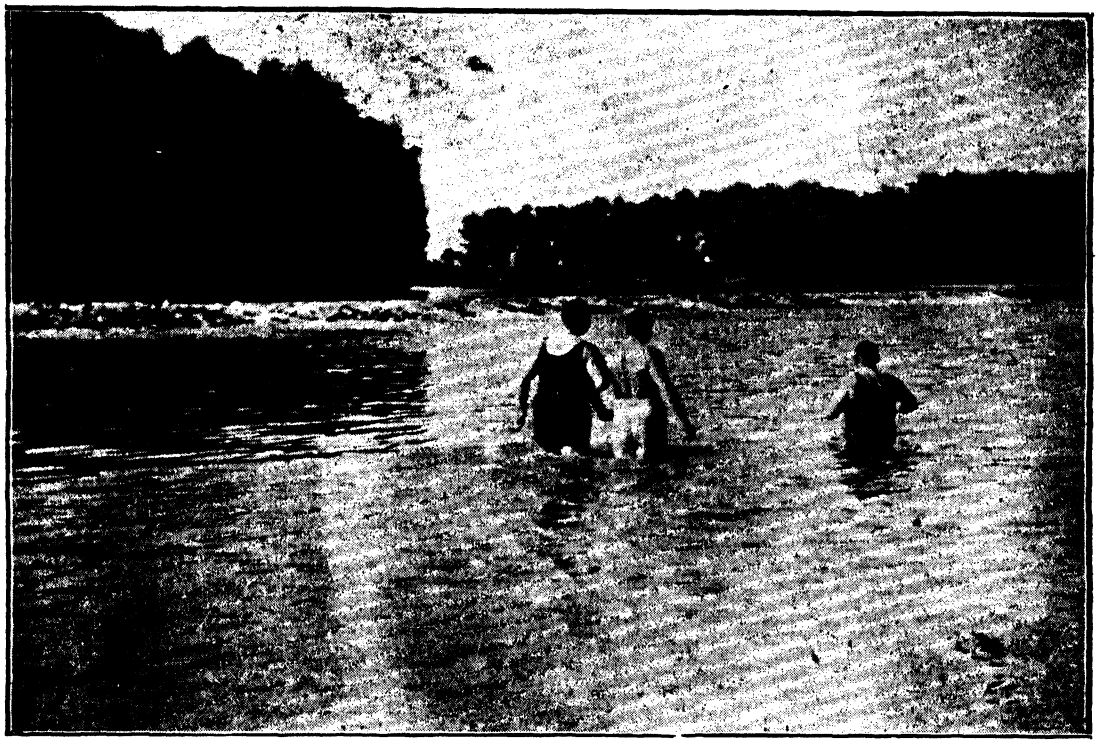
The new government, on the basis of an agreement with the sovereign to undertake a reform of the franchise, was formed out of the ranks of the minority parties, under the leadership of Count Maurice Eszterházy. It was composed of the following: Prime Minister, Count Maurice Eszterházy; Minister Attenlant upon the King's Person, Count Tivadar Batthány (after August 18th, his place was taken by Count Aladár Zichy as Minister without portfolio); Home Minister, Gabriel Ugron; Minister of Justice, Charles Grecsák; Minister of Education and Religion, Count Albert Apponyi; Minister of Agriculture, Béla Mezőssy; Minister of Commerce, Count Béla Serényi; Minister of Finance, Gustave Gratz. General Alexander Szurmay went to the Ministry of Defence and as ministers without portfolioí there were Count Aladár Zichy, Croatian minister, succeeded on August 18th, by Charles Unkelhauser; Professor Béla Földes, for dealing with economic problems; Wilhelm Vázsonyi, for drafting the franchise law, and after August 28th, Count Tivadar Batthány. — Here we must mention that the government appointed

Békés. Reformed Church.

Zoltán Jekelfalusy as governor of Fiume, in place of Count Stephen Wickenburg, on July 7th; while on July 24th, the Bán, Antal Mihalovics, was appointed as head of the administration in Croatia. — Count Michael Károlyi who, since June 6th, had been at the head of a franchise bloc, composed of Radicals, Democrats and Socialists, wanted the portfolio of Minister Attendant on the King's Person, so that he could maintain direct communication with Count Czernin; but in the interests of his party's propaganda, he remained in Budapest and Count Tivadar Batthyány took his place. The Franchise Bill with which, according to Eszterházy in his programme speech of June 21, the government was prepared to go on, even should the measures mean the break-up of Parliament and a stormy general election, was entrusted to William Vázsonyi to be drafted. Although Tisza, considering the dif-



Békés. Village Offices.



Dunaegyháza. Bathing Beach.

ficulties of the times, had put his majority at the disposal of the minority government, on June 27th, the city mob attacked the headquarters of his party, the first sign of the break-down of what had up till then been a solid united front.

Count Eszterházy gradually became a nervous wreck and on August 20th, handed over the reins to Alexander Wekerle who was assured of the stable support of the majority. We have already mentioned personal changes in the cabinet. With the entry of Count John Hadik into the government as minister without portfolio, its number increased to five.

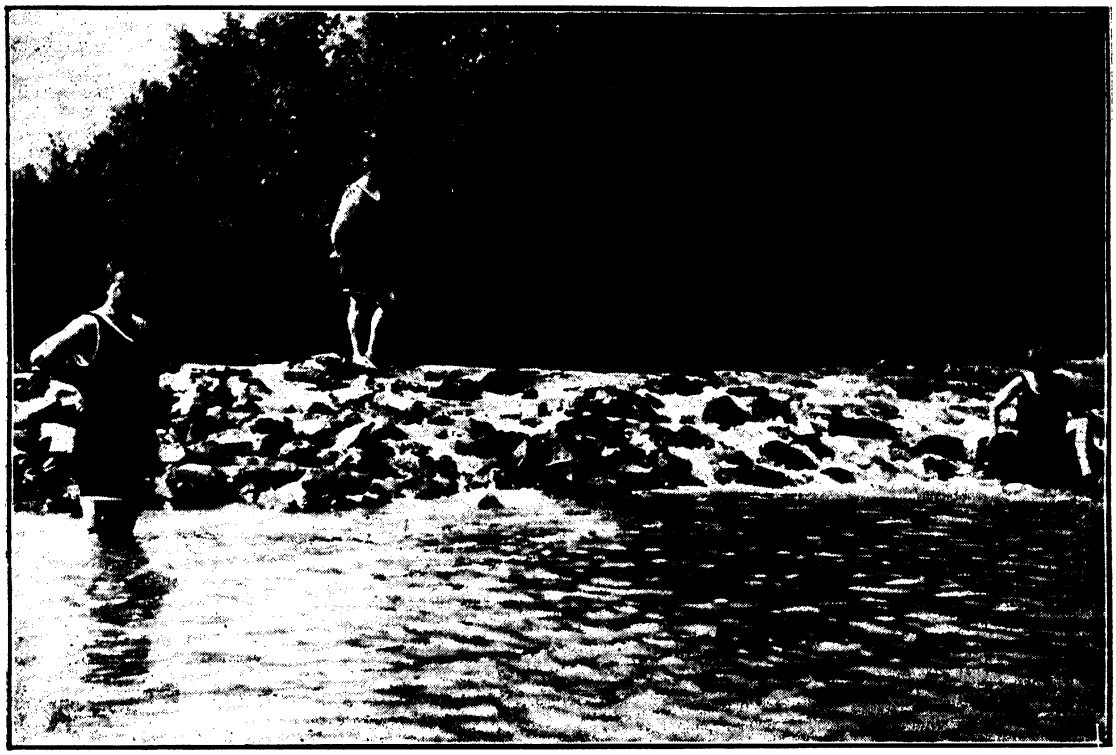
The Wekerle government at last, on December 21st, introduced the complicated Franchise Bill by which the right to vote was given, apart from the 24 years age-limit, even to minors, provided they had enrolled themselves among „Karl's Crusaders", i. e. served for a certain time in the front line. By this bill, the electorate was to be increased from 1,800.000 to 3,800.000. Stephen Tisza strongly opposed it, whereupon Wekerle, in January, reorganised the government party to which the Independence group of Andrássy and Apponyi, the People's Party and those Democrats who followed William Vázsonyi joined themselves. Thus was formed the 48 Party which chose Andrássy and Apponyi as its chairmen. — On January 20th, Michael Károlyi who had held aloof from the combination, was attacked in an open letter by his cousin Count Imre Károlyi.

Following upon the entry of the Democratic Party, the Franchise bloc split in two and on Febr. 9. came to an end.

From Jan. 25, Wekerle's second government held office, with John Toth as Home Minister; Vázsonyi, Minister of Justice; Count Serényi, Minister of Agriculture; Baron Joseph Szterényi, Minister of Commerce; and Alexander Popovics, Minister of Finance. The number of ministers without portfolio was increased by Count Maurice Eszterházy and Prince Louis Windischgrätz, though the latter very shortly after took over the Food-Controller's office.

Gabriel Ugron, who retired, was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Transylvania, on March 13th.

When King Karl arrived unexpectedly in Budapest on April 15, no one knew that following upon the failure of Czernin's peace moves, the King was looking to Hun-



Dunaegyháza. Bathing Beach.

gary again to give a lead to the Monarchy's policy. It was the irony of fate that Czernin actually tendered his resignation in Budapest and was actually present when Count Burian took over his office. — On the appointment of Tisza's confidant, the Wekerle government, on the motion of Andrássy, resigned; but after Baron Szterényi tried to get a cabinet together in vain, it received a new mandate on May 5th. With the turn that affairs had taken, Wekerle thought it wise to drop Vázsonyi. When Vázsonyi went, however, Count Apponyi and Eszterházy and Földes and Toth resigned. Thereupon, Wekerle took the portfolio for Home Affairs himself, made Count John Zichy Minister of Education and Gustave Tőry Minister of Justice, while he left the places of Eszterházy and Földes unfilled. When he appeared before Parliament, he raised the question of the projected reform of the franchise and announced that he had made the possession of a fixed residence an indispensable qualification for everyone and had laid down certain general conditions for minors whose war service otherwise would entitle them to the note. By this much, then, he had restricted the scope of the new franchise measure. — With this, the struggle over the franchise came to an end and the problems thurst into the foreground by the war occupied every mind.

IV.

The war practically finished the Dual Monarchy. Austria played a complete passive role until the death of Francis Joseph and when King Karl, on the motion of Count Czernin, called together the Imperial Diet in April 1917, the nationalities of Austria, one after another and with one voice, damned the system of dualism. — Austria was far from being the state she was, when she made the „Ausgleich" of 1867.

In contrast with this, neither the attack of enemies, nor the alliance which Count Czernin had made with the radical elements in politics, had destroyed the unity of Hungary. But they had made Germany uneasy; and because of this uneasiness, Marshal Hindenburg and Arz concluded the Convention of Spaa by which the military organisation of the Monarchy was united with that of the Germans.

The hopes raised by the tightening up of

Dunaszentgyörgy. Reformed Church.

the army organisation through the united command were destroyed by the July defeat on the French Front. The retreat of the German Army had the same effect as the enemy propaganda and the activity of the political extremists, in increasing the pressure of the forces of destruction; and when once the news of Bulgaria's collapse came through, panic and rebellion broke out to make the way easy for the advance of the enemy forces.

The defection of Bulgaria affected Hungary so acutely that in the excitment everybody lost his presence of mind and calm judgment.

When King Karl, on October 16, issued a manifesto indicating that the Austrian government was now formally prepared to take the course which the signs of the times had already made clear that it would be forced to take, Hungary found itself united to the other parts of the empire by nothing more than the slender cords of the Pragmatic Sanction. On the basis of personal union, it therefore seemed possible for her to devise a new autonomous constitution for herself. The complexion of affairs, however, changed so quickly, event following event in bewildering succession, that no one was found ready to begin the work of liquidating the old government institutions and reforming them in accordance with the new conditions which had emerged. Wekerle, himself, shrank from making the attempt and resigned; while, with the collapse of the conservatives, the extremists of the opposition strained every nerve to get the power of government into their own hands. — It was at this point that Martin Lovászy demanded in Parliament that Hungary should break with Germany and attach herself to the Allied Powers, an action for which he was officially admonished by the judicial committee of the House. — Stephen Tisza, quick to recognise the advantages which the political situation offered, and anxious that they should not be missed, moved in Parliament, on Oct 17, that the constitution should be recast on the basis of no more than a personal union with Austria; and in the interest of this policy, all the moderate parties combined, on Oct. 23., to form a huge majority in the House. Wekerle, the Prime Minister, however, on hearing rumours of steps being taken by the nationalities for separation from the Hungarian Crown, and taking this to be the first signs of an impending rebellion, handed in his resignation once more.

V.

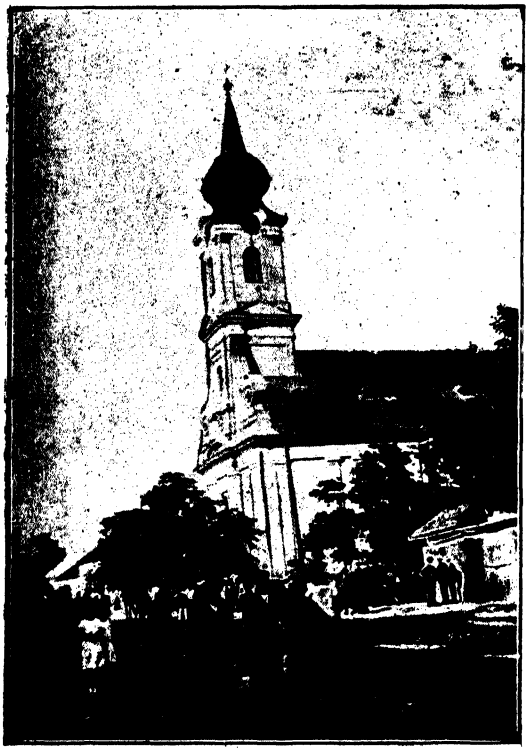
The 23rd of Oct, 1918, was a fateful day for Hungary. It was then that the effort to establish a new independent Hungary was opposed by a revolutionary power which aimed at destroying the strength of the nation. On that day it became clear that a civil war, at least, was unavoidable, with all the possibilities it offered of exploitation to the enemy.

The Tisza Party which still had a majority, in the interests of the new constructive policy, was dissolved and amalgamated with the Constitutional Party, led by Count Apponyi. The new body set itself the tasks of preserving the integrity of Hungary on the new basis of independence. On the other side, the extremest of the opposition clamoured for a junction with the Allied Powers, because Michael Károlyi believed that the Entente was inclined to discuss terms of peace with no one but himself. — Count Andrássy tried to bridge the differences between the two parties, and again brought forward the proposal of a coalition government, a proposal unanimously accepted by the moderates, though

A Street in Dunaszentgyörgy.

there was considerable delay in getting the new government together. — On Oct. 24. Andrássy took the place of Burian and on the 25th, King Karl arrived at Gödöllő to settle the crisis. — Tisza's nerves gave way. Everything and everyone seemed to turn against him, and so, after Andrássy's departure for Vienna, it was Apponyi who came forward to take the leading part in the work of reconstructing the government and mobilising the strength of the nation. While discussions were going on, Michael Károlyi formed what he called a National Council, a kind of shadow cabinet, whose object was to set their own leader at the head of the real government. To attain this end they resorted to a systematic propaganda, designed to win over the hoy polloy. This National Council was composed out of certain members of the Independence Party (Dezső Abrahám, Count Tivadar Batthányi, László Fényes, John Hock, Zoltán Jánossy, Martin Lovászi), of the Radicals (Joseph Diner-Dénes, Oszkár Jászi, Lewis Biró, Lewis Hatvany, Paul Sándor) and of the Socialists (William Böhm, Ernest Garami, Alexander Garbai, Siegismund Kunfi, Rosa Schwimmer, Jacob Weltner), altogether 20 in number. — In view of the activities of the revolutionaries, the supreme military command of the troops stationed in Budapest was put into the strong hands of Marshal Lukachich.

While the forces of the revolution gathered strength from one day to another, the nationalist majority, after Oct. 23, were like sheep without a shepherd; there was no government and no leader. On Oct. 26, Count Andrássy was entrusted with the direction of the Foreign Office, and when he went to Vienna, he was accompained by Michael Károlyi, his son-in-law, who aimed at persuading the King to entrust the government to him. In Vienna, however, he was unsuccessful; the national cause was still stronger than the revolution and it was the Archduke Joseph who was sent by the King to Budapest to order affairs there in the King's interest. Károlyi himself had to return with empty hands. The Archduke Joseph's policy was directed to the maintaining of the territorial integrity of Hungary and the building up of a new autonomous national administration; for Austria was already on the point of falling to pieces. — As against this, the revolutionary



Elek (Trianon Frontier Village), R. C. Church.

elements of the National Council pressed for an immediate armistice and the dissolution of the German Allience, a general demobilisation and the right of the nationalities to determine their own political destiny. When Károlyi returned from Vienna on the evening of the 27th, and announced that he had been unsuccessful in his attempt to get a mandate from the King to carry out this policy legally, as the head of the King's government, the national council determined to ignore constitutional forms and started to give practical effect to their policy illegally.

The disappointment felt in consequence of the failure of Károlyi's mission to the King, stirred his followers to action. They raised the mob to demonstrate the popular disapproval of the Archduke Joseph's appointment and to demand the election of Károlyi. — The troops, however, set to guard the approaches to the Chain Bridge, held up the mob and in the street fighting which took place, two persons were killed. When Count John Hadik, at last, on the 29th, was entrusted with the task of forming a government, the National Council had already committed itself to an open break with constitutional authority. The state police followed Károlyi and his party, who thus obtained armed support; and so Hungary had now two sets of masters and was drifting rapidly towards civil war. Hadik's government sat in Buda, while Károlyi's ruled from the Astoria Hotel, in Pest. By Oct 30, the revolutionary organisations obtained possession, one after another, of the Garrison Headquarters, the Railway Stations, the General Post Office and the Telephone Exchanges. On the morning of Oct. 31, the capital was entirely in the hands of the National Council, whereupon King Karl telephoned from Schönbrunn appointing Michael Károlyi Prime Minister and even placing the military at his disposal. Károlyi himself took charge of the Ministery of Finance and appointed Paul Szende, a lawyer, as his under secretary of state. The Minister of Home Affairs was Count Tivadar Batthyány; the Minister of Education, Martin Lovászy; the Minister of Agriculture and of Justice, Barna Buza; the Food Controller, Francis Nagy — all of them members of the Károlyi party. — Ernest Garami, one of the Socialist leaders, was given the portfolio of Commerce, and another Socialist, Sigismund Kunfi, was made Minister

Elek (Trianon Frontur Village), Community House.

Elek (Trianon Frontier Village), Church Square.

of Public Welfare. Colonel Béla Linder went to the war office. — Buza was entrusted with the task of Land Reform; Linder, with that of demobilisation; while Oscar Jászi, as minister without portfolio, was deputed to deal with the nationalities question.

On the afternoon of the same day, Count Stephen Tisza was murdered in his Budapest home.

VI.

It has always been the weakness of Hungarian politics to have been too localised in its interests. Those concerned have been too little regardful of the outside world, although a continental state, situated like Hungary, moves within a fixed frame which it itself does not make, and from the restictions imposed by which no human power can free it. — The fate of Hungary was not to be settled according to the ideas of the October revolution. If these had been realised, the whole world would have declared for pacifism. — But as a matter of fact, the realities of the situation were in direct opposition to the fond imaginings of the revolutionary leaders, and the enemy forces preparing to occupy Hungary won a success surpassing even that which had attended the work of their propagandist agents, when Hungary refused even to defend herself and threw her frontiers open to the armies of the enemy.

After the collapse of Russia, of course, the war's centre of gravity moved definitely to the west and the fate of the Danube countries, from July, 1918, depended upon Versailles. From Versailles, however, the situation could not have appeared altogether very satisfactory, for Hindenburg's troops were retreating slowly and in good order in France; while Mackensen was following his example in Roumania: and so the Central Powers, even if on the retreat, still presented a solid united front to all attacks. — The French General Staff were afraid that the Germans in retreating would shorten their front, thereby making it more easily defended and so avoid that catastrophic collapse which the French wanted as an indispensable condition of being able to dictate a crushing peace.

The French now make no secret of the anxiety which they felt at that time, nor of the prominent place which Hungary occu-

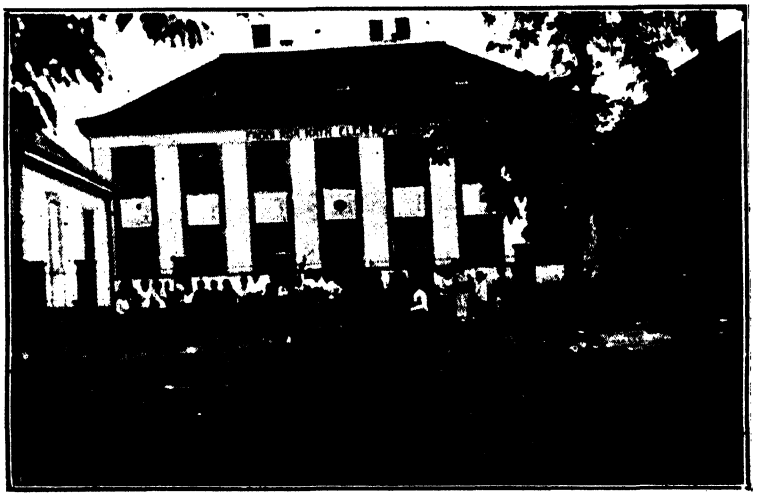
Ercsi. Tomb of Baron Joseph Eötvös.

pied in their thoughts; for had Mackensen found cover in Hungary, then Germany would have remained undefeated and the peace prospects would not have been so rosy. — But the French are equally candid about admitting that Hungary relieved them of their anxiety when, on Nov. 1, 1918, she determined to lay down her arms in the face of an enemy armed to the teeth. — The Hungarian government were convinced that, following Hungary's example, everybody would lay down arms likewise. They didn't. In fact, the enemy not only kept its arms, but according to their own military chroniclers, took advantage of Hungary's disarmament to occupy it by armed force, capture Mackensen and approach the south-eastern frontiers of Germany, thus making the final general surrender possible.

From Hungary's point of view, in consequence, the end of the war was far from being a chain of simple developments. — The monarchy still existed in theory, in spite of the defection of the nationalities of Austria, and as such signed the Padua Armistice on Nov 3rd, 1918. Italy conducted the negotiations for this on behalf of the Allied Powers, as their plenipotantiary; and not receiving any special instructions from them, she devoted herself to securing the object of her own ambitions — Italia irredenta. Apart from that, it was her plain duty to see to it that peace and order were preserved in those parts of the monarchy which came within her sphere of interest during the time of reorganisation. Of course, the Padua Armistice left the Hungarian frontiers quite intact; and at that time, they were threatened from no other quarter.

All the more anxiety, therefore, was occasioned to the French military commanders who were at that time exclusively occupied with the German problem, by the prospect of Mackensen's using Hungary as a base for the defence of the southern frontiers of Germany. As a matter of fact, in French military circles, the Padua Armistice was regarded as an obstacle which they would gladly have seen removed, but with which, of course, they could do nothing, since the action of their Allies in concluding it bound them too.

In the difficult situation in which they found themselves, the Hungarian government determined to act as a neutral and issued on Nov. 1, the unexpected decree of disarmament. Immediately, those other governments appeared on the scene with claims upon Hungarian territory and pro-



Fadd. R. C. Elementary School.

Fonyód. Jetty.

posals to improve upon the Padua Armistice with Italy, by joining in with the French in a new offensive against Germany. Count Károlyi refused to recognise the terms of the Padua Armistice as binding upon Hungary, and himself made a journey to Belgrade on Nov. 8, to the Headquarters of the Allied armies in the Balkans, making proposals of his own for an armistice. His request put Franchet d'Esperey, the general in command, in a delicate position, for the troops under him were not French only and he was responsible to the Supreme Command in Versailles for his actions, and France could not have changed the scope or the terms of the Padua Armistice without shouldering a serious responsibility. On the other hand, since he was a Frenchman, it was his duty to do what he could to foster French military and political interests. Franchet d'Esperey managed the affair very cleverly. He made it clear that he could not himself sign an armistice afresh since an armistice signed at Padua was already in being. But he was ready to agree to a military convention; and by this convention, he craved the right to occupy the Szabadka—Maros line. From this position, he could reach Budapest through Szabadka sooner than Mackensen; and holding the line of the Maros, he could force Mackensen to make a hasty retreat from Roumania and he could even possibly smash Mackensen's army. Next day, on Nov. 9, the German armistice was signed at Spaa and from then, Franchet d'Esperey was relieved of any anxiety he held about the danger of Mackensen's army being used to defend the southern frontiers of Germany. The German government sent demobilisation orders to Mackensen and the attention of the French was diverted from the Danube line to the negotiations for the peace. Out of gratitude, however, they lent themselves to the support of all those claims put forward by the Danubian Associations of Czechs, Serbs and Roumanians who looked to France as their champion, now that Russia had ceased to count. — And so it happened that, while Hungary had thrown down its arms and was demonstrating its complete neutrality, the enemy forces stood by their guns and under the leadership of the French, advanced to occupy two-thirds of the territory of Hungary. — From the north, the Czechs under Pellé, from the east, the Roumani-

Fonyód. View over the Balaton Lake.

ans under Berthelot, and from the south, the Serbs under Franchet d'Esperey began to press forwards. They actually sent a French officer to Budapest to control and direct the postal communications between each other and with the Budapest government.

Hungary thus was removed out of the Italian and into the French sphere of influence; and to checkmate any move of Italy's against this, the Franco-Serbian Allience was formed, directed against Italy.

The Hungarian government had no knowledge of these changes. It considered itself to be neutral and it had laid down its arms. It spoke of the military convention as if it were an armistice and it kept the knowledge of the Padua Armistice from the public. It seemed to think that the outside world would cut its coat according to the cloth supplied from Budapest, although from Nov. 1, 1918, Hungary's weight in the council of the nations had become nil. It had broken with the Monarchy, its government was recognised by nobody, its territory was blockaded and even after the conclusion of peace, it was violated by armed troops who attacked the disarmed inhabitants and wrested by force territory ruled by the Hungarian government from it, making the preservation of order impossible and opening the way to anarchy.

The fate of Count Károlyi's government, in fact, was sealed from the beginning.

VII.

The government, on Nov. 1., asked to be absolved from its oath of allegiance. This absolution was granted by the King and henceforth, it discharged its duties with no responsibility to the King. When King Karl in his Eckartsau communiqué, on Nov. 13, announced his withdrawal from active participation in the affairs of state, the government, on Nov. 16, proclaimed a republic and dissolved Parliament. The House of Commons dissolved itself; the Upper House simply ceased from functioning. In the prevailing state of insecurity, the increasing unrest was still further increased by the action of the government in requisitioning private houses and even clothing. By such infringements of the rights of private property, the way was opened up for that extreme form of socialism wich culminated during the communist regime.

It was only now that the uneasiness occasioned by the armed occupation of Hun-

Gara. Salt Lake Drainage.

garian territory became noticeable. The government protested in vain to Colonel Vyx whom they believed to be the plenipotentiary of the Allied Powers, although he was nothing of the sort. On Dec. 10, French colonial troops arrived to take charge of General Mackensen, whereupon the government invited him to Budapest and on the 16th interned him in Fót, a village in the neigbourhood of Budapest. There he was forcibly seized by the French and transported to Salonica.

The absolute breakdown in the conduct of foreign affairs, made it impossible for the government to preserve its hold upon affairs at home, and gradually the control of the National Council slipped out of the hands of the bourgeois elements into those of the extreme socialists. On Dec. 10, appeared the first number of the *Red News*, the organ through which Béla Kun, who arrived from Moscow on Nov. 18., directed his propaganda which was financed by the Bolsheviks of Russia. On Dec. 12, a plan for the reorganisation of the army was ruined, whereupon the more moderate elements (Count Tivadar Batthyány, Martin Lovászi) retired and their places were filled by radical socialists of the Left. On Jan. 11th. the National Council appointed Count Michael Károlyi President, on his resigning from his position as Prime Minister. He, in turn, appointed the Minister of Justice, Dénes Berinkey, as head of the government. The new Prime Minister, Berinkey, found himself compelled to admit Böhm and Kunfi, socialists with communist sympathies, into his cabinet. — Of the old ministers, only Buza, Garami and Kunfi remained, the last named accepting the portfolio for Education. The Ministry of Interior fell into the hands of a radical lawyer, Vincent Nagy, William Böhm took over the War Office and Julius Peidl became Minister of Public Welfare. — Since the last two were members of the Socialist Party, the government had thus a pronounced socialist complexion. Paul Szende became Finance Minister; Ernest Baloghy, Food-Controller; while the stormy antirevolutionary, Stephen Szabó, because of his prestige among the peasantry, together with Oreszt Szabó, who had great influence with Ruthenians, were invited to join the government as ministers without portfolio. Berinkey himself, undertook the duty of restoring order. To this end he gave orders for a General Election; but with the extension of the foreign military encroachments, he was left facing such a confusion that an

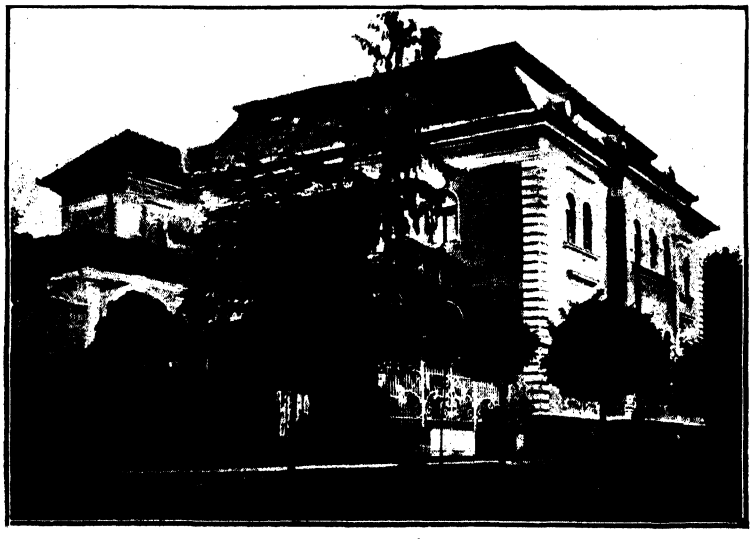
Gerjen. Village Hall.

election was out of the question and the government was left to face the uncertain future without any idea of what to do. The communist rising of Febr. 20th. landed its leaders in prison. In the street fighting which took place, there were several victims, but the greatest victim of all in these days was Hungary herself. On Febr. 26, under the cover of the anarchy prevailing in Hungary, exaggerated as the reports of it were, the Peace Conference in Paris calmly proceeded to divide the lands of Hungary among the peoples who were prepared to assure the conquering powers of the undisturbed enjoyment of their booty.

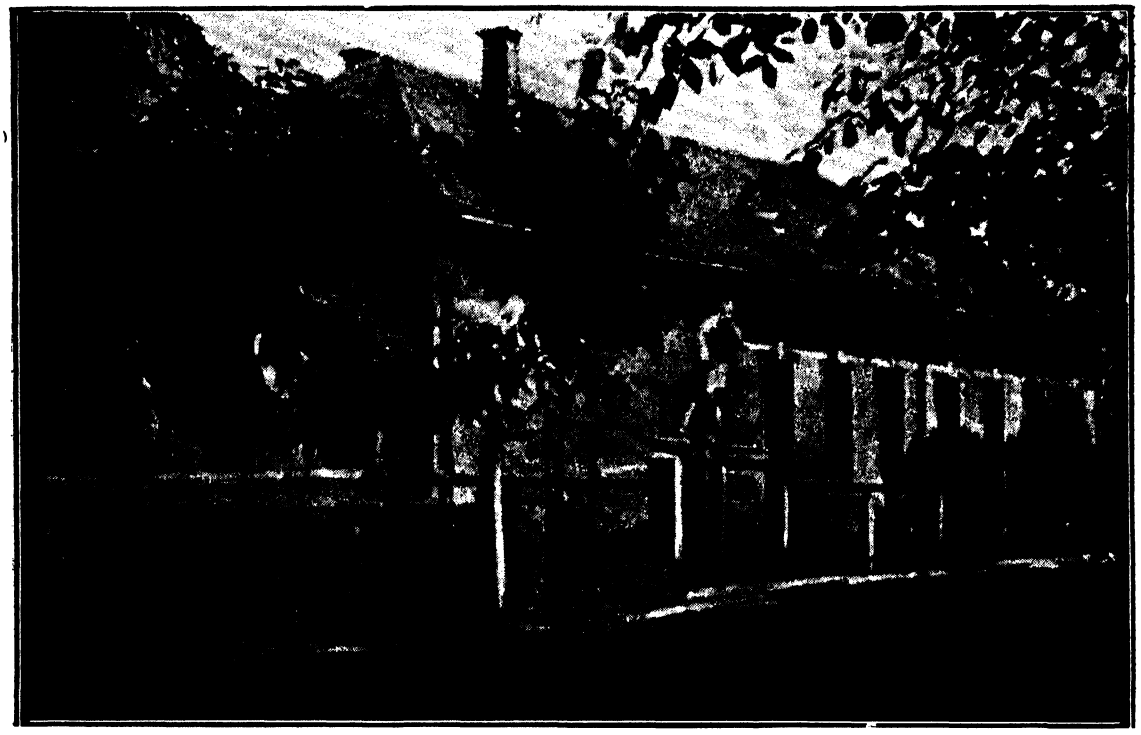
When Colonel Vyx delivered the relevant notes on March 19, Count Károlyi transferred the control of affairs to the Socialists, in whose name Kunfi, the Minister of Education, hastened to the prison and offered terms for a political alliance to the Communist leaders held there in custody. The conditions which the latter made were accepted by the Socialist Party on the 21st of March; and thus the Council of Soviets was established with the following as its commissaries: Alexander Garbai (President), William Böhm (Socialisation), Dezső Bokányi (Public Welfare), Alexander Csizmadia (Agriculture), Béla Kun (Foreign Affairs), Sigismund Kunfi (Education), Joseph Pogány (War), Zoltán Rónai (Justice), Eugene Landler (Interior), Eugene Varga (Finance), Maurice Erdélyi (Food Control).

The Hungarian Soviet was an abortion of confusion and destitution, brought about by the hostile propaganda and armed occupation. During its whole existence it produced nothing and did nothing, except run to seed in anarchy, terror and economic disintegration. We can review its progress briefly: on March 22, private ownership of property was abolished and thus a premium put upon general greed; on the 23rd the Red Guard was organised, followed on the 25th by the organisation of the Red Army. On April 2, the franchise was given to all workers and soldiers. All not belonging to these two classes were regarded as burdens upon the state, from which the state sought to deliver itself by terrorism; and on April 22, Tibor Szamuelly was invested with dictatorial powers for the „control" of these superfluous elements of the population.

In a short time the prisons were full of the intelligencia and the leading figures of the civil and military circles; and then, on June 23, the first counter revolution broke out. The three monitors of the Da-



Gindlicsalád. Village Hall.



Gindlicsalád. Elementary School.

nube flotilla hoisted the national flag and steamed opposite Soviet House (the well-known Hungaria Hotel), at which they fired several shells. At the same time, other groups in Ujpest and the cadets of the Ludovika Military Academy took up arms. The cadets pushed forward as far as the Joseph-körut („Ring") and occupied the Joseph Telephone Exchange. Towards evening, however, the counter revolutionary was suppressed. Colonel Romanelli, an Italian officer, intervened to save the lives of the cadets.

In foreign politics the Hungarian Soviet iooked to Moscow for support, and sought to remove Hungary out of the sphere of French influence into that of the Russian. It was only now that the Western Powers took cognisance of the danger brought upon Central Europe, through their failure to insit upon the sole validity of the Padua Armistice and through the self-centered action of the French military authorities in supporting unscrupulous annexation designs put into effect by armed force. They intervened when it was too late. Colonel Vyx was recalled and General Smuts sent to replace him on April 4. His instructions were to break up the Soviet; but the attempt failed, and then France took it upon herself to order her generals in command of the Czech, Roumanian and Serbian forces to advance against Budapest. Just at the time when this advance began, in April, 1919, the Franco-Hungarian White forces, concentrated on Szeged, a town of Southern Hungary, were expressly forbidden to move in the interest of the security of the Little Entente invaders — an order not difficult to understand from the French Higher Command's point of view.

The Roumanians succeeded in reaching the Tisza on the 1st of May. On the 2nd, the Czechs were in Miskolc. In face of this danger, citizens and soldiers, without distinction of party or class, ranged themselves under the flag of the National Soviet and succeeded, in June, in compelling the weaker Czechs forces to withdraw to the line of the Vág. Clemenceau, the French Prime Minister, proposed an armistice on behalf of the Czechs to which the Soviet agreed. They were then free to turn against the Roumanians. Their troops crossed the Tisza advancing on a wide front, but on the 25th of July, they were met by a Roumanian counter attack along the whole Szentes, Mezőtur, Kisujszállás line, by which they were compelled by the 30th, to give up the line of the Tisza.

Gyékényes. R. C. Church.

When the news of the defeat reached Budapest, Béla Kun handed back his authority to the Socialists on the 31st of July, while he and his friends fled first to Austria and then to Russia.

Julius Peidl who had been Minister of Public Welfare in the Berinkey Ministry took charge of the new Socialist government. This government, however, was so closely bound up with the Soviet that the latter in its fall brought the Socialists down too.

VIII.

This entanglement with the Bolsheviks gave a decided advantage to those who were intent upon reorganising the country on a national basis, as distinct from the changes introduced by the October Revolution and the Soviet which followed it; for they found that public opinion in Hungary was behind them, the people having developed a strong aversion from the two revolutions and all that they stood for.

The work of national reorganisation was being carried on in two places.

In Vienna, the Hungarian *emigrés*, with Count Stephen Bethlen and Count Paul Teleki at their head, formed a Hungarian Committee, and in Szeged, which had been occupied by the French since the 30th of Dec. 1918, those politicians who had fled before the Roumanian invaders, formed themselves into an organisation also. Count Julius Károlyi formed a government in Arad on the 5th of May, but journeying from there to Szeged, he was seized and interned by the Roumanians. He was released again, however, and reached Szeged on the 28th where he found that Count Teleki, the delegate of the Vienna Committee, had arrived before him on the 24th. He formed a government in Szeged on June 3, entrusting the Foreign Minister's portfolio to Teleki, but appointed Count Bethlen to be Minister Plenipotentiary in Vienna. In this way, the two politicians changed rôles. Admiral Horthy, the popular hero of Novara, and the last admiral commanding the Austro-Hungarian Fleet, accepted the portfolio for War, and set himself to organise a national army. He was, however, prevented from advancing upon Budapest, because General Chapry, who commanded the French forces in Szeged, was himself under the command of de Lobit in Belgrade, who in turn had to take orders from Franchet d'Esperey in Constantinople; and Franchet d'Esperey was controlled by Clemencau, the French Prime Minister, in Versailles, whose policy was to support the Czech Roumanian and

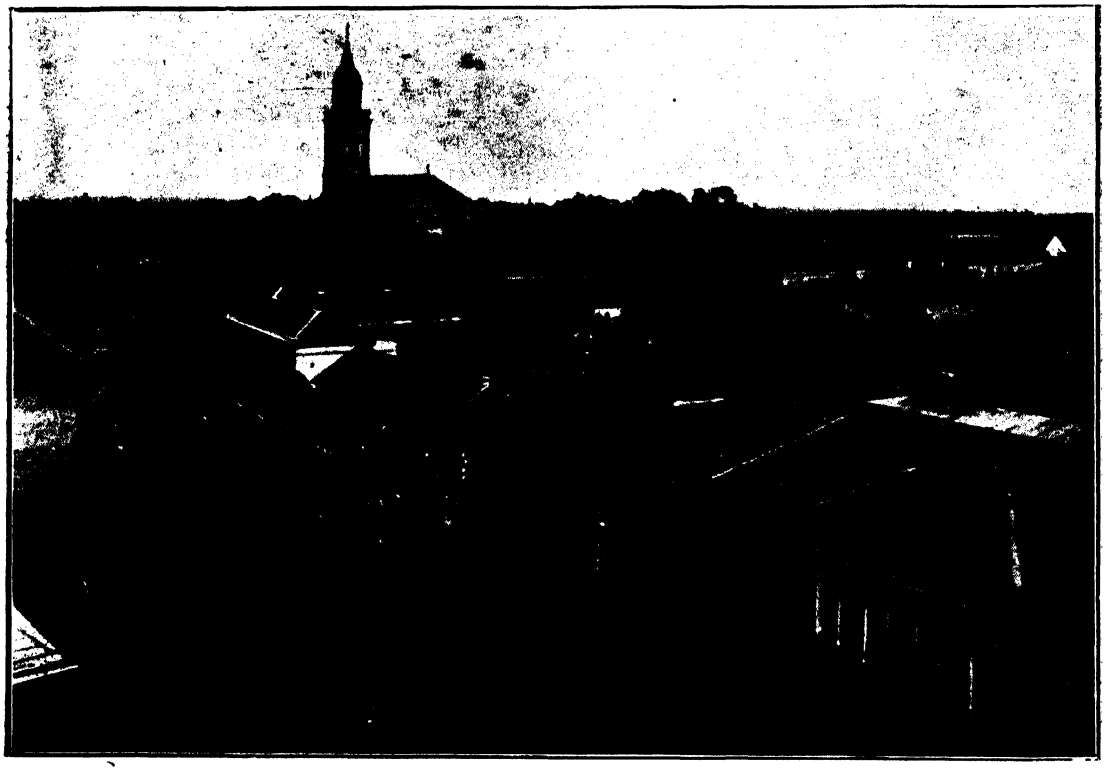
A Street in Gyékényes.

Serbian Alliance and use it to counterbalance the power of Hungary. Clemenceau, therefore, sent a telegram forbidding the advance of the Hungarian and French forces on Budapest, and bound the military authorities to remain strictly at the disposition of Versailles.

The government of Vienna and Szeged and its committees stood helpless before the collapse of the Soviet and the coming of the Socialists into power. Count Teleki alone succeeded in reaching Budapest by aeroplane. Shortly after his arrival, a nationalist counter-revolution, on Aug. 2nd, spoiled the designs of the French, by expelling the Peidl Government, which had issued a general amnesty and announced again the establishment of a Hungarian republic. The counter revolutionaries asked the Archduke Joseph, in the absence of the King, to reassume the office from which he had been expelled during the first revolution. Stephen Friedrich, a former state secretary under Károlyi, was appointed head of the government and as such, appointed state secretaries, through whom he carried on the official work of government, until later when a political cabinet was formed.

A Street in Gyékényes.

When the Archduke Joseph arrived in Budapest from Alcsut, on the morning of the 5th, he found the Roumanian troops already



A Street in Gyoma.

in possession of the city. Everything was in the greatest confusion, owing to the conflicting orders issuing from Roumanian and Hungarian authorities, so that the restoration of order was made extraordinarily difficult.

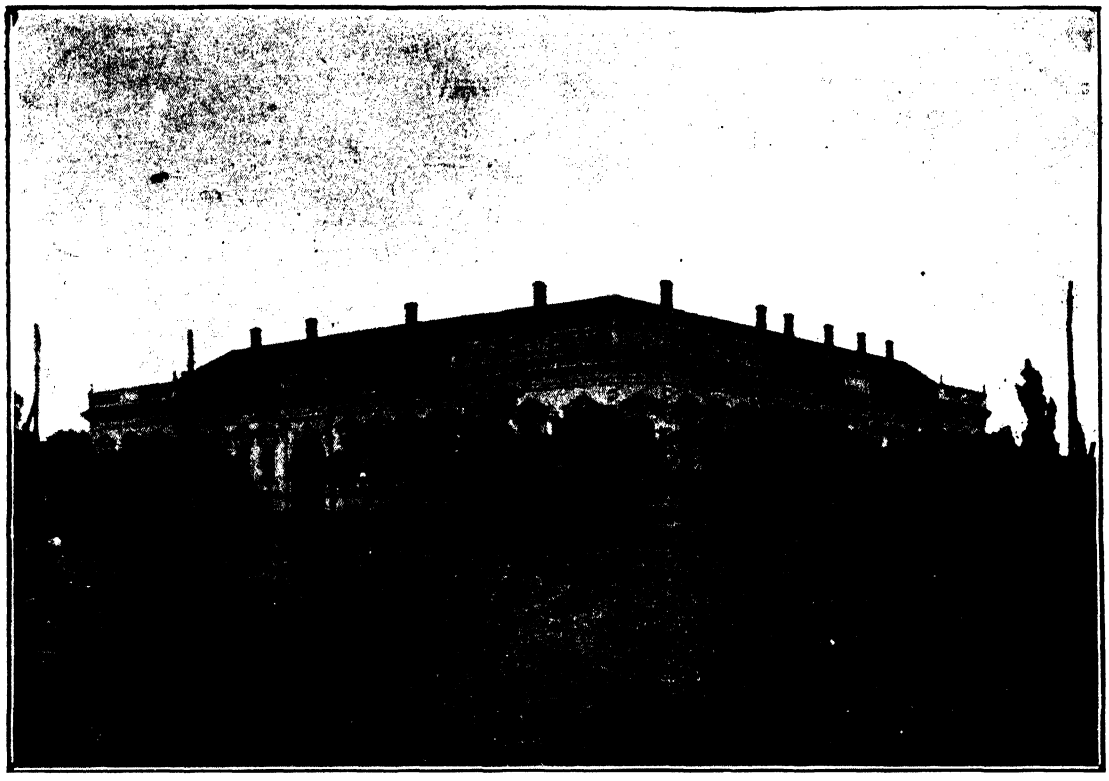
Many secret forces were at work to obtain the control of Budapest, the key both of the Middle Danube and of Central Europe.

Together with their Czech, Serbian and Roumanian Allies, the French did all in their power to get the decision of Febr. 26th accepted; and fearing that the Budapest government would take its stand on a demand for a restitutio in integrum, they transferred the powers of government, on April 9, to Dezső Ábrahám in Szeged, hoping by this to set the Szeged and the Budapest governments against each other. — With the withdrawal of the French embargo, Admiral Horthy, on the morning of the following day, moved forward with his troops towards Pannonia. When he entered Szekszárd (Aug. 14.), however, he had already been recognised by the Archduke Joseph (Aug. 12.) as commander-in-chief. — Thus the French hopes were blasted.

The Roumanians were now driven into feverish activity. Diamandi was sent to Budapest to work for a personal Hungarian-Roumanian union. The scandalous looting and destruction, however, of which the Roumanian army was guilty, made any rapprochement impossible and Diamandi had to return home convinced that his plans were hopless.

The arrival of English, French, American and Italian generals to take the place of Vyx, clearly showed the procrastination there had been in looking into Hungarian affairs, in having sent only a lieutenant-colonel and entrusted their ordering to the Czech, Roumanian and Serbian governments. The new-comers concerned themselves simply with the securing of peace and order, though they received no instructions to recognise the Friedrich government appointed by the Archduke Joseph.

The task of rebuilding the national life and reorganising the administration in a plundered land still occupied by its plunderers, was too much for Friedrich and his followers. The Versailles Council, whose information on the whole subject came from interested sources, sent Sir George



Gyoma. Village Hall.

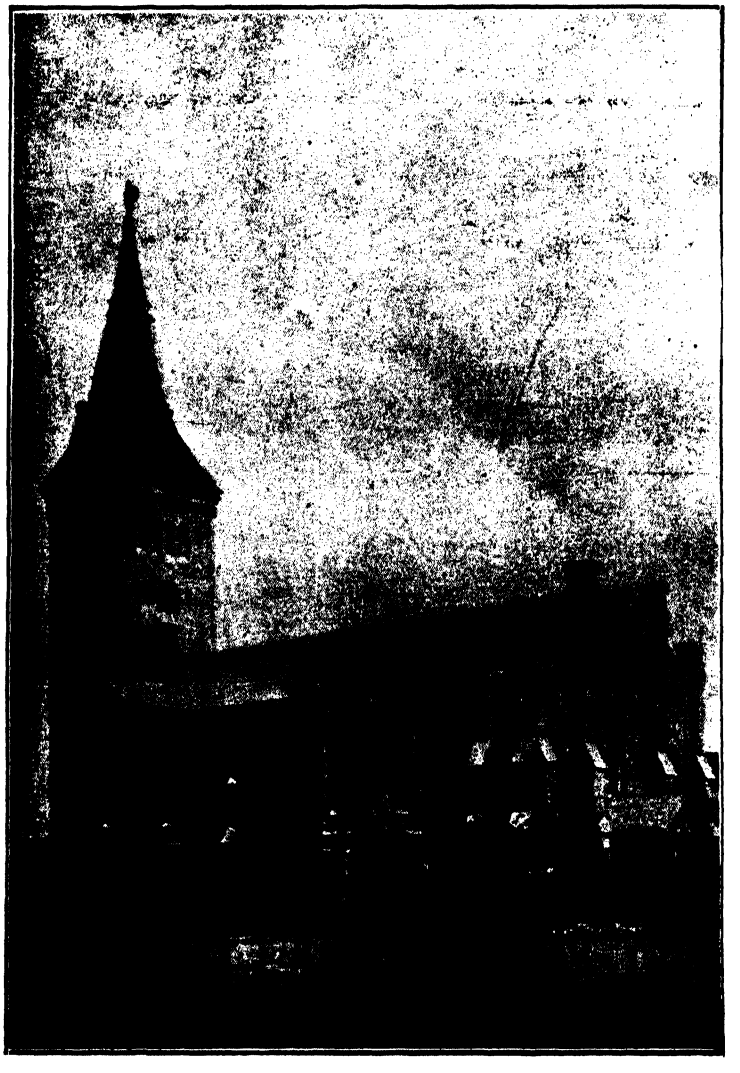
Clerk to Budapest. He was an English diplomat, formerly a chief of a department in the Foreign Office, and during the War, he had been in constant touch with Seton Watson and Masaryk. Clerk came to Budapest with his appointment as minister plenipotentiary to Prague in his pocket, commissioned to persuade political circles in Budapest to renounce a nationalist policy. His mission met with success. On Aug. 24, the Archduke Joseph resigned and Charles Huszár took the place vacated by Friedrich. The Socialists were admitted into the new coalition cabinet, because the conquering powers hoped that their presence would guarantee the acceptance of a one-sided peace. On Nov. 14, the Roumanians left Budapest which was occupied on the 16th, by Admiral Horthy and his national army. On the 22nd, the coalition government was constituted and on the 23rd, it was recognised by Clerk and the governments of the greater and lesser powers, with the condition that it should rest upon a majority in a Parliament elected through the ballot box in a General Election. Thereupon Clerk departed and the new government accepted the invitation to the Peace Conference, where it was expected to accept tamely the conditions laid down. In the Huszár government, Ödön Beniczky of the Popular Party was Home Minister; Count Joseph Somssich, Foreign Minister; Stephen Bárczy, Minister of Justice; Stephen Haller, Minister of Education; Julius Rubinek, Minister of Agriculture; Francis Heinrich, Minister of Commerce; Baron Friedrich Korányi, Finance Minister; Stephen Friedrich, Minister of War; the Socialist, Charles Peyer, Minister of Public Welfare; Stephen Szabó of Nagyatád, Food Controller. Two new ministries were formed: the one, of Land Reform, at the head of which was another Stephen Szabó, of Sokorópátka; the other, of National Minorities, under James Bleyer, a University Professor of German origin.

In his speeches and writings, Benes, the Czech Foreign Minister, confessed himself satisfied that the national movement, with its watchword of the restoration of Historic Hungary, had been broken up, and claimed this as a success for his political activities.

IX.

Hungary was thus left isolated as a mere fragment incapable of life. Ever since the Military Convention of Belgrade, the Hungarian administration had been steadily constricted to extend over a smaller and smaller area. When the bad news arrived that the conquering powers intended to make over the territories occupied by armed forces to foreign states, a Land Defence, or Integrity League was formed for the advocacy of the Hungarians' right to retain the possession of their own ancient fatherland.

Forigners had already squatted upon twothirds of the territory of old Hungary. They had seized this land, not in time of war, but after the war; and they had wrested it, not from an army, but from an unarmed population. None of it had yet been adjudged to them, but they were already in effective possession of more of it than they ultimately obtained (the Transylvania-Tisza area, Baranya, Baja etc.). In the counties which did remain, thousands of refugees were crowded together and famine was imminent. Neither food nor medicine was allowed to pass through the strict blockade. Still the nation would not die. Overthrown, it rose again, Antaeus-like, with new strength, only to have its government rejected and to find itself forbidden to elect a Parliament representative of the whole Kingdom. The will of the conquering powers obliged it to surrender its historic state form, and to become a republic under the control of an international gendarmerie, by which the



Hajdu-böszörmény. *Reformed Church.*

power of an extreme democratic government was to be secured. If anyone could gather together the official and propaganda material of those days, he could present a staggering picture of the state of anarchy into which the doomed Kingdom was driven.

When the broken nation came to itself, however, it took its stand for a continuation of its historic monarchy; whereupon the Socialists, on the 15th Jan., 1920, left the Government, thus opening the way for a movement which they had not the power nor, indeed, much inclination to oppose. They took no part in the election of January, so that the 135 seats were divided

Hosszupályi. Notary's House.

betwein the Christian National Union and the Small Landowner Parties, 76 falling to the former and 49 to the latter. Parliament, or, rather, the National Convention, for it consisted of one house only, met on the 16th of February and on March 1, it elected Admiral Nicholas Horthy, by 131 votes out of 141, to be Governor. Of the measures passed relative to the state of transition, the first dealt with the restoration of constitutionalism and the temporary regulations governing the powers of the Head of the State.

This National Convention abolished the post of Minister Attendant upon the King's Person and created the Hungarian Foreign Ministry. It repealed the Act XII. of 1867, dealing with the union with Austria, together with all the acts of the Republic and the Soviet. It reorganised the national army and defined the scope of the Governor's powers.

Hungary's enemies now built their hopes upon Paris. The government appointed a Peace Delegation on Dec. 20, 1919, with Count Albert Apponyi at its head and including Counts Stephen Bethlen and Paul Teleki. The Delegation did not wait for the peace conditions to be communicated to it. On Jan. 15, 1920, it presented a note demanding that a plebiscite should be taken in the occupied territories, and that the occupying troops should be withdrawn from those territories already definitely promised to Hungary. It also demanded compensation for the damage caused by those troops and ended with a request for the repatriation of the prisoners of war interned in Russia. In the peace conditions actually laid down, on the other hand, the conquering powers, instead of granting a plebiscite, demanded the acceptance of the terms imposed on the 26th of Febr., 1919.

On the next day, the Supreme Council, as a special act of grace, allowed Count Apponyi to express his point of view; and this was the only opportunity

Hosszupályi. Reformed Church.

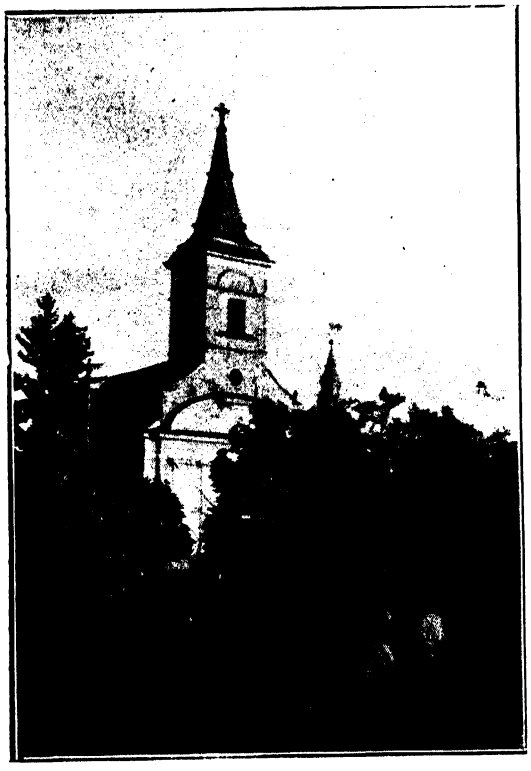
which was given to anyone state the case for the conquered powers. The French sought to counterbalance the effect of this speech, by making a military convention with Serbia directed against Italy which was wavering and whose Prime Minister, M. Nitti, as a matter of fact, later demanded a revision of the Peace Treaty. Not content with this, they strengthened the bonds which bound them to the Czechs and Roumanians and even succeeded in dragging Austria, through its Socialst Chancellor, the Moravian born Renner, into the ranks of France's satellites, by offering it Western Hungary. And so, instead of the alliance of greater powers which, as a result of the dissatisfaction felt by Italy, was on the way to disruption, there arose at the beginning of 1920, an alliance of states, neighbours to Hungary, based upon the division and partition of Hungarian territory. Ths alliance became responsible for a military and economic blockade of Hungary in which Austria also took a part.

In February, the Hungarian peace delegation tendered a note to the Conference, and indicated that Hungary was ready to promise Austria a plebiscite on the Western Hungary question.

Renner, the Chancellor, however, stated in the Austrian Chamber on Febr. 9, that Austria rejected the offer, confirming this in writing on the 20th. With this, it became clear that he intended to cleave to the Franco-Slav combination. The reason for his determination to do this is, perhaps, to be found in the circumstance that Western Hungary was originally regarded as a continuation of the Upper Hungary Russian-Czech corridor, but, as such, had been rejected by the Paris Conference, France alone continuing to support idea; and apprehensive of a Hungary which should have recovered its former strength, they promised the strip of territory which formed a strategical line of communications with the Adriatic, to Austria. Renner's protest, then, indicated that he was ready to accept suggestions only from the Czech side.

Similarly, on the 6th of May, the Supreme Council also rejected the note of the Hungarian peace delegation. Millerand, the French President, however, attached a letter to the Concil's reply, the famous Millerand Letter, in which, though he asserted that the fait accompli of an armed occupation outweighed the rights of a thousand years' possession, he still promised that the Boundaries Commission should be

empowered to make suggestions for the remedying of any possible injustices that there might be, and that the Supreme Council should take cognisance of anything they had to say. With this, a golden bridge was built to the signing of the Peace Treaty, though the governments most interested in the division of the spoil were slow to believe that and on the onehand, made lavish promises, while on the other, they increased their military strength and stiffened the blockade. It was at this time that the Transylvania-Tisza district was evacuated by their forces (Febr.-March). The



Hosszupályi. Roman Catholic Church.

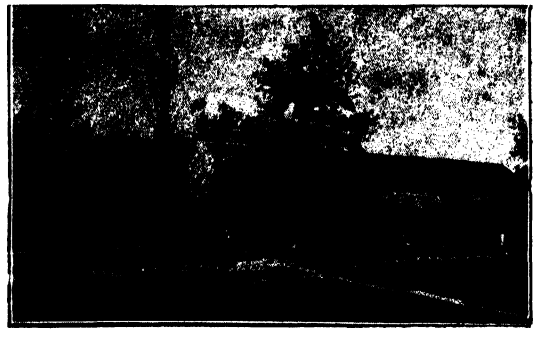
concessions made, in any case, indicated the success of Apponyi's intervention. On May 20, when he dismissed the peace delegation and himself resigned from the chair, he referred the government to the military and economic concessions and the concrete promises contained in the Millerand Letter and advised them to sign the Treaty. Thereupon Augustine Benard, the Minister of Public Welfare, and Alfred Drasche Lázár, as Minister Plenipotentiary, signed the Peace Treaty at 4 o' clock in the afternoon of June 4., 1920, in the old palace of Trianon, adding one more to the many

Istvándi. Part of the Village.

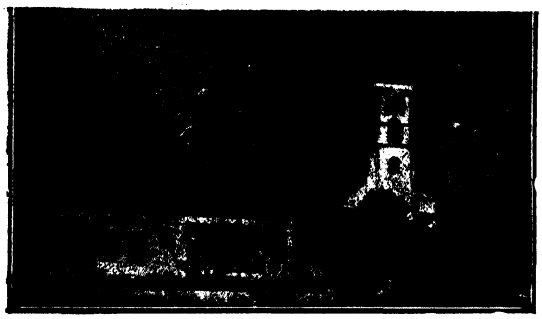
scandals which have made that spot notorious in history.

The signing of the Peace Treaty was a heavy blow; although from the point of view of practical politics, it did put an end to a series of bewildering complications and did indicate that the independence of Hungary, at least, was saved. New clouds, however, gathered to threaten this independence.

The first attack came from the side of the Austrian Socialists, who completed the ring of blockade by closing the Austrian frontier also to Hungary. It is not clear what was behind this boycott. Nominally, it was directed by the Amsterdam International Syndicalist Federation, but really, it was a political boycott with concealed political ends. — It began two weeks after the signing of the Peace Treaty (June 20.) and when it collapsed on Aug 7, having done no good to anybody, the Wiener Arbeiter Zeitung, in its morning edition, gave rise to a rumour which alleged that Hungary was arming herself secretly. Thereupon Benes immediately set out for Belgrade where he succeeded in signing an alliance with Niutschitsch, the Serbian Foreign Minister, on the 14th of the same month. The point of this alliance was di-



Istvándi. Reformed School.



Istvándi Reformed Church.

rected against Hungary supposed to be „arming herself in secret".

But while these hostile measures were being taken, the work of consolidation went on. The governments of the „Christian Bloc", i. e. those of Charles Huszár and Alexander Simonyi-Semadam, were unable to get sufficient public support; and so at the beginning of July 1920, the Governor called upon Count Stephen Bethlen to take what steps he thought fit to resolve the crisis. Bethlen's idea was the formation of a central united party which should be free from both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary entanglements and really be fit to govern. On July 13, he succeeded in realising this idea, by uniting the three largest parties, the Christian National Union Party, the Small Landowner's Party and the so called Dissidents, though each kept its own party organisation. After the formation of the „United Party", Count Paul Teleki formed a Government. One of its first tasks was to bring in, through its Minister of Agriculture, Stephen Szabó of Nagyatád, a bill for Land Reform.

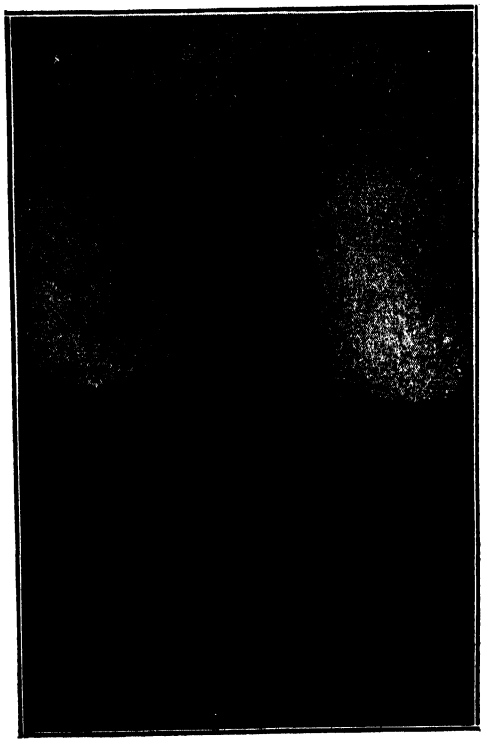
Teleki's first cabinet lasted only until Dec. 16, when several important changes were made in it. It was then that Loránd Hegedüs went to the Ministry of Finance. The new Finance Minister laid before the government proposals for a financial policy, by which he wanted to arrest the fall of the crown through introducing a new currency and imposing new taxes. He asked for a year's grace, during which time he hoped to be able to put his schemes into practice, thinking that the German and Russian questions would be settled by that time and the international situation, therefore, be more favourable for the financial reestablishment of Hungary.

On April 14, 1921, Count Bethlen succeeded Count Teleki as Prime Minister. Count Gedeon Ráday became Minister of the Interior and Count Nicholas Bánffy Foreign Minister. Loránd Hegedüs remained Minister of Finance and introduced his budget on June 21, in which he contemplated a deficit of 6468 milliárd paper crowns, the common currency of the time.

The hostile movement against Hungary developed as follows:

On Dec. 23, 1920, the Council of Ambassadors adjudged Western Hungary to Austria. On June 2, 1921, the Austrian government was informed of this and Mayer, the Chancellor, announced in the Chamber that both the Czech and Serbian governments had promised Austria military support in taking possession of the new territory.

In this connection, Benes declared war on the institution of kingship which was struggling towards recovery after having been sorely tried, and in a speech on the 27th of January, he declared that should King Karl return, he would regard that as a casus belli. On the 26th of March,



Járdánháza. King Béla IV. Memorial Chapel.

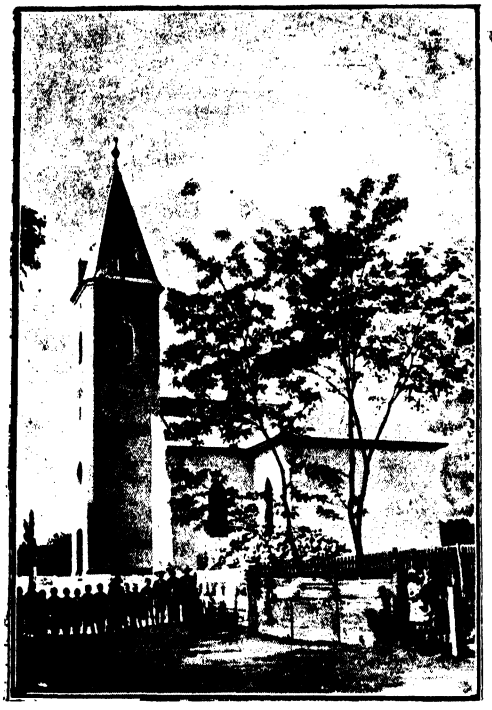
when Count Teleki was still Prime Minister, King Karl did unexpectedly arrive in Szombathely whence he came to Budapest on the 27th. He was unrecognised and made his way to the Governor who pre-

vailed upon him to go back, in view of the situation in which Hungary was placed. This unexpected visit led to serious complications, since it reminded the enemies of the Habsburg Empire that they might have to reckon with a restoration which would threaten the safety of the booty they had won at the Peace Conference.

As a result of this visit, the Roumanian government joined the Czech-Serbian alliance and thus Benes succeeded in creating what has been called the Little Entente. When Hainisch, the Austrian President, met Masaryk, the President of Czech-Slovakia, at Hallstadt, the promise of armed support in taking possession of Western Hungary, which the Czech government made to Austria, was renewed; and on Sept 13, the Czech government actually sent a note to Budapest demanding that Western Hungary should be handed over. The Hungarian government took the view that this intervention on part of the Czechs was unwarranted. Through Italian mediation, they made an agreement with Austria directly and handed over Western Hungary, with the exception of Sopron, on Oct. 11. In Sopron a plebiscite was held which may be regarded as an important precedent, in view of the fact that no plebescite was held over those Hungarian territories which were handed over to neighbouring states. As the result of this plebescite, held on the 14th of Dec., 1921, 15,343 votes were cast for Hungary and 8227 for Austria, so that on Jan. 1, 1922, Sopron and the surrounding country was definetely recognised as Hungarian. The fidelity of the town received public recognition in Parliament by which the town was empowered to use the motto, „Civitas Fidelissima", on its coat of arms. This success further augmented the prestige won by the special peace made between Hungary and the United States of America on August 19, 1921, in which no mention was made of the Trianon boundary, thus indicating that it was not regarded as final.

Kaba. Reformed Church shelled by the Roumanians when they entered Hungary in 1919.

There was nothing specially strained about the situation when Count Stephen Bethlen, who had been since April the Prime Minister of Hungary, on Oct. 21, in a speech at Pécs, in referring to the defeated tactics of the Czech diplomats, declared that the question of the monarchy was one to be settled only when every factor, including the person of the King himself, could be seen in its proper light. Neither audience nor speaker suspected that on the very same day, King Karl, accompanied by his Queen, had arrived in Sopron. There, on the morning of the 22nd, he assumed the royal prerogative and appointed a government with Stephen Rakovszky at its head; Count Julius Andrássy, Foreign Minister; Gustav Gratz, Minister of Finance; and Colonel Lehár, Minister of War. At the same time, Major Ostenburg,



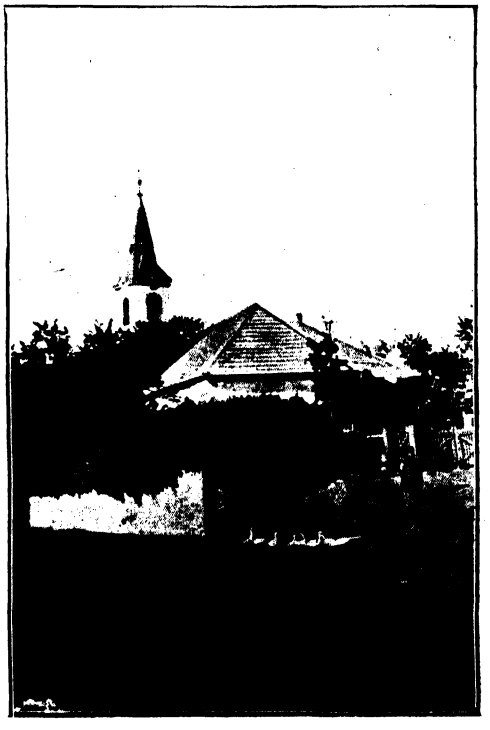
Kenézlő. Reformed Church.

who was promoted Colonel for the occasion, advanced towards Budapest at the head of a force which had been mobilised in the Sopron area.

The representatives of the Powers in Budapest immediately protested against the arrival of the King. (Oct. 22.) Masaryk, indeed, ordered a general mobilisation. On the 23rd, Benes demanded the complete disarmament of Hungary, a settlement of the Habsburg question once and for all, and the annulment of the Venice Agreement. In the fight at Budaörs, in the afternoon of the 23rd, the government forces succeeded in preventing Karl's men from entering the capital and the King, himself, was arrested on the following day. He was imprisoned first in Tata Castle, whence he was sent to Tihany Monastery, on the 26th of October, there to await the decision of the Powers. The greater Powers showed unusual energy in their dealings not only with the unfortunate monarch, but also with the Little Entente which had risen against him. As early as the 26th, they made it quite clear that they were going to handle this affair themselves, and that any interference of the Little Entente in it was as little warranted as it would be welcome. The effect of this was immediate. Benes hastened to let it be known that he accepted the Venice Agreement and he even offered his services to persuade Serbia to stop mobilisation (October 30.). It was really a very serious situation which turned to a tragedy, the shadow of which fell upon the nation's spirit like a cloud. On All Saints Day, November 1, the royal couple, in accordance with the instructions of the Powers, were handed over to the Commander of the H. M. S. „Glowworm", a British monitor serving on the Danube, on board which they were taken to the Black Sea. From there a cruiser took them to Funchal, on Madeira, where King Karl died on the 1st, of April, 1922.

XI.

It was with a heavy heart that the Hungarian government had to agree to the deportation and dethronement of the King. The XLVII. Act, 1921, annulled the sovereign rights of Karl IV. and the hereditary rights of the House of Habsburg, which thus meant the end of the Pragmatic Sanction of 1723. At the same time, the form of the monarchy was preserved and the filling of the vacant throne simply regarded as postponed. The Legitimists, however, re-



Kenézlő, Greeh Catholic Church.

Kisdorog. Roman Catholic Church.

fused to recognise the right of a National Convention, such as was sitting at that time, to pass any such law as this. According to them, the Pragmatic Sanction is still completely valid and the throne by right, therefore, already filled.

The course of events had steadily led to the complete isolation and economic ruin of Hungary. The attempts of Hegedüs, the Finance Minister, to save the currency failed. Thereupon the government determined to end the political isolation by entering the League of Nations.

Austria was also, as well as Hungary, on the brink of bankruptcy. The Czech crown so dominated them both that the old imperialism was almost restored on an economic basis. In the autumn of 1922, Hungary was trying to raise a loan; and when to this end she addressed a petition to the League of Nations, on the 18th Sept. 1923, her petition was granted unanimously.

Next day, the agreement for the loan was signed, by which Austria was to receive 520 million gold francs from the League, on the condition that the League should have the supervision of her finances, a supervision in which Czecho-Slovakia had also an important share.

The trouble stirred up during the days preceding and accompanying the discus-

Kisdorog. R. C. School.

sions for the Hungarian Loan, had no important bearing upon events. Thus, while the monarchy question was raised (Geneva, 2nd October 1923), the Powers were annoyed at the way in which Hungary's neighbours dragged it in, after and even in spite of the steps which had been taken by them to settle it. — When the French began their advance into the Ruhr on the 11th of January 1923, the Roumanian government, in consequence of an alleged frontier incident, ordered a mobilisation and began an invasion of the trans-Tisza district of Hungary. The International Supervisory Delegation, however, sent to examine the situation, soon perceived that while considerable forces were posted on the Roumanian side of the frontier, on the Hungarian side there were scarcely even frontier guards.

In the agreement for a loan, made with the League in the Autumn of 1923, no rights of supervision by neighbouring states were mentioned and thus no new prop for the Trianon Treaty was set up.

After the long struggle, the concrete successes won by the Bethlen government strenghtened its position and apart from minor changes, it remained as it was from 1921 onwards. Among the changes that did take place in it, we may mention the following: in place of Belicskat, on 30. June 1923, Count Csáky became Minister for

Kisdorog. R. C. Parsonage.

Kiskőrös. Home of Alexander Petőfi.

War; in place of Kállay, first, in February 1924, Baron Korányi and then, on 15th. November, John Bud became Finance Minister; on 6 October 1924, Count Somssich succeeded Daruváry in the Foreign Office, to be succeeded in turn, first by Tibor Scitovszky and then by Walko; Stephen Szabó's office was filled by John Mayer, in October 1924; Rakovszky was followed in the Home Office by Béla Scitovszky, 15 October 1926, whereupon Tibor Zsitvay succeeded the latter as Speaker; Professor Miksa Herrmann became Minister of Commerce in succession to Walko. — During the time of currency reform, Jeremiah Smith, an American banker, exercised the financial supervision, on behalf of the League of Nations, which came to an end on 30th June 1926, and the pengő displaced the crown which had been stabilised at a low level. — The National Convention finished its work with the passing into law of the 1926 XXII. Act defining the constitution of the Upper House. — This act re-established the Upper House in such a way that, in addition to the representatives of the aristocracy whose birth entitled them to representation, this house was to consist also of representatives of the church, the law and the higher civil services. — After this, the National Convention was dissolved on November 16th.

In the elections which followed, the Government party won 208 seats and the Opposition 37. — The new Parliament was opened by the Governor on 29th January, 1927. The Speaker was Tibor Zsitvay. — The Upper House elected Baron Gyula Wlassics to be its President.

Thus it was that Hungary, by a policy of passive resistance won definite successes and made possible what, in view of the forces behind the Peace Treaty seemed almost hopless, — survival. More than that; in view of its situation, historic energy and reserves of culture, it may even be hoped that Dismembered Hungary has still an important part to play in the future politics of Central Europe.

The technical and social advantages attendant upon membership of the League of Nations, have not brought with them proportionate advantages politically, but the weakness of the League on the political side has been demonstrated generally and not only in connection with Hungary. — Hungary complained with justice that whereas the Millerand Letter promised her an improved frontier, the Boundaries Commission received secret instructions to keep to the letter of the Peace Treaty. — Even worse than this in the eyes of the Hungarian public, has been the one-sided way in which the Minorities Question has

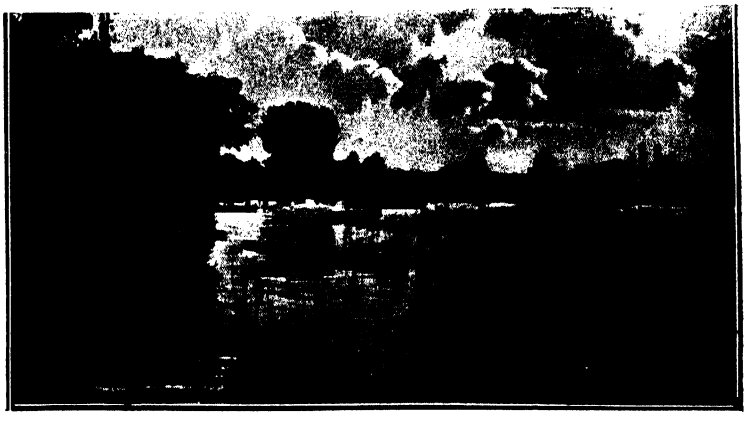
been handled; and the League is freely charged with acting in the interests of the annexing powers, without giving the just complaints of the minorites involved a hearing. But worst of all has been the absolute futility of the League in dealing with the question of disarmament, which has been so mishandled that the League, contrary to its announced purpose, instead of establishing peace, has really perpetuated a state of war.

Kiskunhalas. Town Hall.

Thse are all serious weaknesses, but the Greater Powers and not only Hungary, are aware of them and are stirring to remove them. If the League of Nations does achieve success in dealing with these points, it will undoubtedly redound to the advantage of Hungary; but if it doesn't, then revision will be unavoidable.

Kiskunhalas. Reformed High School.

The ten years which followed the beginning of the Russian offensive were perhaps the most serious period in the thousand years of Hungary's history, recalling, as they do, the saddest days of Turkish and Austrian oppression: the best of her sons destroyed and so many who survived driven to live under a foreign dominion. Her independence has been won; but what an independence; broken and surrounded by enemies armed to the teeth, as she is. She threw away her means of defence and as a result, had to sign her acceptance of conditions imposed by a triumphant militarism, under penalty of losing even more than she had lost already. In the depths of humiliation one hope alone remains: peace can only be safely built upon the consent of reason and conscience, and when the nations of Europe come to feel the lack of this in the present state of affairs, it is to be hoped that they will leave the rough tracks of war for the broad highway of peace which leads to where the nations may bask in the sunshine of untroubled happiness; and among them, the Hungarian nation which, in the past, has suffered so much.



Kiskunhalas. Salt Lake.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF HUNGARY

BY

PROFESSOR **EUGENE CHOLNOKY** D. Sc.

AND

JOSEPH KISS DE KONDÓ Ph. D.

GEOGRAPHY OF HUNGARY.

INTRODUCTION.

The position of Hungary in Europe.

One of the most important factors governing the life of a country is that country's geographical situation. To reach some understanding, therefore, of the botany, zoology and anthropology of Hungary, we must first of all consider its position in Europe.

The divisions of Europe according to its configuration.

Properly speaking, Europe is not an independent continent, but rather part of the one great continental mass of Europe-Asia. Were a scientist of another planet to observe our Earth, he would certainly describe Europe and Asia as one continent. It is only by historic traditions that Europe is divided from Asia and Africa. This division has taken place, because between the cultured people of Europe and the Mediterrenean and those parts of Africa and Asia which are populated and have in part reached a high standard of civilisation, there stretches a great belt of thinly populated or totally unpopulated dry steppe and desert land, which has been a barrier making for the development of a European historical tradition independent of the history of Southern and Eastern Asia. It is only in Asia Minor that we find a bridge between the two separate worlds.

When we consider Europe according to its mountain systems, we can divide it into 3 clearly defined parts.

I. The Southern European Chain of Folded Mountains.

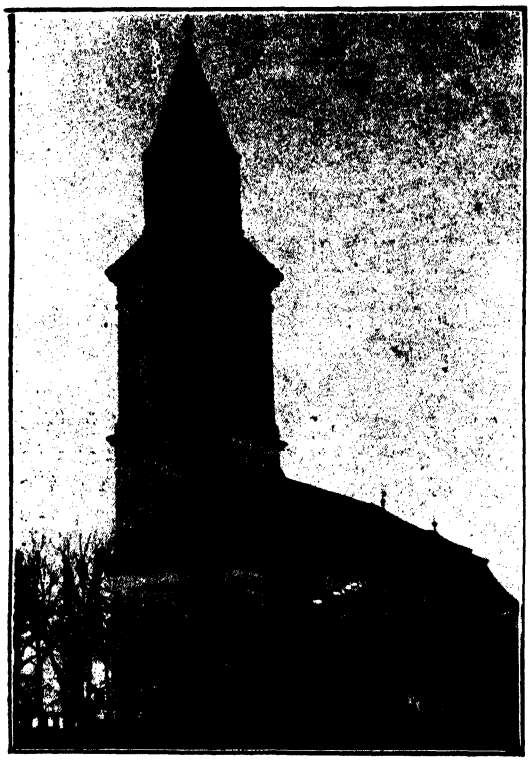
II. The North-Western European Fragmentary Mountains.

III. The Eastern European Plateau.

I. The Southern European folded mountains are of recent origin, still perhaps in process of formation. To these belong the Cantabrians, the Pyrenees, the Alps, the Apennines, the Dinaric Alps, the Carpathians, the Balkan Mountains, the Yayla Mountains and the Caucasus. The mountains of Spain and the Apeninnes link up with the Atlas Mountains, while the chain of the Dinaric Alps passes through the island of Crete and is continued in the Taurus Mountains of Asia Minor. The Caucasus, in turn, form the link between the folded mountains of Europe and the great folded mountain system of Central Asia.

The snowy peaks of these young folded mountains with their precipitous ridges encircle several small river basins and great old mountain masses in Southern Europe: the Spanish Mezeta, the Tyrrhenean Massif and the Balkan Massif. The basins, lying between the folded mountain chains and the mountain masses, have played a great role in the history of human civilisation. The Greek basins and the Central Italian basins in ancient times, the Spanish basins in mediavel times, when they were the home of Arab culture, and again the Central Italian basins in Renaissance times, have in turn been the chief emporiums of civilisation. In this modern age, which has seen the extraordinary development of the natural sciences and technical knowledge, such small areeas are not so well adapted as they were formerly to provide the natural home of progress in science and arts.

The great folded mountains of Southern Europe, however, still play an important part as barriers between peoples and nations; for even the most modern technical development of the means of communica-



Kismarja. Reformed Church.

tion has not been able altogether to overcome the natural obstacles which they offer to free intercourse and interrelations between peoples.

II. The Nort-Western European Fragmentary Mountains.

These were in ancient times high mountains, ultimately destroyed by erosion and then reelevated. We call these fragmentray mountains. There are four great divisions of these framentary mountains, belonging to the middle of the palaeozoic period.

The *Variscian* is the name given to that chain of mountains still to be identified in the fragments which remain of it, and which, beginning in the centre of France, extended through Central Germany into Hungary and thence to the south-east, perhaps including the Dobrudja. To this system belong the Central Plateau of France and the Ardennes, the Pala Hills, the Hills of Hesse, the Thüringer Wald, the Erzgebirge, the Sudeten in Germany and Bohemia, the Szepes Gömör Erzgebirge, the Sziget of Eastern Hungary and the Radnai Mountains.

The *Armorican* system beongs to the same period as the Variscian. In it are incuded the hills of Brittany, S. W. England, S. Wales and S. Ireland.

The *Caledonian* system had already reached its maximum development before the Carboniferous period. For that reason the coal strata are horizontal. To this system belong North Ireland, North England, Scotland and the Western coast of Norway.

Apart from these three ancient mountain groups, there were others still older, such as the great Fenno-Scandinavian block, the Vosges, the Black Mountains, the Southern parts of Bohemia and the so-called Czech-Massif.

Along the northern limits of the Variscian system lie the rich coalfields, the Franco-Belgian, the Ruhr, and the Silesian, but unfortunately, so far, these coal measures have not been discovered in Hungary.

III. The Great Table-land of Eastern Europe, stretches from the Eastern Carpathians to the Ural Mountains and the Caspian Sea, and from the Arctic to the Black Sea. Thin, horizontal strata have been laid down which have escaped all folding and faulting. We cannot include the North German plain with this table land, because we know that those same strata which lie perfectly undisturbed in the Eastern Europe plateau, are much broken up here.

Between these three main constitutive physical features of Europe eies Hungary. The ring of the Carpathians links it up with South Europe, the Variscian mountains with North-Western Europe, while the main body of the country lies into the European tableland like a great bay.

I. Divisions of Europe according to Climate.

The climatic divisions of Europe are almost identical with those made according to the physical configuration.

The three southern promontories have what is called a Mediterranean climate. The mean temperature is high enough for evergeens to flourish. Even palms grow in the open, though they do not flower nor bear fruit. The most characteristic plant is the olive, whose distribution is coterminus with this climatic area. The variation in temperature is in general moderate, in some parts, however, considerable. The

A Street in Kisvárda.

heaviest rainfall is in winter and more especially, during October and March.

In summer it comes under the influence of the Sahara and is very dry. Southern winds prevail in the autumn, ceasing first of all, in Italy, over the plains of the Po and last of all over Sicily. In the middle of winter the area of high pressure over Europe-Asia often extends to this part, and for that reason rain is often scarce in the autumn and early spring. In the winter the Mediterrenean area is affected by the westerly winds, so that the western slopes of the promontories receive more rain than the eastern slopes.

That is the reason why the largest rainfall in Hungary has been registered in the Croatian Carso. The rainfall is not sufficient in the Mediterrenean lands to supply the needs of forests. The hills are only covered by hardwood and evergreen shrubs such as are found in the so-called „maquis." The characteristic plants are the box-wood, the myrtle and rosemary etc.

II. The countries having an Oceanic climate are: Great Britain, France, Germany and Scandinavia. These lie under the influence of the westerly winds prevailing in the temperate zones. These winds pass over the warm Gulf Stream and being full of moisture, bring much rain to these areas. Rain falls throughout the year, though irregularly, according to the passage of cyclones. Because of this, variations in temperature are slight during the year, there being little difference between the mean temperature of January and of July. This is especially fatal to Ireland, for it means that the summer there is not warm enough for cereal crops to ripen. On the other hand, the winter is not cold, so that it is sometimes called the Evergreen Island. France and Germany have greater variations in temperature, with warm, pleasant summers, which make the most intensive agriculture possible.

III. *Eastern Europe* has a typically continental climate.

The seasonal variation of temperature is great, with maximum rainfall in summer and recognizable monsoon changes in summer and winter. Naturally the mean temperature is low in the North and high in the South; and the rainfall in general is small.

Hungary's situation lies within all the

three of these climatic divisions. Its climate can show the characteristic features of the three. In the West, we have a real Mediterranean climate, in the East, continental. Because of that, rain falls every month

Kisvárda. State High School.

without well-marked periods, so that the Oceanic type is represented also.

And so, from a climatic point of view, Hungary really is Central Europe.

From the botanical point of view, Hungary is again centrally situated in Europe. On the Great Plain and in the Transylvanian basin, we have the vegetation of the South-Russian steppes. In the Pannonian uplands and in the southern slopes of the lower hills, we have the vegetation of Mediterranean countries. The grape, the peach, the apricot, the almond, the fig are all cultivated. In the mountainous districts, we find the flora of North-Western Europe: the pine, the beach, the oak. On the northern shore of the Balaton, it is interesting to notice that, among the vineyards, where the fig tree covers the southern wall of the white wine-cellars, feathergrass and knapweed grow on the roof, and the ivy and the saxifrage climb up the northern wall. Thus we have in one spot characteristic representatives of the three types of flora.

From the *zoological* point of view we see the same meeting of three types. Even as early as Pleistocene times, this country occopied a central situation zoologically speaking.

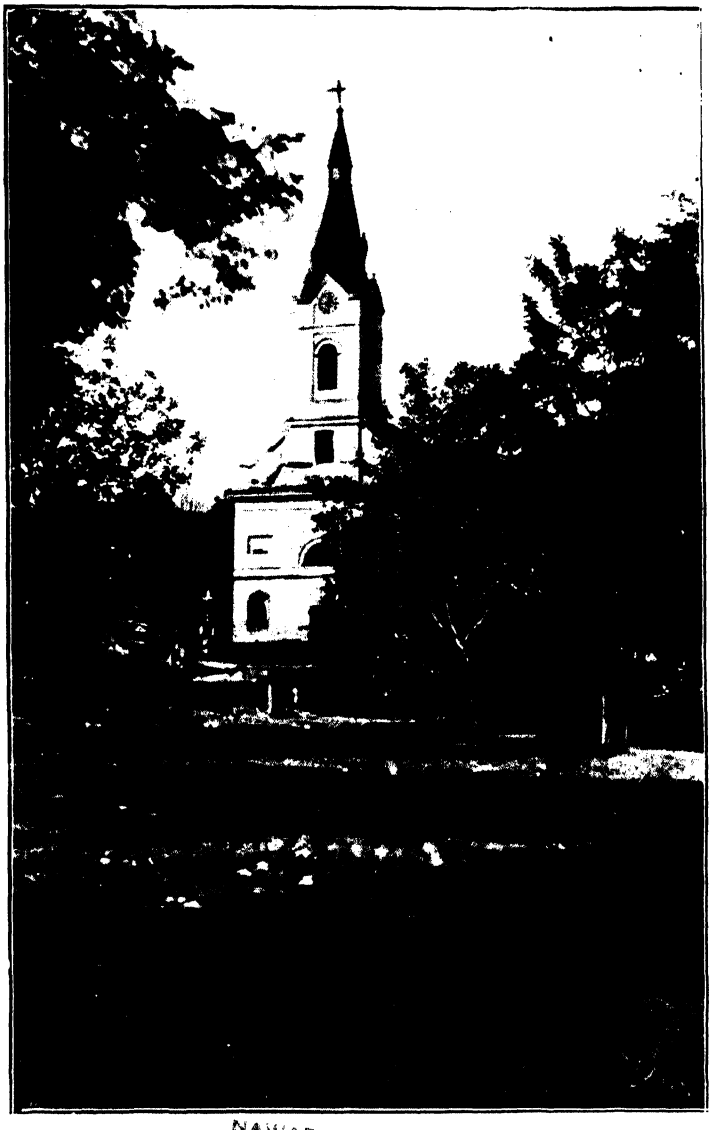
From the standpoint of *anthropology* also, Europe may be divided into three. The Mediterranean lands are inhabited by blackeyed, blackhaired, brownskinned people of middle height. There has been an unusually great mixture of races. In the north-west of Europe, the home of the German-Franks, the people are fairhaired and blueeyed. But again, there has been a great mixing. In the east of Europe dwell Slavonized Ural-Altaic people, having to some degree Mongolian characteristics and with fair hair inclining to be red. Hungary has been the meeting place of the three race groups, with the result that there is a great variety of human types. Most frequently we find the brownish-haired and brown-eyed type of man.

Hungary, indeed, in every respect is *Central* Europe and only Hungary is worthy of the name.

Because of its true Central European situation, its climate is unreliable and the success of crops uncertain. Again, because of its central situation, it is a real human divide, surrounded on all sides by unfriendly neighbours, without even free access to the sea as a mean of escape from their hostile pressure. Thus Hungary was always left to herself, or if she did league herself with any of her neighbours, there was always a big price to pay. She could not play these neighbours off one against the other, because when any conflicts did arise between them, it was Hungary's territory which became the seat of war as e. g. during the Turkish-Austrian struggles. And so Hungary stood alone; but as long as she was not attacked from within, betrayed by pretenders like Ulrich Cillei or seditious communists, like Michal Károlyi and others, she was always able to defend herself successfully.

Kisvárda. Ruins of Rákóczi Castle.

But though Hungary was strong and her kings able and powerful, she was never moved by imperialistic ambitions. The Kingdom of the Holy Crown of Saint Stephen guaranteed the peace and the development



Kokasd. *R. C. Church.*

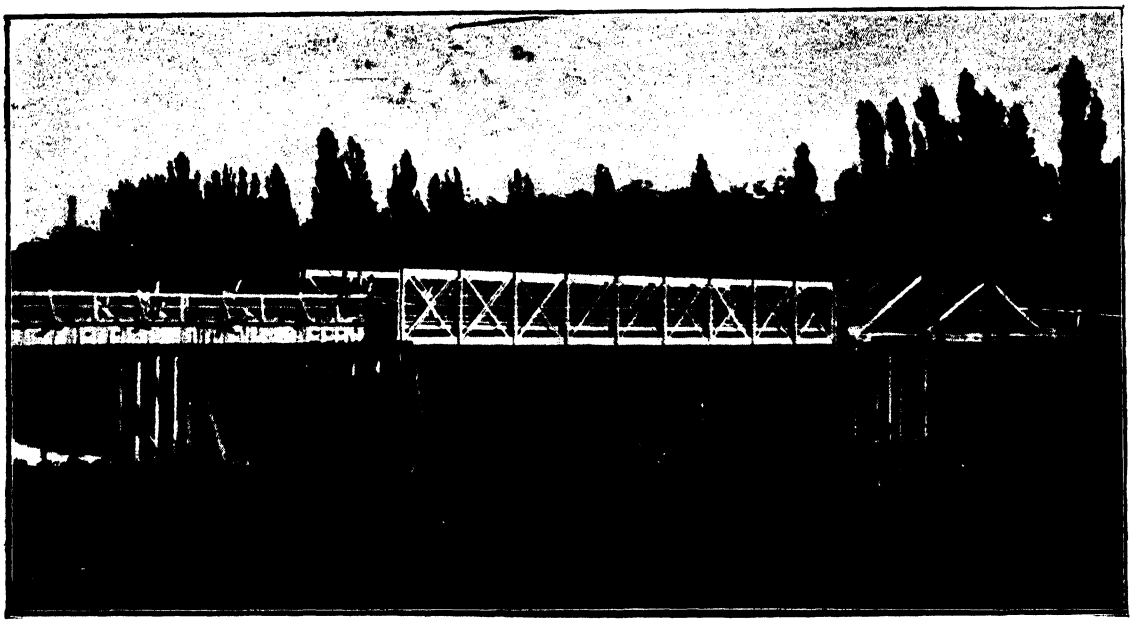
NAWAB SALAR JUNG

of Europe. She stood like a great barrier-reef upon which the successive waves of barbarian invaders broke and spent their force, leaving the nations of Europe to develope out of their smaller rivalries the characteristic civilisation of the West.

The Position of Hungary in Relation to the Surrounding States.

In this sketch of the geography of Hungary, we shall first of all devote certain sections to the description of Greater Hungary, the territory included in the old Kingdom of the Hungarian Holy Crown, the so-called Carpathian Basin; for this is a natural unity. Only afterwards shall we turn to consider „Mutilated" Hungary (Csonka-Magyarország), the relic for which the Trianon Treaty is responsible. In this way, the reader cannot fail to see what a compact organic whole was destroyed by the shears of Trianon. Reclus, the famous French geographer and one of the leading men of his time, once wrote: „Hungary possesses an extraordinary advantage in her geographical unity, for the Kingdom of Hungary is the most compact territory in all Europe. Whatever course development takes in the politics of Central Europe, it is certain that it will always have the most important role to play in that great arena sorrounded by the Carpathians."

And now, half a century after these



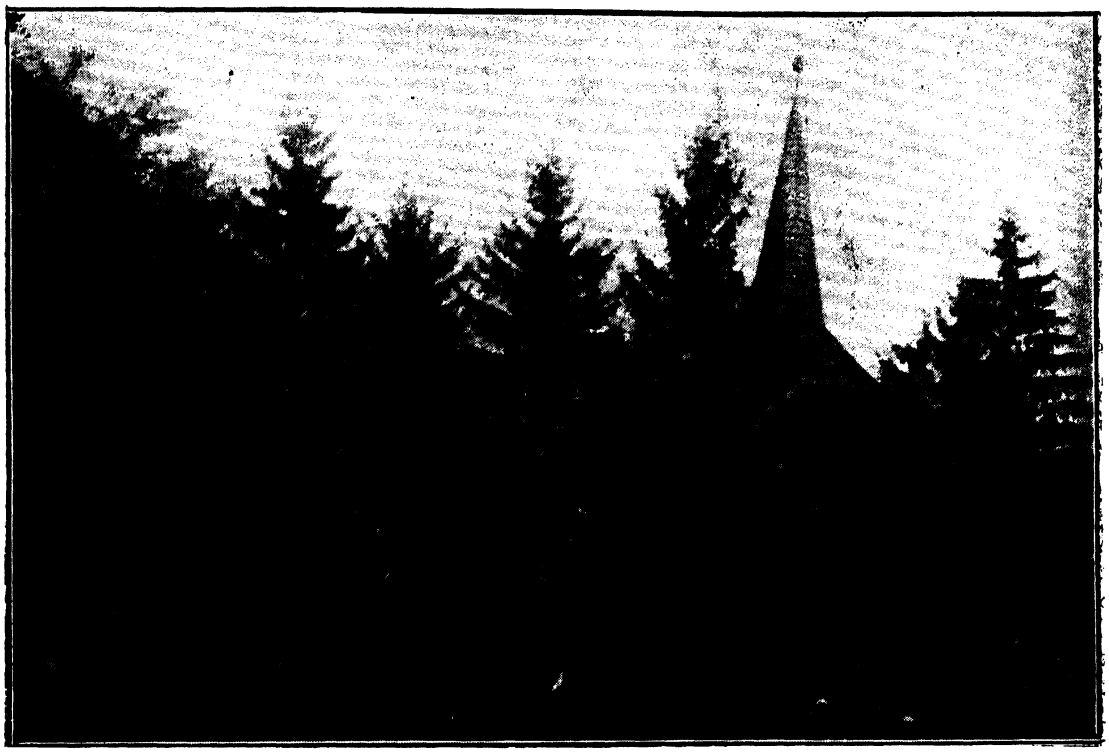
Komádi. Bridge over the Kőrös.

words were written, we see them mocked by the consequences of the Treaty of Trianon, which has thrown all things out of gear in this great thousand-year old kingdom.

As we have already seen, the most extraordinary physical feature in this part of the world is the great folded chain of the Carpathians, encircling a great basin drained by the Danube and the Tisza. This basin is divided into the Great Plain, (Nagy Alföld) the Little Plain (Kis Alföld) and the Transylvanian Basin. The polical boundaries of Old Hungary correspond with the natural boundaries of this geographical region almost exactly. It was only in the west that there was no natural barrier marking the political frontier, for there the boundary lay open towards the foothills of the Alps. As a consequence of this, Hungary's strategical position was an especially strong one, all the more so, because the ridges of the Carpathians, besides being lofty, were only sparsely inhabited along the line of the frontier. Again, where the boundary was most open, there was no reason to fear attack, since on the other side was Austrian territory. Finally, in the quarters from which there was most reason to fear attack, i. e. from Serbia and Roumania, the natural barriers were the most formidable.

The present boundaries, as defined by the Treaty of Trianon, are not worthy of the name, violating, as they do, every geographical principle. The frontier line was drawn in the interests of everybody but the Hungarians. It runs across open plains, over low hills, along little streams, dividing towns and villages into two, so as to deserve the description applied to it by Kjellen, the Swede, who called it a „firing-trench boundary". At the present time, Hungary is surrounded by four hostile states: Czechoslovakia, Roumania, Yugoslavia and Austria, all of which, except Austria, possess much more territory than Hungary.

Before the war, the Hungarian boundary was 4166 km. long. For more than four-fifths of its length, it coincided with the Carpathian chain, than which no better natural barrier could be imagined. For the rest, even where the frontier might have been styled artificial, there was always at least a small river to mark it. The present boundary is all artificial and even the little justifying river is conspicuous by its absence. The length of this new boundary is 1450 km, of which less than a quarter can be considered natural, and at that, the boundary is then formed only by a river. The weakest point of the whole frontier is precisely that nearest to the capital, where the Ipoly joins the Danube on the Czech frontier, 35 km. from Budapest. In



Kölcse. Reformed Church.

the whole of Europe, there is no other instance of the capital city of one state being brought so near to the frontier of another and an enemy state at that.

When the Carpathians formed the frontier, only 29 railway routes led out of the country; but now 46 railway lines and 107 main roads cross the Trianon line. This indicates that the new frontier runs through the most densely populated districts, where no dividing zone is nor can be, since the boundary line is drawn around the rim of the Great Plain, cutting clean across districts which are both economically and ethnographically one.

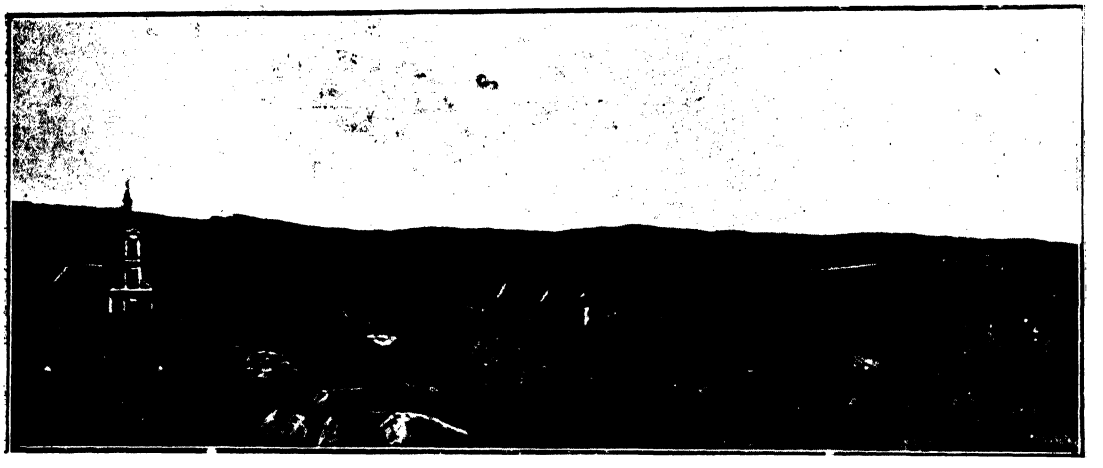
The Carpathian Basin, its Origin and Natural Features.

The chain of the Carpathians is built up of rocks of very different origin. Formerly, what is now Hungary was once a great inland sea, whose waters, in course of time, ate their way through the rim of the surrounding hills, where the district of the lower Danube now is, and by the gap thus made emptied themselves into the Black Sea. In consequence of this, only a few salt lakes were left to show where the great inland sea had been and in course of time, these were drained too. The land thus exposed was barren steppe, which, however, was gradually covered by deposits of pebbles and alluvium brought down from the higher lands by swift-flowing rivers. The winds also contributed something to the ultimate formation by leaving a thick deposit of fine yellow dust, brought from the deserts of the Ice Age — the loess. After a period of floods, the dry deposits left behind took the form of lines of sand dunes which even a century ago could easily be seen, though, since then, they have been obliterated by cultivation.

In a relatively short time, this area with its loose soil was much cut up by rivers and streams.

The hills in the basin and surrounding it were of different periods and all had their quota to add to the composition of the land forming the basin's floor.

The outermost ridges were those of the Carpathians, a young folded-mountain chain which had as yet suffered comparatively little by erosion. Rain falling on these hills was quickly drained off by rushing torrents which in time cut their way transversely



Kőröshegy.

into the main mountain mass, ultimately to form those cols used later for communication. These mountains are composed of various rock formations, limestone, sandstone and rocks of the harder varieties, such as granite. They include:

a) *The outer sandstone zone of the Carpathians:*

The Hungarian-Moravian Boundary Hills; the Western Beskidek; the Osna Mountains; the Balva Gora, the Carpathian Foreest; the Eastern Beskidek; the Bereczke and the Fogaras Mountains,

b) *The limestone ridge of the Carpathians:*

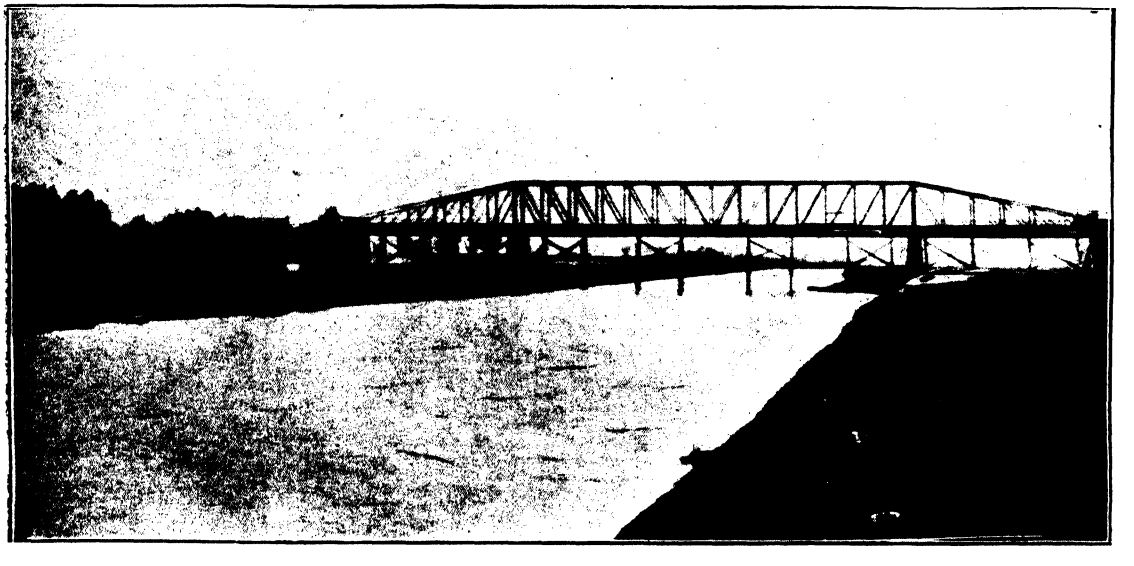
the White Mountains: the Piennines.

c) *The metamorphic zone:*

The Little Carpathians; the Little and the Great Fatra; the Low and the High Tátra; the Gyergyó and Csik Mountains.

The other mountain systems of Hungary have also been formed by folding; viz. the outermost spurs of the Eastern Alps, like the Carso, Capella and the Velebis.

The thin lithosphere of old geological times was much more frequently broken up, as a result of volcanic eruptions, than it is to-day. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that in the Hungarian basin volcanic movements were common, as the result of which, lava formations were added to the others which went to make up the



Kőrösladány. Bridge.

surface features of the country. Along the northern edge of the Alföld, in the Balaton discrict, and even in Transylvania, there were once many active volcanoes. To this volcanic action may be ultimately traced such mineral deposits of the country as gold, silver and copper. The volcanic tufa now forms also the most excellent wine-growing district in the country viz. Somló, Badacsony, and Tokaj. Among these erupted mountains are the following: the Hungarian Erzgerbirge, the Börzsöny, Cserhát, Mátra, Bukk, Eperjes and Tokaj Hills, the Vihorlát-Gutin line and some of the mountains of Transylvania, like the Borgo, the Kelemen and the Hargita Mountains.

This short sketch should be yet sufficient to show how important it was from an economic point of view, that so many different geological periods should have made their contributions to the formation of the Great Plain and its surrounding hills.

The general result was to form a self-sufficient economic unity, where nothing material which the earth supplies for the need of men was lacking. Thus we might say that, even in prehistoric times, the unity of Hungary was predestined; but, alas, the *Treaty of Trianon* had as little respect for prehistory as it had for history itself.

The territory covered by the above description and known as Greater Hungary, was 325.411 km² (125.641 squ. miles) in extent. Hungary as Trianon has left it has only 92.916 km² (55.874 squ. miles) and out of a population of 20,886.487, only 7.980.143 remains. The area covered by Czechoslovakia is 142.000 km² (54.826 sq. miles) with a population of 13,500.000; Roumania has 292.200 km² (112.818 sq. miles) with 16,200.000 inhabitants; Yugoslavia 249.000 km² (106.139 sq. miles) with 12.000.000 inhabitants; Austria, 84.000 km² (32.432 sq. miles) with 6,500.000 inhabitants. It was Roumania and Czechoslovakia which got most out of the old Hungary.

Kőrösladány. View with Church.

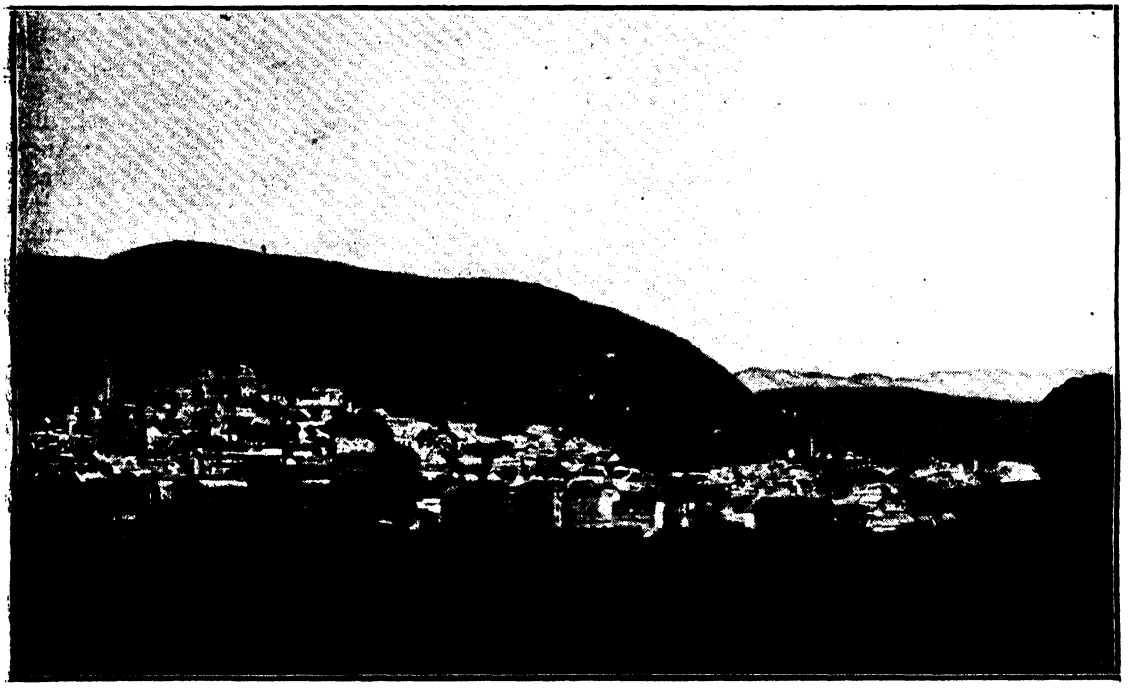
Kőrösszakáll. Church Square.

The Physiography of Greater Hungary.

The natural divisions of the country:

1. the two Plains (the Great and the Little),
2. the Transdanubian Uplands or Pannonia,
3. the North-Western Highlands,
4. the North-Eastern Highlands,

Körösszegapáti. Reformed Church.



Kőszeg. General View.

A Street in Kübekháza.

5. the South-Eastern Highlands, or Transylvania,

6. the Transdavian Uplands, together with Fiume and the Carso.

1. a; The *Great Plain* (Nagy Alföld) was the heart of the country. It is bounded to the south and the west by the Danube and to the north and east by the foothills of the Carpathians. It extends to cover one third of the old Hungary and measuring roughly about 100.000 km², it is the largest river basin in Europe. As has been mentioned already, it is of both marine and fluvial origin. Its surface is not completely flat, varying in height, as it does, from 10—130 m. above sea level.

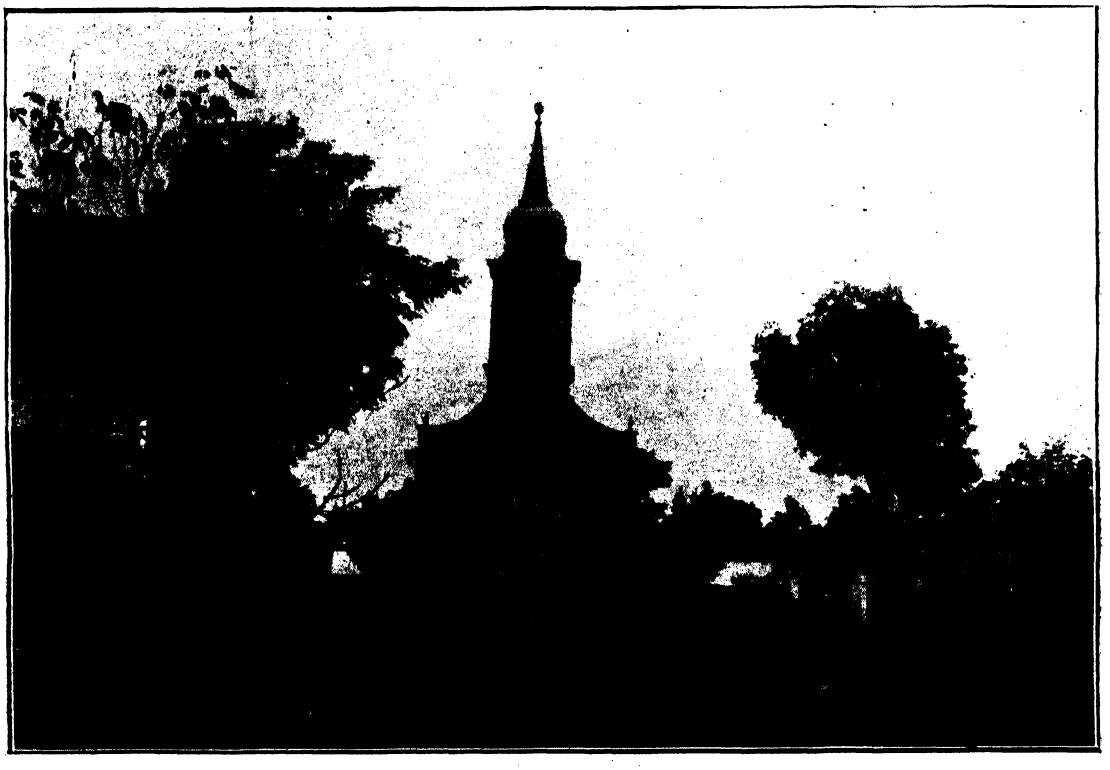
In certain parts it is desert or semi-desert; e. g. the sanddune country between the Danube and the Tisza down to the Francis Canal; the Deliblat area, between the Temes and the Danube, known as the Hungarian Sahara; and lastly, the Nyirség, in the upper course of the Tisza. On the other hand, the flood lands along the river are specially fertile: e. g. the Kiskunság along the Danube; the famous Bácska, south of the Francis Canal; the Bánát, between the Tisza and the Temes; the Jászság, along the Zagyva; the Nagykunság, south of that; the Nagy Sárrét, between the rivers Hortobágy and Berettyó. In certain parts, the level of the plain is broken by the so-called Cumanian Mounds which are of human origin, having been used in prehistoric times as burial places.

Madocsa. Reformed Church.

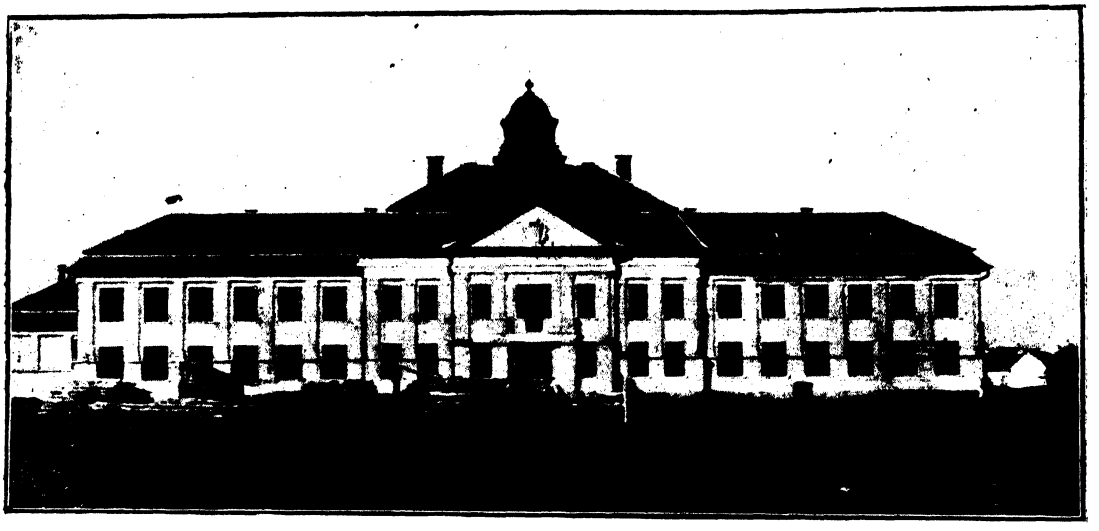
Madocsa Village and View of the Danube.

They are, in fact, great barrows. Much of it is sodaic land, covered in the spring time with water which, when it is dried off by the summer's heat, leaves a deposit of soda plainly visible on the surface. In recent years, they have begun to cultivate it and in some places they have made fish-ponds on it.

The Great Plain is crossed by comparatively few rivers. The Danube enters it in the neighbourhood of Vác as a broad and majestic stream flowing south, frequently splitting into two or more branches to include numerous islands, some of which are of considerable extent. Of these the most important are: St. Andrew's Island immediately north of Budapest; St. Margaret's Island, now used as a public park, in Budapest itself; Csepel Island, beginning immediately south of Budapest; and the



Magyarhomorog. Reformed Church.



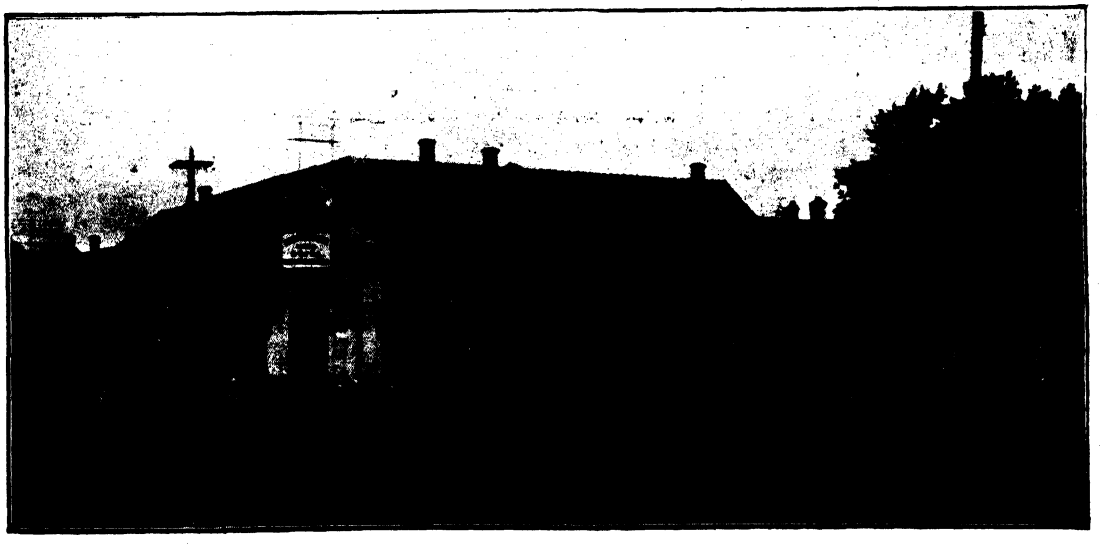
Marcali. State Secondary School.

Mohács Island, near the southern frontier of Hungary. The average depth of the Danube over its Hungarian course is 22—26 feet.

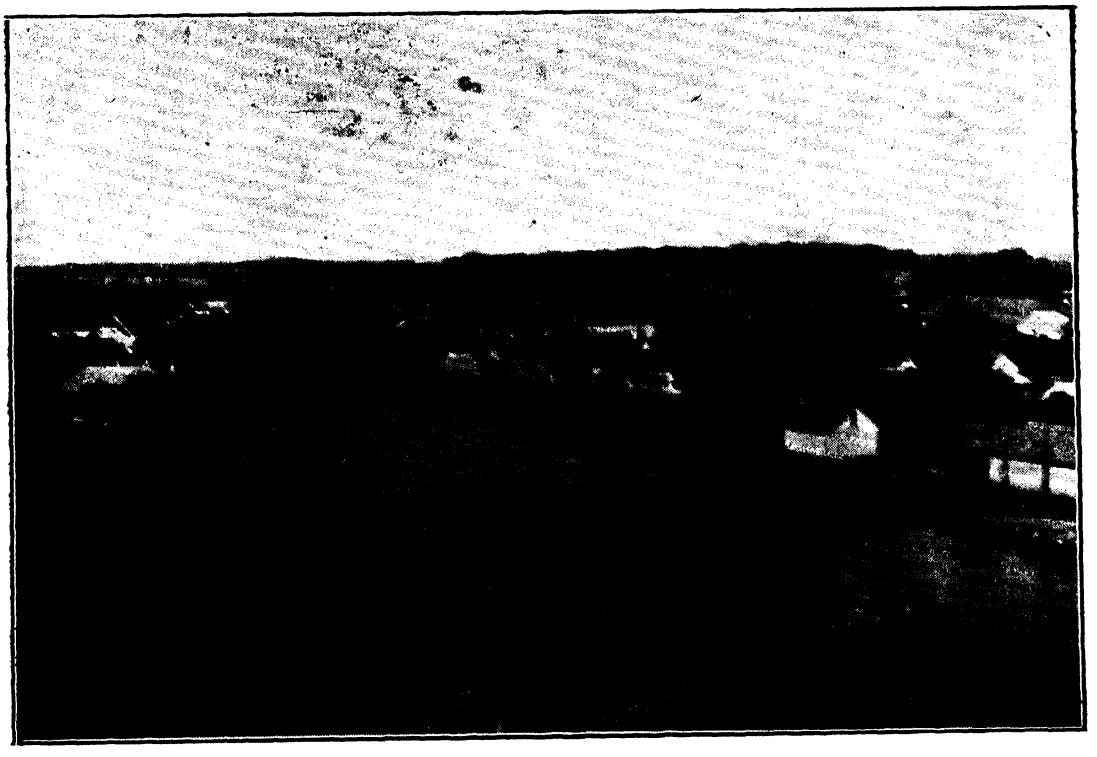
The Tisza is the typical river of the Great Plain and the largest in Hungary after the Danube. It flows right across the centre of the Alföld and enters the Danube at Titel. It is not so slow, neither does it encircle so many islands as the Danube; but its course is much more winding, and because of this, in former times, it caused frequent floods which covered large areas. It used frequently to leave its bed and change its course, leaving behind it a series of mortlakes. The regulation of this river was one of the great engineering schemes undertaken on the initiative of Count Stephen Széchenyi and carried out by the well-known Hungarian engineer, Paul Vásárhelyi.

No river rises on the Great Plain; the rivers which do cross it all rise in the mountains around. This fact is of some importance economically, but to that we shall return later.

The tributaries on the right bank of the Tisza are: the Laborca, Ung, Topolya, uniting to form the Bodrog, which enters the Tisza near Tokay; the Sajó, Hernád and



Street in Marcali.



Mándok. Part of the Village.

the Zagyva. Those on the left bank are: the Szamos, the Kraszna, the Triple Kőrös, into which flow the Ér, Berettyó and Hortobágy, and which enters the Tisza at Csongrád; the Maros, entering at Szeged; and lastly, the canalised Béga. Below its junction with the Tisza, the Danube receives no other tributaries from the Alföld, except the Temes.

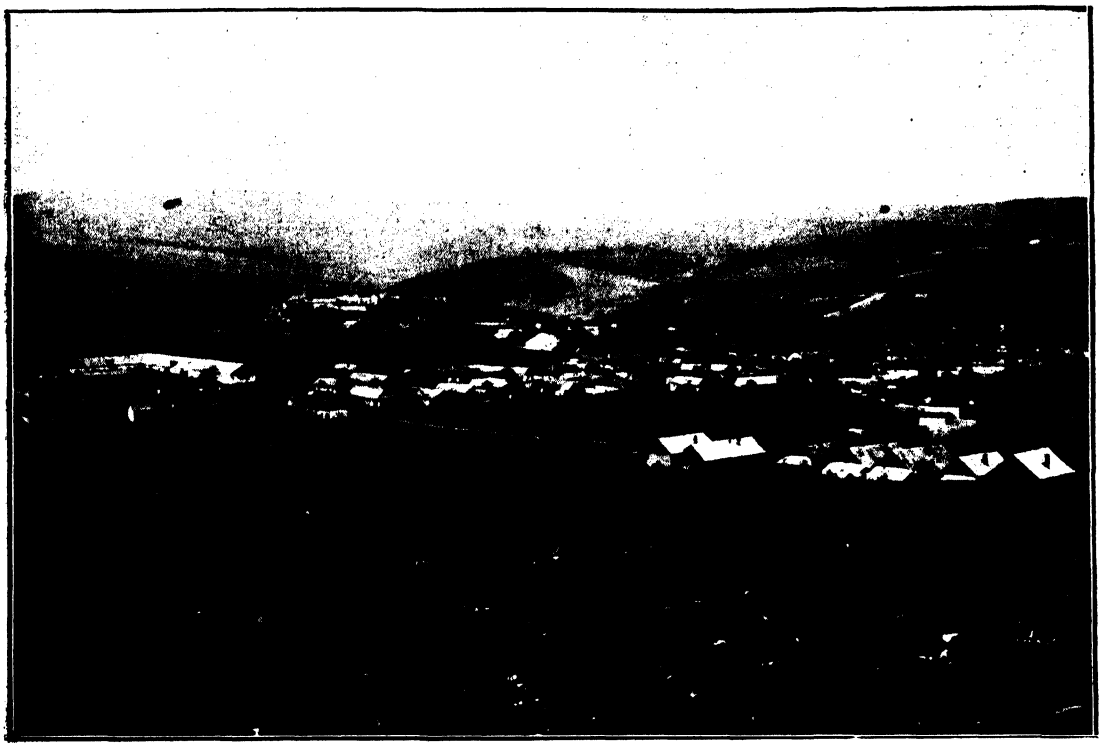
Though there were never many rivers on the Great Plain, there used to be much standing water, and much of its area was once covered by marshes and swamps. There were, e. g. the Szernye Swamp into which flowed the water of the Latorca and the Borzava; the famous Ecsedi Swamp fed by the Szamos and the Kraszna; the Alibunari Marshes in the Bánság, and several others. These have all been drained, but there is still a great amount of casual water and sodaic marshland, especially in the south part of the county of Pest and around Szeged.

It is in this part of the country that the largest Hungarian population is to be found, for it was a land peculiarly suitable to the tastes and pursuits of the tribes which followed Árpád. After the Turkish wars, however, in which such a large proportion of the Hungarian people perished, the Austrian emperors, as a matter of set policy, peopled the depopulated lands, especially on the perimeter, with non-Hungarian colonists, Wallachs, Serbs, Swabians and Slovaks. These elements were never assimilated and thus it was that, after the war, the lands they occupied were claimed by their cousins of neighbouring states on racial grounds.

The Development and Settlement of the Great Plain up to Modern Times.

All over the Great Plain there are to be found remains of the Bronze Age. They are especially numerous between the Danube and the Tisza, round the mouth of the Maros, on slopes of the Mátra and the Bükk, and in the Nyirség etc. There are no traces of the Neolithic Age on the Alföld itself, but near Miskolcz, just beyond its edge, there are. In all probability, both mammoth and rhinoceros, as well as man, wandered over it; but they have left no traces behind. In palaeolithic times it was a cold, dry steppe, good at the best only for grazing.

In historic ancient times, the Alföld was the home of nomadic tribes which wan-



View of Mátraszöllős.

dered with their herds over its endless spaces. The only cultivated land was that which lay along the courses of the rivers, where also woods of willow, oak and poplar were to be found. The dune country was covered by dense bush. For this reason the Romans never occupied the Alföld, although they were in Pannonia for five hundred years and in Transylvania (Dacia) for a century and a half. It did not interest them at all, except as a source of trouble; for they were compelled to defend their province by earthworks against the invasions of the pastoral nomads who wandered all over and sometimes beyond it. It lay in the main track of the Barbarians who destroyed the Roman Empire. Goth and German passed over it, and Hun and Avar foilowed to occupy it as a home. Several traces of their occupation remain in certain names, notably Győr and Bécs, the latter the peculiar Hungarian name for Vienna. These are both probably of Hun origin and derived from the names which the Huns gave to the circular earthwork forts which they built in the marshes of the Great Plain.

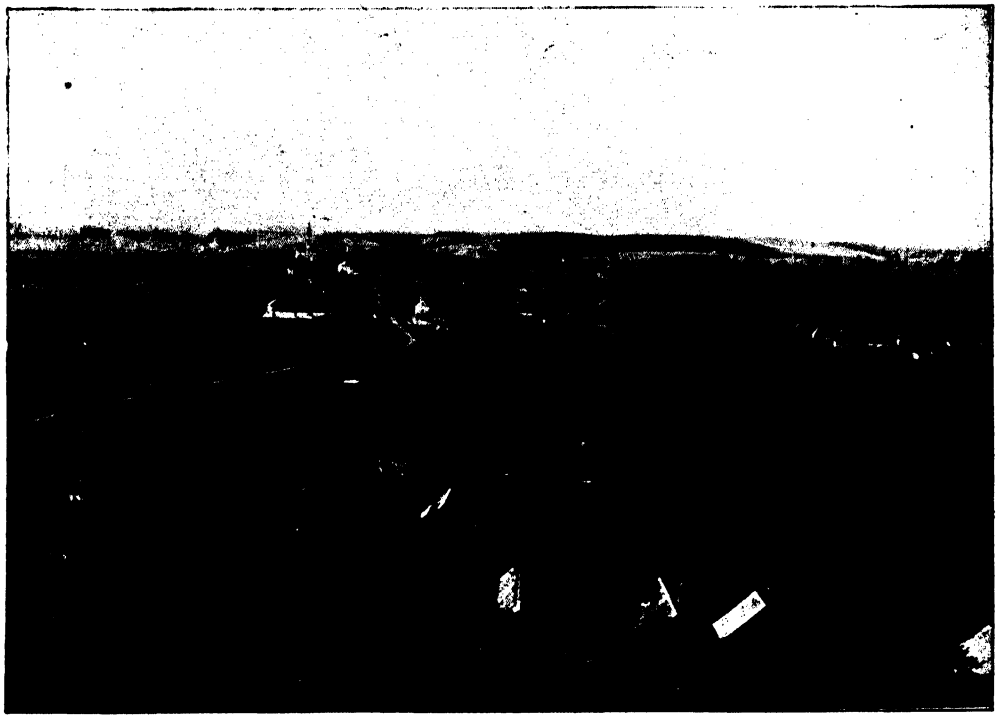
When the Hungarians themselves arrivad in their present home, they also were a nomadic pastoral people in the main, though

Mezőhegyes. Village Social Club.

Mezőhegyes. A Giant Plane Tree.

they did bring with them some knowledge of agriculture. St Stephen, however, their first anointed king, compelled them to forsake the pastoral for agricultural life, since he saw in nomadic habits a constant peril to the national life and its development. From that time, the population of the Alföld steadily increased and under the Árpád kings more and more land was brought under cultivation. Thus the Hungarians succeeded in doing with this land what none if its previous occupiers had been able to do. Later, pastoral nomadic life again appeared on the Alföld with the arrival of the Cumanians, but in the course of years, they, too, settled down to live in fixed places of abode. When the Turks came, they found rows of villages both on the high ground above flood level, and on the rim of the Plain, and also in the interior. Unfortunately, the Turks utterly destroyed the villages as they advanced to take possession of the Alföld, which they did as far as the neighbourhood of Debrecen. In this way, the whole aspect of the Great Plain was changed.

The inhabitants of the little villages were powerless to resist the repeated attacks of the Turkish-Tartar hordes and fled for safety to the larger towns, though still maintaining their proprietary rights in the land they had been forced to quit. The sites of the ruined villages became known as the „Puszta" (wilderness). The owners of the land, however, in more peaceful times sallied out to till their fields; and since they had to spend some time in the open, they built little houses there to live in. Thus arose the „Tanya": and when the Turks were driven out for good, the peasant farmers moved out to occupy the „Tanyas" permanently. In this way, large tracts of old village lands fell under the administration of the towns.



Mohora. View.

In the southern part of the Alföld, i. e. in the Bácska and South of the Maros, the inhabitants were almost completely wiped out, so that it was necessary to plant new colonies there. The land was carefully surveyed and apportioned among Serbs, Wallachians and Germans so systematically that the lines of the settlement schemes can be followed on military maps even today.

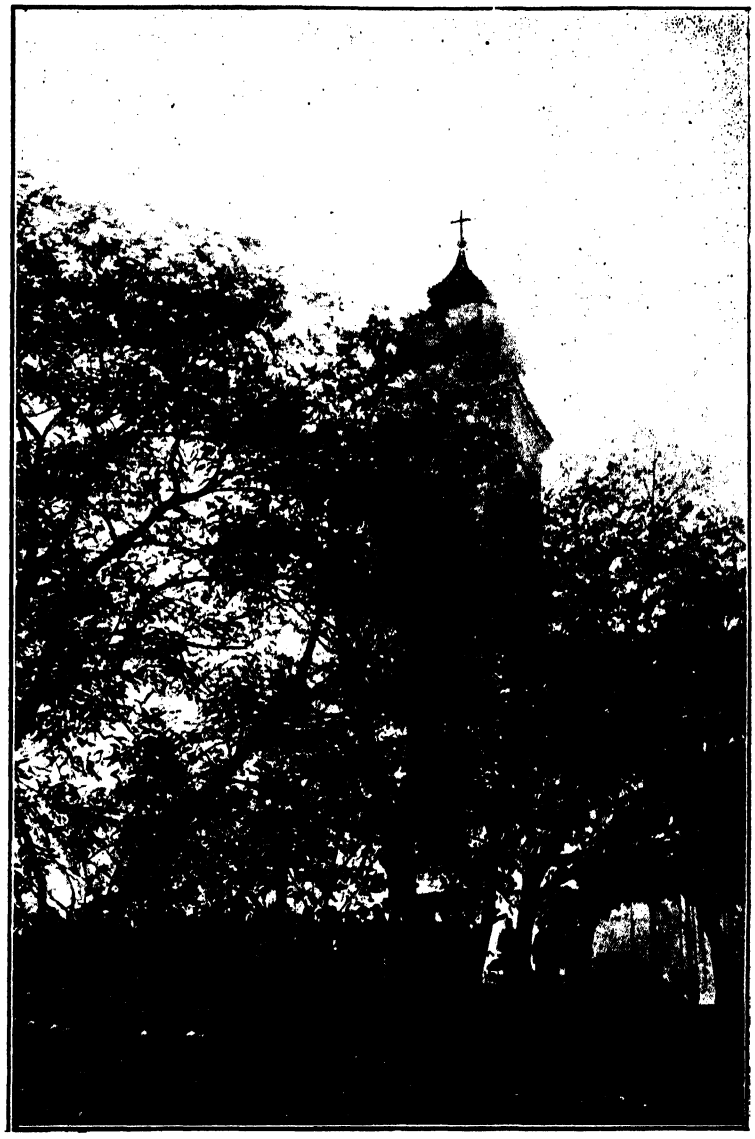
Thus at the present time, we find three types of settlement on the Alföld. East of Debreczen, on the Nyirség, and northeast of that again, are the old, small villages,

with proper streets and houses lining both sides of the „High Street." Debreczen itself was originally just one such as these. West of Debreczen are the „Hajdu" settlements, built characteristically in concentric circles, with several „High Streets" radiating from the centre. Such are, for instance, Hajduböszörmény, Hajdunánás.

In the centre of the „Alföld", the „Tanya" is the characteristic form of settlement, as it may be seen in and around Hódmezővásárhely, Szeged, and between the Danube and the Tisza, at Cegléd, Kecskemét, Kiskunfélegyháza.

Lastly, from Szabadka south, we find communities of colonists who have displaced the old original Hungarian stock.

For the most part, all these settlements have preserved their village character, since the people who live in them are agriculturists above all else. Few of them have been able to develope into towns, and even what towns there are are really only huge villages. Villages which did become towns, did so for one of these reasons: either because they were marketing centres, or economic centres, or were situated near a ford or other river crossing.

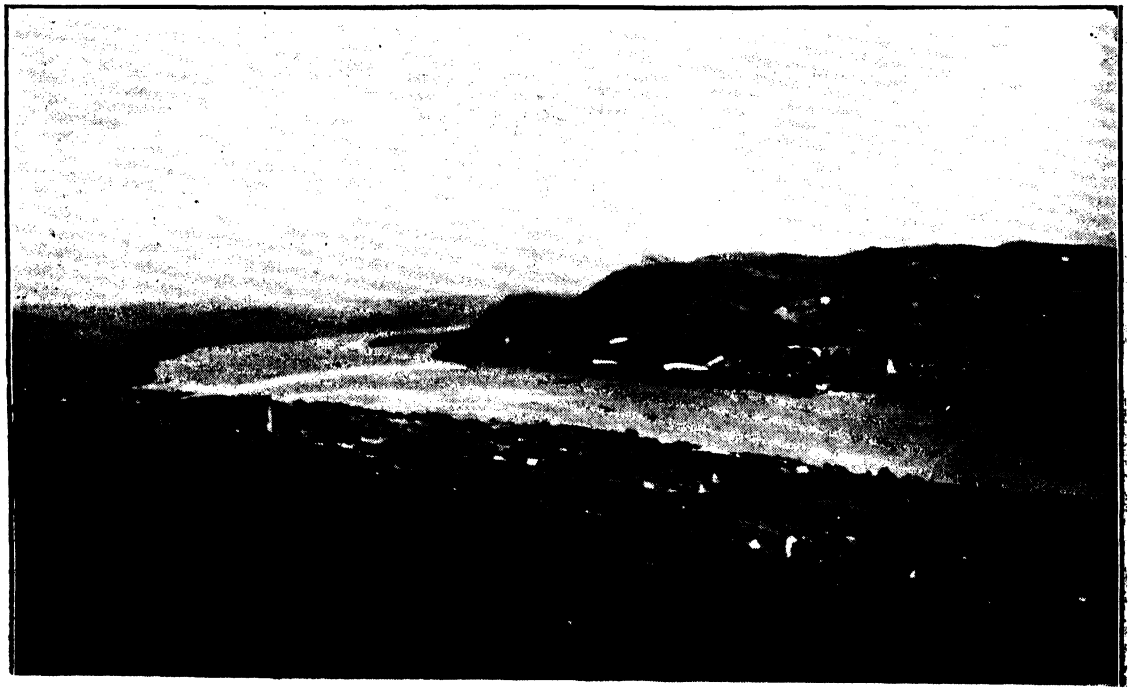


Mucsi. R. C. Church.

Marketing centres are found where the „market line" crosses a line of traffic; the „market line" being that along which areas differing in produce meet one another. Thus the northerly boundary of the Alföld is a market line also, since the produce of the Alföld is quite different from that of the highlands north of it. On the Alföld itself, roads may run in any direction, but in these highlands they follow the valleys. Thus it is that where the principal valleys debouch on the Alföld, we have a line of traffic intersecting a market line and at the point of intersection, a marketing centre. Examples are Hatvan, Eger, Miskolcz, Ungvár, Munkács, Beregszász, Szatmárnémeti, Nagyvárad, Arad, Temesvár and, where the greatest valley of all opens out into the plain, — Budapest.

Economic centres arise where a uniform productive region has been divided up because of difficulties of communication. Right in the centre of the separate districts of the region will be found an economic centre. Such is Debreczen (Pop. 106.000). Its neighbourhood, with the Nyirség and Hajduság, is cut off from the outer world by the Bodrog, the Hortobágy, the fenlands of Érvidék and Ecsed, and the flood-plain

Nagymaros. Walering-place on the Danube.



Village of Nagymaros with View of the Danube.

of the Tisza. In olden times, when the Tisza floods lasted for months, it was exceedingly difficult to approach this part of the country. It, therefore, was absolutely necessary that some central point of exchange should be determined upon for the sake of the general supply of the country around. The village peasant, in those days, could not have transported his grain to the market, found money, sold his produce, bought seed and implements, had it not been that in the neighbourhood, within easy reach at all times, was an economic centre. Debreczen is a good example. So also are Cegléd, Kecskemét, Kiskunfélegyháza, Szabadka, Hódmezővásárhely, etc. Most of these towns became larger during Turkish times, when the refugees from the villages around, crowded into them.

Nagymaros. Summer Resort.

Of the third class of town in the Alföld, i. e. that of towns near fords or other convenient river-crossings, examples are Vásárosnamény, Tokay, Szolnok, Szeged and Zenta, in the Tisza valley; Budapest, Baja, Ujvidék, Zimony, Belgrade, on the Danube; and Arad, on the Maros.

The Alföld, after the expulsion of the Turks, presented a woeful spectacle. Large areas were completely depopulated. The flood-plains were under water for months, for there was nothing to control the rise of the rivers. A few fowlers lurked in the marshes, whither fugitives also fled for safety. Agriculture had ceased in the dune country and the bush swiftly spread over large tracts of land. Later, however, the development of sheeprearing set the sand free and a real desert was there to rejoice the eyes of the hardy traveller who was bold enough to penetrate among the sandhills which served as lurking places for the homeless outlaws, or „poor boys", as they were called.

It was impossible to make roads, for there was no stone and no fuel to bake bricks. A writer of Maria Theresa's time, writing of what served as roads, says, lutum luto adponunt et hoc vocant „töltés" (they heap mud upon mud and call it a „dyke"). No bridges crossed the rivers; travellers had to cross by ferries, and when drifting ice choked the stream, traffic was at a standstill.

In the dry season, the villages were deep in dust; and when the rains came, they were converted into veritable seas of mud. One can scarcely speak of town building in the interior of the Alföld; the towns were all on the edge where stone was to be found. Szeged, Debreczen, Kecskemét were just like villages: along their wide streets, the cattleherd and the swineherd raised clouds of dust, as they passed in the evening, bringing their charges home.

The houses of the towns differed in no way from those of the villages. They were built of mud and roofed with thatch. Each house had a large courtyard: for the inhabitants were for the most part engaged in agriculture and a yard was a necessity. In it was the shed in which the horses, oxen and sheep were housed, the sty for the pigs, the poultry run, and the granary. In almost every courtyard there was a „gémes kut", or „heron well", the characteristic well of Hungary. Of course, it was only the upper subsoil water, a nasty and unhealthy fluid, which was drawn from these wells; for the cesspool, dunghill and stable thoroughly polluted the ground. The dung was kept not only to manure the fields, but also to serve as a fuel in winter.

Thus it was, that on the Alföld, as the population multiplied, so did the cases of poisoned feet among the children; while child-mortality increased by leaps and bounds.

A Street in Nagyrábé.

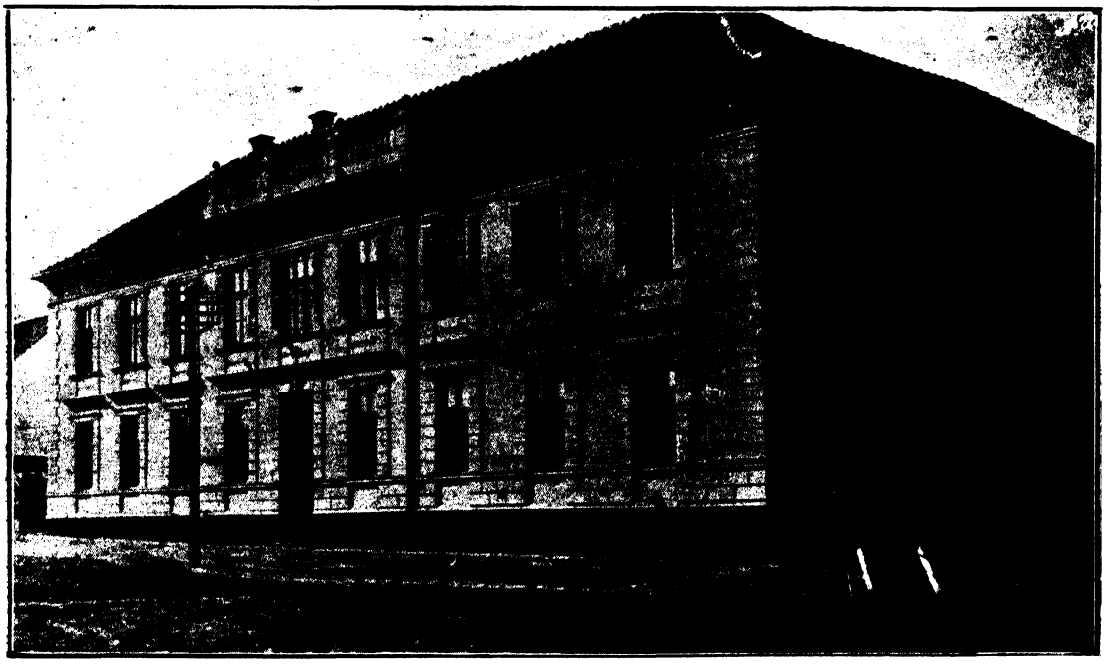
Nagyrábé. The Village Doctor's House.

Naturally this state of affairs soon attracted the attention of the nation's leaders and, especially after the War of Liberation in 1848., life and living conditoins on the Alföld underwent a thorough transformation.

1. *Drainage schemes.* The draining of the marshes was begun even in Maria Theresa's time. It was thought that they were the cause of the great amount of disease for which the Alföld was notorious, and since the Alföld was regarded not simply as the Hungarian basin, but also as the Monarchy's larder, it was felt to be in the interests both of Pest and of Vienna that the countryman of the Great Plain should pursue his avocation under as healthy conditions as it was possible to create. It was for this reason that they set about the systematic drainage of the marshes.

2. *River Regulation.* By the regulation of the waters of the Danube — a work, which took from 1885—96 to complete, — about 1.5 million jochs were saved for agriculture. In the Tisza scheme, which involved the making of 112 cuttings to shorten the course by a total of 453 km, and the building of 4000 km of dykes, 5.2 million jochs were saved. Altogether, by these draining schemes the country was the richer by 24.000 km² of land, which was now available for agriculture, where before it had been covered by bush and reeds. Another consequence of drainage was that communications were made easier.

Németkér. R. C. Church.



Németkér. R. C. Elementary School.

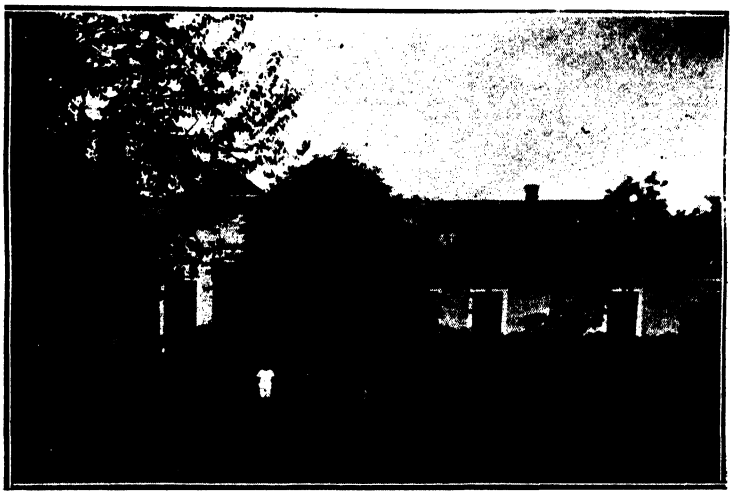
Németkér. View of the Village.

3. *The Sand-Dune Country.* The moving sand-hills were bound and later brought under cultivation. In this work, good service was done by the acacia tree, the vine and the fruit tree. The acacia tree was imported from America and naturalised in the Great Plain, where it is now wide spread, in the course of last century. It has been a great blessing to the people and it has felt itself thoroughly at home. It grows quickly, its wood is of great practical value for making implements, and it burns easily even when green. It has done much to solve the problem of the lack of trees in the Great Plain.

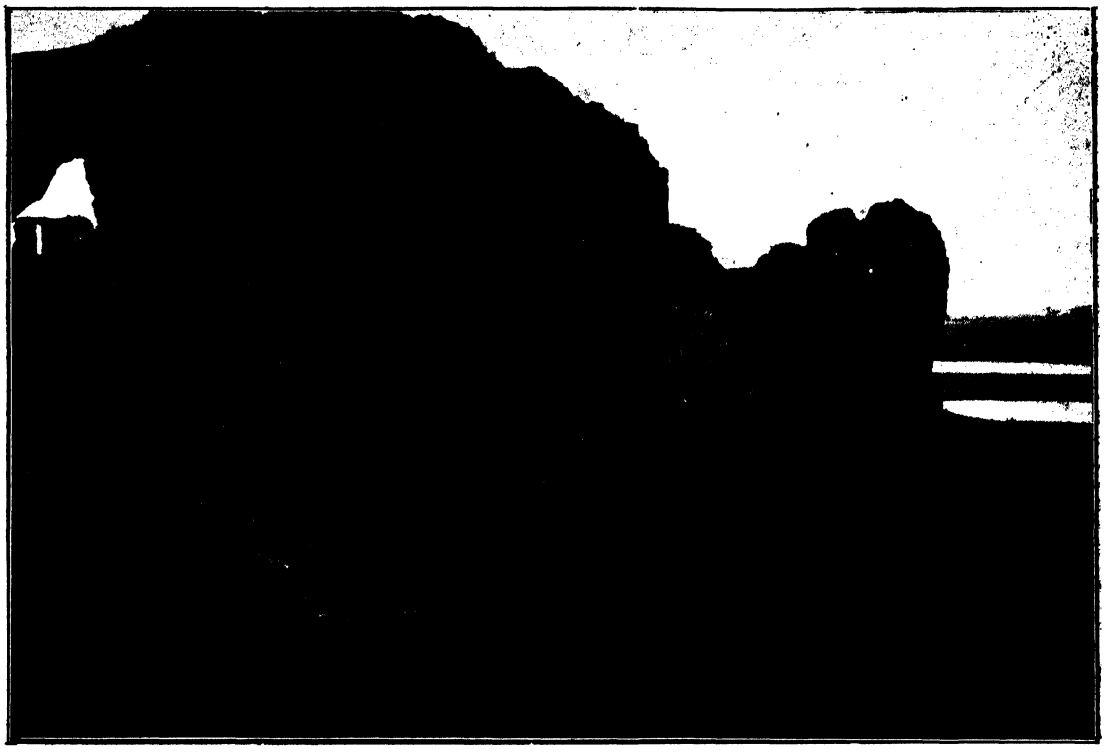
4. *Railway and Road Building.* Railways began to be built in the fifties of last century; and naturally on the Alföld, as elsewhere, they brought great changes with them. For the first time it became comparatively easy to transport building material and fuel to the Great Plain. Macadamised roads were constructed, the streets of the towns were paved, brick-works were erected outside the towns and brick houses were constructed, roofed with tiles and wood slats. Instead of dung for fuel, wood came to be used, and it became possible to cart the dung out to the fields and use it to increase their fertility. The steam mill also made its appearance, and with its coming, doomed the old horse mills and wind mills to death: even the water mills, once so common a sight on the larger rivers, began to disappear.

At the present time, the Great Plain is fairly well supplied with railways and good roads, many of the village streets are partly paved, there is a fair number of bridges and on the suburbs of the bigger towns, buildings may be found several stories high.

With the general improvement of communications, life on the Great Plain improved all round. Public administration became better, the public services more satisfactory; the death rate decreased as me-



Nyirbogát. Village Office.



Onód. Ruins of Onód Castle.

dical aid became more easily available, although a great deal remains still to be done along this line, partly owing to the conservative character of the Hungarian peasant who is slow to believe in the wonders of modern medicine.

5. *Artesian Wells.* The artesian well has been a blessing to the Great Plain. We have already mentioned the harm caused to the Alföld people by the water supply from the shallow wells, which was all they had in olden times, and the population would have quickly reached a point beyond which it could not have increased, had other sources of water supply not been found. The first artesian well was bored in Hungary by William Zsigmond in 1866, at Harkány, where he tapped a fine supply of hot mineral water. Similar important hot springs were bored in Budapest, in the Saint Margaret Island and in the City Park, and also at Alcsut and Püspökladány. The first public artesian well was bored at Hódmezővásárhely, 1879—1880; and following that, they soon became a common feature of the towns and villages, with splendid effects on the general health of the public.

6. *Agricultural Industries.* The modern agricultural industries of the Great Plain began to develope just as soon as efficient and economic transport of fuel was available. Formerly, all that existed in the way of industry was a few small distilleries and, of course, the widely scattered, old-fashioned mills. To-day, there are many fine steam mills, large distilleries, sugar refineries, fruit preserves factories, tanneries, etc.

7. *Sodaic Areas.* One of the greatest troubles of the Hungarian agriculturist is that caused by the sodaic lands; and unfortunately the treatment of this trouble is only in its first stages. The barren stretches of sodaic soil are the consequence of a small rainfall and poor drainage. Every sodaic area is, properly speaking, an undrained saltmarsh. In breaking up the soil, the vegetable acids produce various salts, which ought to be, washed clear out of the land, but are not, owing to the insufficient rainfall and drainage. Natrium hydrocarbonate is formed, which acts as a cementing agent making the soil hard and barren. Other compounds are also formed, among them the soda whose crystals are often to be seen covering the surface of

Onód. Ruins of Onód Castle.

the ground. Recently they have been trying to fertilize this land by using lime.

The population of the larger towns of the Alföld, according to the census returns of 1920:

Szeged	119.000	inhabitants	
Debrecen	102.000	"	
Szabadka	102.000	"	Yugoslavia
Temesvár	85.000	"	Roumania
Nagyvárad	75.000	"	Roumania
Kecskemét	73.000	"	
Arad	72.000	"	Roumania
Hódmezóvásárhely	61.000	"	
Miskolc	57.000	"	
Békéscsaba	47.000	"	
Szatmárnémeti	45.000	"	Roumania
Nyiregyháza	43.000	"	
Ujvidék	39.000	"	Yugoslavia
Kiskunfélegyháza	37.000	"	
Makó	37.000	"	
Cegléd	37 000	"	
Szolnok	33.000	"	
Jászberény	32.000	"	
Zenta	32 000	"	
Zombor	31.000	"	Yugoslavia

Life on the Alföld To-day.

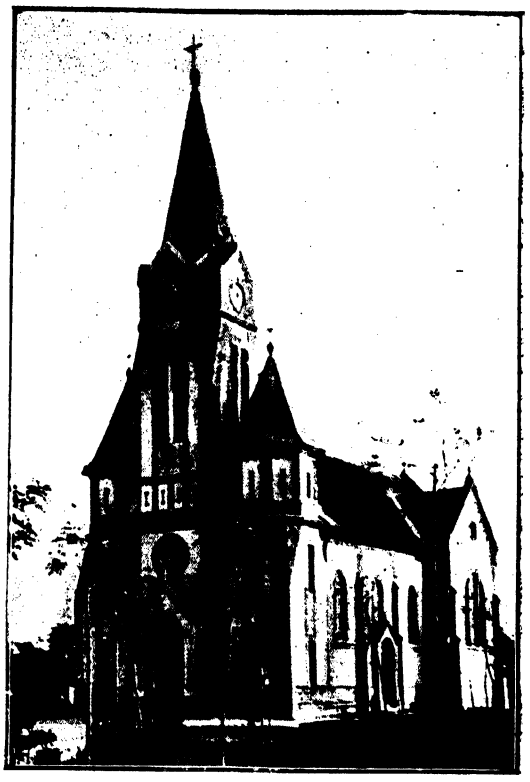
Having made some acquaintance with the history and development of the Alföld, let us now briefly consider its present economic situation.

In spite of the fact that the mean temperature is between 10° C and 11° C, its climate is extreme. The difference in temperature between summer and winter is very great. In summer 40° C is common, while in winter 30° C of cold has been registered. Here, where rain is most needed, the rainfall is the least, no more than 500—600 mm. falling in the year. Even that might be enough for the crops, were it not so unequally divided. In summer, no rain may fall for weeks. The weather, moreover, is unreliable. Sometimes frost comes to nip the fruit at the end of May; (Servatius, Pancratius, Boniface and Urban, whose days occur in this month, are known as the „frost saints") at other times, the trees will be budding even in winter. There are years when there is so much rain that the corn germinates after cutting and the wines rot at the roots; and there are other years when everything is burnt up by the sun.

The inhabitants of the Alföld, at the present time, are for the most part engaged in agriculture. Conditions are favourable both for agriculture and horticulture, for the best soil and the warmest weather are both to be found in this part of the country. The

cereal crops are the most important. The Alföld is the country's larder. In the Bácska and Trans-Tiszanian districts and also between the Danube and the Tisza, are the „loess" lands, where wheat is the staple croop. Rye is grown in the sandy-soil areas. Besides these, the principal cereals, both barley and oats are grown, though in much smaller quantities. Of hoed crops, we find maize in the south, while in the Nyirség and along the Danube and the Tisza, potatoes are extensively grown. Tobacco is produced in considerable quantities; so also are vegetables of various kinds. The onions of Makó, Szeged's paprika and the cucumbers of Nagykőrös are famous even beyond Hungary. In the last half-century great progress has been made in viticulture and fruit-growing, and a considerable export trade has arisen both in fruit and wines. In general the agriculture is extensive. Woods are scarce in the Alföld. It is only on the eastern edge and along the courses of the rivers that woods of the larger trees, such as the oak and the poplar, are to be found.

Owing to the river regulation, planting of vineyards and orchards, and above all to the spread of cereal crops, grazing land has been much constricted. In certain parts, even the sodaic land, once used for pasture, has been broken up. Thus the famous, picturesque and characteristically Hungarian figures of the horse-herd and the cattle-herd have greatly diminished in numbers. The animals are housed in byres and stables and their fodder thrown to them. The horse is the most valuable of the animals reared on the Alföld. Nowhere else in Hungary are to be found so many and such fine horses.

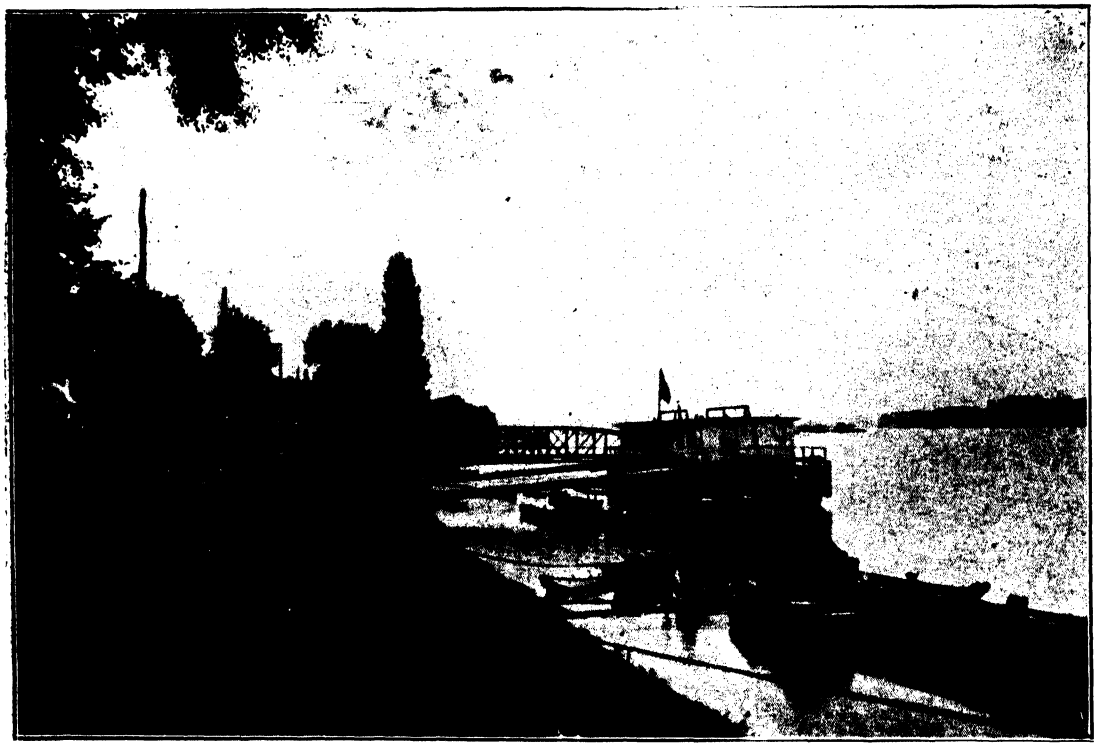


Ószentiván. R. C. Church.

Ótehértó. Part of the Wood.

Cattle-rearing is not such a flourishing occupation as it used to be. The ancient, white, large-horned type of animal is being steadily ousted by the redder coloured breeds. The old, free, pastoral life is only to be found unspoiled in two districts, near Kecskemét on the Bugacz, and near Debreczen on the Hortobágy. Sheep-rearing is pursued with considerable success on the sodaic and sandy lands which are not good for much else. The pig and poultry industries are thriving and in the southern parts of the Alföld, the silk worm is bred extensively.

As for the wild life of this region, the larger forms of game have long ago been destroyed, and the water fowl are follo-



The Danube at Paks.

wing in their footsteps. The most numerous now are the hare, the partridge and the pheasant. Fishing has lost most of its former importance since the rivers were regulated, though the fish are now being bred artificially in fish-ponds. The Alföld in older times used to be the home of skilled handicraftsmen, such as spinners, weavers, potters, saddlers, workers in rope, wood and leather etc. Even to-day the embroideries of Mezőkövesd and the Danube villages are famous. The number of factories increases. Mainly they are such as are connected in some way with agriculture viz. mills, distilleries, sugar refineries and preserves works.

Most of the people of the Alföld are of Hungarian (Magyar) stock. The Alföld Hungarian is of middle height, well knit, dark and round-faced. In character, he is open, upright, dependable and, in general, taciturn. Of the ancient national dress, the „szür," a voluminous embroidered overcoat, the „suba", a sheepskin cloak, and the „gatya", wide cotton trousers, are still worn by him. He has a passion for the soil, and is a keen agriculturist and breeder of animals. Between the Danube and the Tisza, the people for the most part are Roman Catholics; on the left bank of the Tisza, they are mostly Calvinists. Next to the Hungarians, the Germans, or Schwabs, as they are called, are the most industrious agriculturists. They are scattered over the district round Budapest and in the south, in the Bánát and the Bácska, where they were settled as colonists after the expulsion of the Turks.

Greek Orthodox Serbs are much mixed with Schwabs in the Bácska, Bánság and districts bordering on Serbia. The Bunyevác people of the Bácska are Roman Catholics. On the eastern edge of the Great Plain, there are some Wallachians, just as in the south, you may find, in small numbers, people of French, Spanish and Bulgarian origin. Slovaks, in great part Magyarized, live side by side with Hungarians, mainly in the countries of Békés and Csanád. They are mostly Lutherans.

A special feature of the Alföld are the „Tanyas" surrounding and nominally included within the bounds of the towns and villages. The like is not to be seen elsewhere in Europe. Szabadka, Debreczen, Hódmezővásárhely, with their tanyas cover each as wide an area as the county of Esztergom; i. e. about 1000 square kilo-

metres, or four to five times the area of Budapest. For example, there are only 27 communities altogether in the county of Békés, and only 63 in Jásznagykunszolnok; while in the Vas county of Pannonia, which is not larger than these others, there are 552.

Towns. Apart from Budapest, which will be dealt with separately, *Szeged*, situated near the confluence of the Danube and the Tisza, is the largest town (119,000 inhabitants) in Hungary. It was destroyed in the great flood of 1879 and thereafter rebuilt quite in the style of a city, though its suburbs have a decidedly rustic look about them. The paprika grown in the neighbourhood is famous all over the world. It was here that a new home was found for the professors and staff of the University of Kolozsvár, after they were compelled to leave Transylvania.

Kecskemét (73,000) is the centre of the fruit trade. In good years, it will export more fruit abroad (peaches, apples and plums) than all the rest of Hungary together.

Nagykőrös and *Cegléd* are the centres of the cucumber and lettuce trade.

These three towns are strongholds of Calvinism.

Pásztó. R. C. Church.

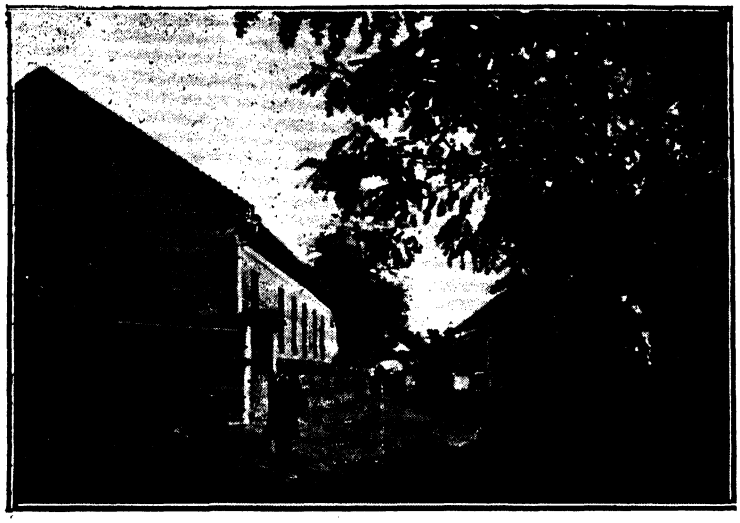
Kalocsa is the seat of an ancient archbishopric. It has a famous observatory.

Szolnok is important as a railway junc-

Pásztó. State School.

Pély. R. C. Church.

Pély. Village Office.



A Street in Pocsaj.

tion and because of its position on the Tisza.

Baja, Kiskunhalas, Kiskunfélegyháza and *Csongrád* are other notable towns.

In *Yugoslavia* are: *Szabadka,* county town of the Bácska, an important centre of agriculture and commerce, with Palicsfürdő in its neighbourhood; *Ujvidék* a great Danube port.

Between the Maros and the Danube is the *Bánság,* the western part of which is now in Yugoslavia, while the eastern part is in Roumania. In Yugoslavia are: *Nagykikinda, Zsombolya, Pancsova,* and *Nagybecskerek,* the centre of the famous Torontál carpet-weaving industry. In Roumania is *Temesvár,* the largest town in the Bánság and one of the finest of the Alföld towns. Next to Budapest, it is the greatest factory town within the borders of the old Hungary. Much of its importance is due to the iron and coal mines in the hills surrounding it.

In Trans-Tisania, i. e. in the district bounded by the rivers Tisza, Kőrös and Maros, the population is overwhelmingly Hungarian. The eastern part of this area, however, is now under Roumanian rule. *Makó* is famous for its geese and its onions. At *Mezőhegyes,* there is a state model farm and a great stud for breeding pedigreed bloodstock. *Hódmezővásárhely,* is one of the greatest of Hungary's agricultural towns. It has more than 20 good artesian wells. Other towns are *Szentes, Békéscsaba, Szarvas* — the geometrical centre of Hungary *Nagykunság, Mezőtur, Turkeve, Karczag,* and *Kisujszállás* are wealthy agricultural communities. At *Karczag,* a rich gas well has just now been bored.

Putnok. Railway Station.

A Street in Putnok.

In Hajdúság is *Debreczen,* the third largest town in Hungary. It is known as the *„Calvinist Rome"*, is the seat of the Reformed Bishopric of Trans-Tisania and possesses an old theological college as well as a new university.

The town itself is rich and covers much ground. On the neighbouring Hortobágy, which belongs to it, you can still see the ancient pastoral life of the plains. Its pork trade is of first-rate importance. *Hajduszoboszló,* with its iodine well whose water has a temperature of 76° C, is a noted spa. The more populous Hajdú towns are *Hajdunánás, Hajduböszörmény.*

In the Nyirség, *Nyiregyháza* is the principal centre. A third of the country's to-

bacco and a large part of its potatoes are produced in this district. In the eastern marches, under Roumanian rule, are *Nagykároly* and *Szatmár*. *Nagyvárad* is the largest town in the east of the Alföld. It is

Püspökladány. Presbyterian Church.

the county town of Bihar county, and is known as „the town of King László the Saint". *Nagyszalonta* is also a Magyar town, renowned as the birth-place of John Arany, the great Hungarian poet. *Arad*, on the Maros, is a spot hallowed for Hungarians by the memory of the thirteen martyred Hungarian generals who were executed there by the Austrians after the War of Liberty. In the neighbourhood are Arad-Hegyalja, Ménes, Magyarád and Világos where famous wines are produced.

In the northern, Cis-Tiszanian part of the Alföld, we find the following towns, going from west to east:

Vácz, the seat of an ancient bishopric, near the main line from Budapest to Prague and Vienna.

Gödöllő, famous as the summer residence of the King. In the royal forest, between Vácz and Gödöllő, there is a herd of the old wild cattle of Europe.

Jászberény, according to tradition, Attila's ancient capital.

Hatvan, centre of sugar industry, *Gyöngyös* and *Eger*, noted for their wines. On the rim of the Alföld, *Miskolcz*, a great commercial centre, *Mezőkövesd*, where the villagers still pursue the old traditional embroidery crafts, *Ungvár*, now under Czech rule and the capital of the Ruszinszko Highlands, *Munkács*, on the railway route to Poland, the famous town of the Rákoczys *Beregszász*, *Nagyszőllős*, county-towns.

The Pannonian Hill-Country.

This district of alternating plain and upland lies among the foothills of the Alps between the Danube, the Drave and the western border. On the frontier are the pine-covered Lajta-Rosalia Hills, which are continued in the Irottkő, which in turn rises to the highest point in all Pannonia (883 meters). Between the Balaton and the Little Alföld, is the ancient line of denuded hills known collectively as the Hungarian Central Highlands (Bakony, Vértes, Pilis-Gerecse, Dunazug Hills). They run as far as the Danube and are noted for the number of extinct volcanoes among them, in whose neighbourhood the most excellent wine is grown, e. g. Somlyó, Szigliget, Badacsony and Kab. Coal-measures are found in the valleys lying between (Ajka, Bodajk, Dorog, Tatabánya).

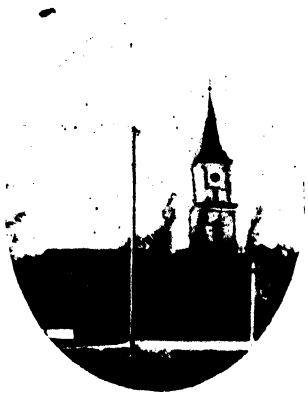
The Downs of Pannonia.

Between the Danube, the Drave and Lake Balaton, is the *Somogy* down country, though the broader valley of the Drave itself and the *Sárköz* along the Danube, belong to the Great Plain. In the southern half of Somogy is the *Mecsek*, once rising as an island out of the sea which covered this country in ancient times, and for this reason called an „island hill". The loess soil is excellent and the fruits and wines of the district are specially good. Both the hills and the marshy lowlands of the Drave are covered with woods of beech and oak.

The larger rivers all rise in the Alps e. g., the Lajta, the Miave and the Drave. Those streams rising within the region itself are smaller, e. g. Zala, Séd, Lád, Ka-

Püspökladány. Railway Offices.

pos, Kopány: these all send their waters to the Danube eventually, by way of the canalised Sió. The greatest body of standing water is Lake Balaton, which is, at the same time, the largest lake in Central



Püspökladány. R. C. Church.

Europe. It is 77 km long and from 5—10 km wide and covers an area of 603 square kilometres. In general it is shallow, averaging only 3—5 m. in depth, but there is a deep just off the Tihany promontory with 11 metres of water. The Balaton used to be much larger than it is now and once was a veritable paradise for water-fowl such as cranes, herons and wild duck. At the present time, there is only one large swamp left on the south side, the Nagyberek, and the government wishes to expropriate that, in order to preserve the ancient wild life of the Balaton. It is in this lake that the famous „fogas" is caught.

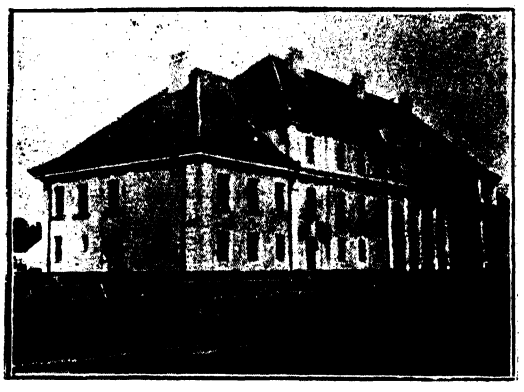
A much smaller sheet of water, named the Velencze Lake is found near Székesfehérvár. Its waters swarm with bird life.

View of Püspökladány.

Pannonia. Its History, Life and Economics.

Pannonia was a thickly populated region when the Hungarians first arrived in this quarter ot the world. Its inhabitants were partly Slavs, partly Ural-Altaic people who had come with the Huns or the Avars and whose descendants are probably represented by the dialect-speaking natives of the Ormánság and Göcs. It is at least certain that the Avars were here, for Avar names of places are to be found and place names remain only where they are passed on from lip to lip.

The Turks did not ravage Pannonia as they did the Alföld. The destruction was greatest in the south-west and there also the Turkish occupation was of longer duration. Here also, the Austrians colonised the



Püspökladány. State School.

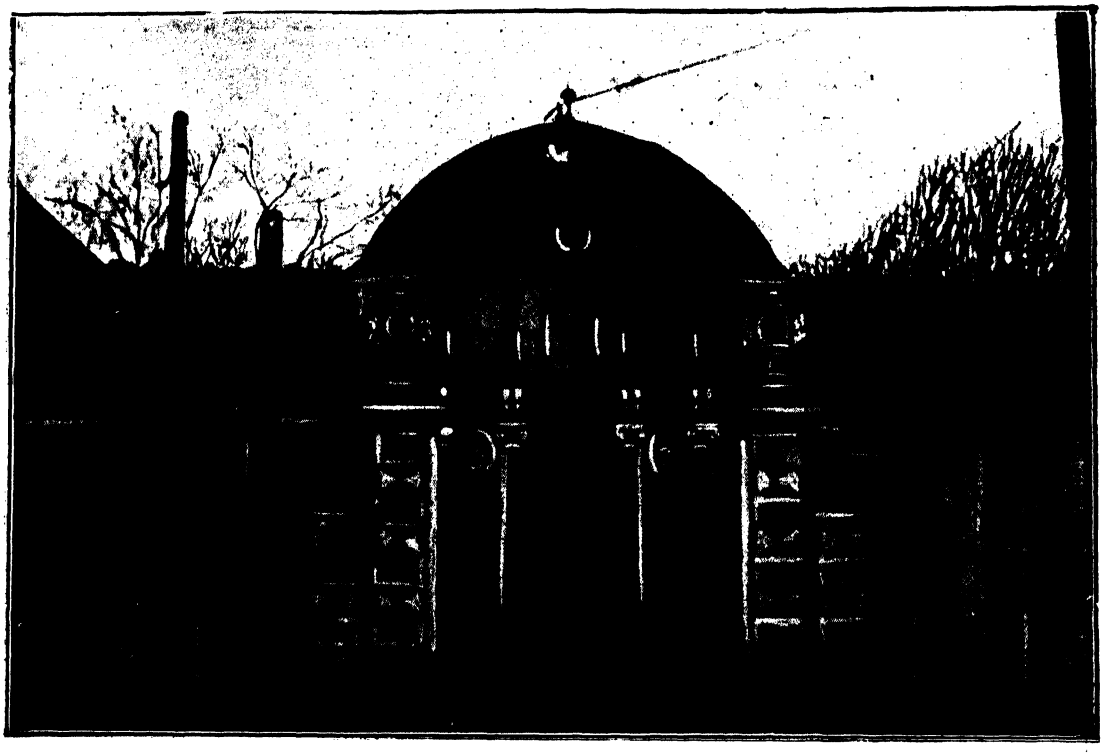
depopulated region, according to the principles of Austrian politics, with strangers. South-Germans came to settle on the fruitful lands of Tolna and Baranya and they were scattered also all over Somogy, Zala and Veszprém.

In this case, however, the Austrians guessed wrong, for these Germans became thoroughly patriotic Hungarians and in the war of '48—'49 fought to a man on the Hungarian side. Pan-German agitators tried to rouse them against us with but little success. These people are now the most prosperous of the Pannonians.

Much more dangerous were the Germans who made their way into the western border country. These multiplied rapidly to take the place of Hungarian stock destroyed in the wars for freedom. Their steady penetration of the region was consistently supported by the Austrian government and

Rácalmás. View of the Danube.

Rácalmás. Church-Square.



Ráckeve. Manor House.

they always harboured something of the irredentist spirit.

Distinct from the Austrian Germans, are the Hiences. These are found south of Sopron in the parts of the counties of Sopron and Vas lying towards Styria and Lower Austria. In feeling they are more Hungarian, and many have spread all over the country and become entirely magyarized.

In Turkish times, many Greek Orthodox Serbs settled along the Danube. They are known as the Rácz people, and they had settlements in Buda, Pest, Saint Endre, Esztergom, and even as high up as Komárom. To-day, their numbers are greatly reduced, since many have been assimilated by the Roman Catholic communities among which they dwell. After the expulsion of the Turks, Slovaks also were brought into this district as colonists. They are now to be found in isolated groups in Dunazug and along the edge of the Little Alföld.

In the south-west angle, many Croats came to settle, but they are much scattered. It is only in Muraköz that communities of any size exist.

To the north of Muraköz you find some Wends living dispersedly in some 150 villages. They and the Croats don't get on well together and the last thing they wanted was to be included in Yugoslavia. That meant among other things that they were cut off from their most reliable source of income — peddling in the towns and villages and labouring in the fields of Hungary.

In the south of the Baranya, we find the *„Sokácok"*, fragments of the Roman Catholic Southern-Slav race.

Hungarian culture has always reached its highest level in Pannonia. Even in the Bronze Age, it seems that a numerous and cultured race inhabited this region. Innumerable finds attest it and here it is sufficient to refer to the bronze foundry discovered near the village of Velem Vid. This place lies at the foot of the southern slope of the „Irottkő", and during the course of the excavations, every kind of ancient bronze implement known from Sweden to Asia Minor was turned up by the spade.

For nearly 500 years, the Romans were the masters of Pannonia. They built beautiful towns joined up by splendid roads. It was then a rich province whose people lived well. The chief town was Carnutum, built on a site which lies to the west of

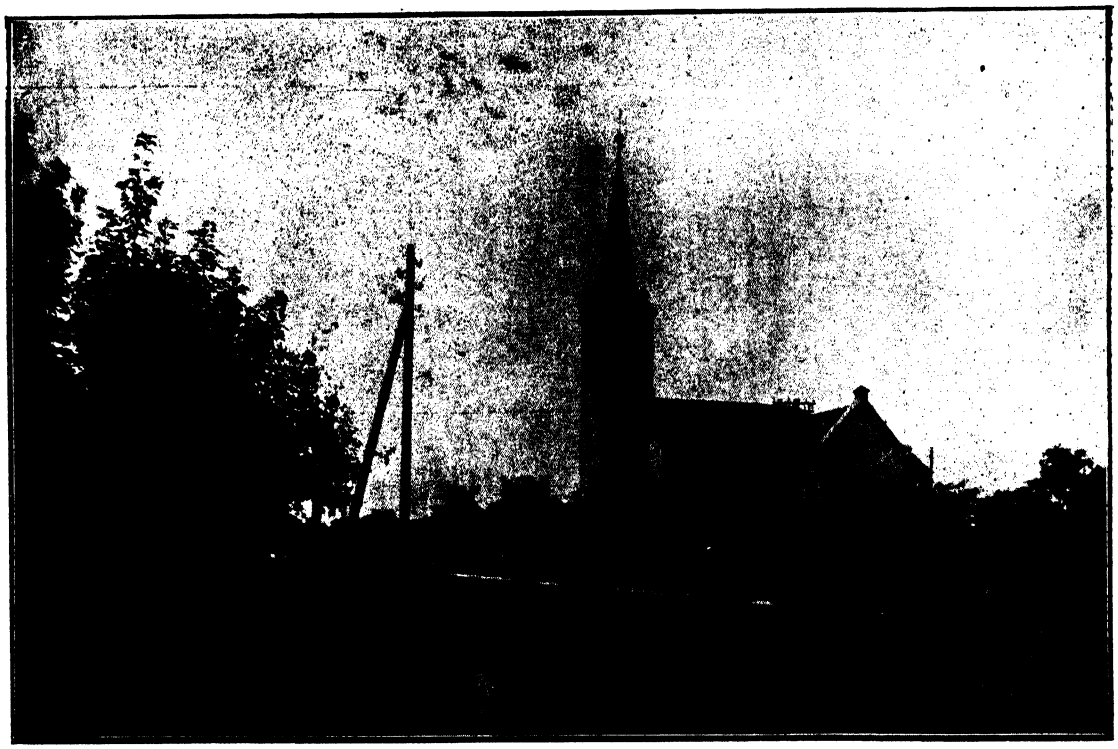
Rudabánya. Presbyterian Church.

Hainburg, now in Austria. Other large Roman settlements were Porigettio (Komárom), Aquincum (Óbuda), Arrabona (Győr), Scarabontio (Sopron), Sabaria (Szombathely), Herculia (Székesfehérvár), Sopianae (Pécs), Poetivo (Pettau) etc. How great was the Roman province and how little we know about it from literary sources was brought home to everybody, by the discovery near Veszprém of Roman houses revealing every sign of luxury and wealth. In Latin literature, there is not a hint that Pannonia was once a notable part of the Empire; yet the ground itself is full of them. Many traces of the old Roman roads remain, for instance; but the finest remains is the dam across the Kikeria Lake to the south-west of Várpalota. Then Roman sarcophagi, tiles, and other articles are continually being dug up over the whole area. The Barbarian Invasions could not have entirely annihilated this splendid civilisation. Even if its intellgencia were wiped out, the peasantry in large part must have survived and carried on their work.

This was the region where the first consolidation of the Hungarian nation took place. First Esztergom and then Székesfehérvár became the Hungarian capital, where the Árpád kings were crowned. The first Hungarian college was founded in Veszprém, and the first monastery at Pannonhalma. It was from Pannonia that the Roman style of architecture,, introduced from Dalmatia, spread to the other parts of Hungary, and it is in Pannonia that the finest Roman churches of Hungary are to be found e. g. in Pécs, Ják, Lebény. The Coronation Church at Székesfehérvár may be compared to Pécs Cahtedral. In any case, it was in its own day one of the finest churches in Europe. It was in this civilized country, especially in the Bakony, that the Hungarian kings apportioned lands to their greatest nobles. It was only among the sandy hills of Somogy that the Pagan Hungarians stubbornly maintained their ancient pastoral ways of life and nursed their bitter enmity of the Christian religion.

The climate of Pannonia differs to some extent from that of the Alföld. Being nearer both to the Alps and to the sea, it is not so extreme. The rainfall also is heavier. It is therefore from this point of view the pleasantest part of Hungary. Conditions of agriculture are more dependable than on the Alföld and especially favourable for intensive cultivation. The soil va-

Sarbad Presbyterian Church



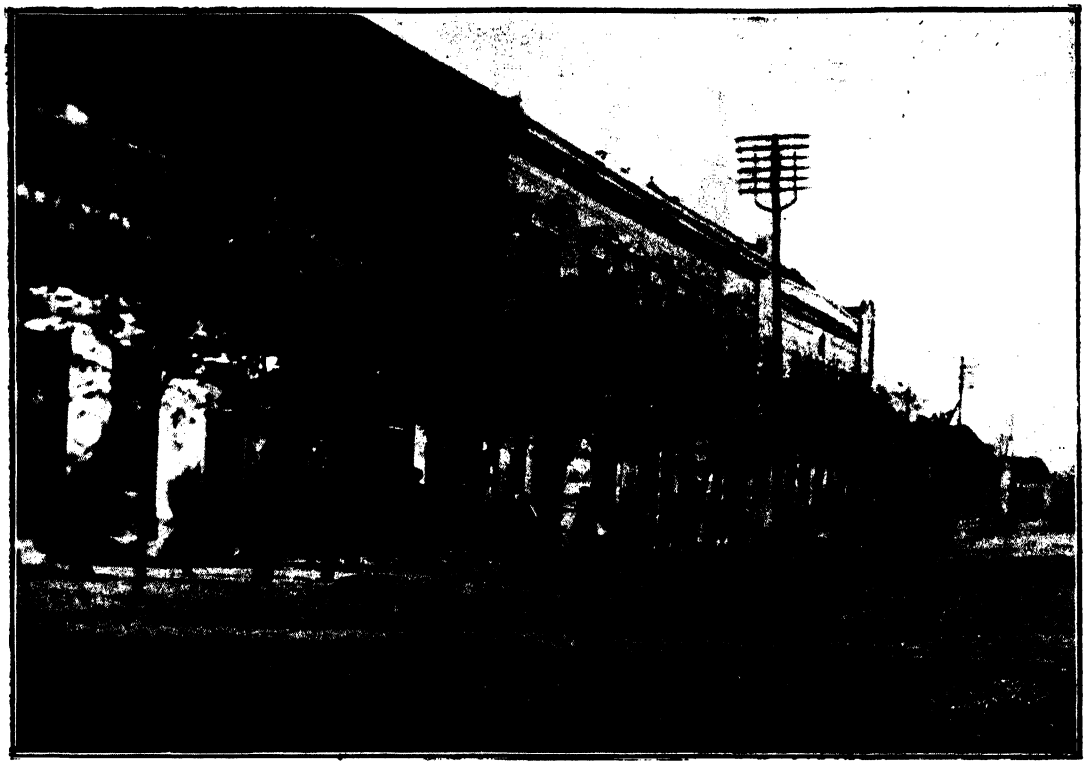
Sarkad. R. C. Church.

ries much more than it does on the Alföld and correspondingly the produce is more varied. For the most part, it is a country of low hills covered with fertile yellow loess, while the soil of the river valleys is a rich silt. It is only on the precipitous higher parts of the hills that land is poorer. Wheat is the staple crop; maize is grown in the south; potatoes, rye and buckwheat are found where the soil is not so fruitful. Everywhere fruit and vine growing flourishes. Where the soil is of volcanic origin, there are the finest wine-producing districts e. g. Badacsony and Solymó; but the wines of Mecsek, Villány, Ruszt, Szekszárd, Neszmély are also much sought after. Sweet chestnuts grow on the mild western slopes of the Alps; and in Pannonia are to be found the largest woods of Mutilated Hungary, in which the beech and oak predominate.

Cattle-rearing is better developed than on the Alföld. Indeed, because of the abundance of good grazing and the plentiful supply of artificial fodder, Pannonia leads the rest of Hungary in this business. On the foothills of the Alps, the great horned cattle are bred, but the Bonyhád Dappled, reared along the Mecsek, is also very famous. Pannonia is the greatest dairy-farming area in Hungary and supplies Budapest with most of its milk and butter. Good horses, notably of the strong Mecklenburg breed, are also bred in Muraköz. Sheep-rearing is pursued in Fejér and Somogy.

Pannonia has another advantage over the Alföld, in that the produce of its soil is supplemented by mineral wealth. Its limestone is good building stone and makes good lime also. The paving stone supplied to Budapest comes from Dunazug and the basalt quarries of the Balaton. In the Mecsek mine, near Pécs, the best coal to be had in the present Hungary is mined. Lignite is found and worked at Tatabánya, Dorog, Tokod, in the Bakony at Ajka, and at Brennberg near Sopron. The factories of the capital provide the principal market for the output from these mines. It is at Tata that it is proposed to build the Talbot Central Power Station, designed to supply Budapest and its neighbourhood with electricity.

Of the industries of Pannonia, the most important is agriculture with all its branches, but the manufacture of porcelain, glass, and majolica ware is also carried on to a considerable extent.



A Street in Sarkad.

The inhabitants for the most part are Hungarians, though, as we have pointed out, there has been some admixture of other nationalities.

In this pleasant country, villages and lots of them seem the most natural things in the world. They are scattered thickly over the whole region, and nowhere do we find such great, swollen communities as we do on the Alföld. What towns there are, and they are neither so numerous, nor so large as those of the Grait Plain, are more town-like and of a more Western European appearance than the Alföld towns. Their populations consist not so much of agriculturists, as of other kinds of manual workers, merchants, and officials of all sorts.

The roads of Pannonia are good. It is well served with railways running from Budapest to the west and the sea, and the traffic over them is greater than on other lines in Hungary.

Pannonia, in fact, is the most fortunate region in all Hungary. Its land is consistently productive, its soil wonderfully varied, and its climate delightfully equable. To the riches of the field, it can add the produce of mines and quarries, so that agriculture is supplemented by industry, and easy building adds to the comfort of life. It is a mercy that when so much was lost to Hungary, this fair province at least was left.

Districts and Towns in Pannonia.

The County of Fejér is for the most part covered by great latifundia. Villages and towns are few and far between. The only considerable town is *Székesfehérvár*, once the capital of Hungary and the burial place of the Árpád kings. The ancient church where the kings were crowned, has been completely destroyed, though its foundations are still visible.

The Hungarian Central Highlands stretch from the Danube across from Vác to the southern end of the Balaton. There are no large towns in this region. Visegrád, in the Danube gorge, is famous for the ruins of its old castle. In the Middle Ages it was one of the favourite residences of the kings. *Tatabánya, Tokod, Dorog* are mining communities. At *Felsőgalla* there is a cement factory. *Mór* is noted for its wine and *Moha* for its mineral waters (Agnes Well). In this region, *Veszprém* is the most popu-

A Street in Sarkad.

lous town (16.000). Its situation is interesting. With its surrcundings, it is enclosed by the forests of the Bakony on the north and the Balaton Lake on the south. In this way, the district is isolated and has come to turn naturally upon Veszprém as the natural centre of its own little world. This isolation saved it from such destruction as befell other parts of the country, when the Barbarians were pouring into the Roman empire; and in Saint Stephen's times, it was inhabited by a numerous and civilised people.

As the finds made on the Balata „puszta" seem to imply, this was a notable district in those olden times; and it is quite likely that its people were able to preserve their classical culture and carry it over into the age of Saint Stephen.

Many monasteries and churches have been built in Veszprém and it once was a seat of a theological academy. Its bishop has the right of crowning the Hungarian queen.

The shores of the Balaton, more especially on the south side, are dotted with summer resorts, — *Siófok, Földvár, Lelle, Boglár, Szentgyörgy, Fonyód.*

On the northern shore, Balatonfüred is the largest of these holiday places. It is renowned for its medicinal baths and mineral waters. On the promontory of *Tihany*, near *Füred*, is a famous old Benedictine monastery. *Keszthely* (Pop. 8000) has only in recent years become popular as a holiday resort. Its agricultural school was the first to be established in Hungary. Not far away is the famous spa, Hévíz.

In the hilly country of Somogy-Tolna-Baranya, *Kaposvár* (Pop. 30.000) is the largest town and the centre of the *Szekszárd* silk industry. *Mohács* is a port on the Danube, but it is best known as the scene of one of the most momentous battles in the history of Europe. It was here that the Turks annihilated the Hungarians in 1526. *Szigetvár* is another historic name made famous by the exploits of Nicholas *Zrinyi*.

In the Mecsek country is the largest town of all Pannonia: *Pécs* (Pop. 48.000). It must have been an important place even under the Árpáds. But before then, it was

Sáp. Village Office.

a Roman colony (Sopionae). Many traces still remain of its condition in the Middle Ages and in Turkish times. Its Roman church is both imposing and full of interest. It has always been, as it is now, a centre of industry. It is here that the famous Zsolnay pottery is made. Afther the Trianon Treaty, the University of Pozsony was transferred to Pécs.

In Zala and Vas we are in the little village country. In no other part of Hungary can you find such clusters of small villages. *Zalaegerszeg* and *Nagykanizsa* are large agricultural centres of the Alföld type. *Szombathely* is the largest town of West Pannonia. Ják has a fine, old 13th century Roman church.

Only a small part of the Hungarian Alpine country has fallen within the Trianon boundary line. Most of these hills are now in Austria.

Sopron (Pop. 35.000) lies at a strategic point on the route leading from the Vienna basin to the south. It is one of the finest and most interesting towns of Pannonia. Near Sopron is the tomb of Count Stephen *Széchenyi*, „the greatest Hungarian".

The Little Plain (Kis Alföld).

The Little Alföld is situated in the western part of Hungary, between the Alps, the Carpathians and the Hungarian Central Highlands. It stretches from the right bank of the Danube south towards Pannonia and from the left bank north towards the North-West Highlands. Its origin is similar to that of the Great Alföld, but its general level is higher. It is the second great river basin in Hungary, even though it is only a tenth of the Great Plain in size. On all sides it is enclosed by hills. Different parts of it receive different names: Csallóköz, Szigetköz, Mátyásföld, Kunság, Fertővidék, Rábaköz.

The soil of the Little Alföld is fertile and it is better watered than the Great Alföld. Indeed, no other drainage area in the country has such a supply of running water.

Drainage. The Danube, which enters the Little Alföld at Pozsony, and leaves it by the george below Esztergom, is the chief collector of the surface water. The speed of its current slackens when it reaches the

Sáp. Elementary School.

Little Alföld, so that it deposits its silt to give rise to many islands and shoals in its course. In former times, before they began to dredge the river regularly, many of these islands, by the gradual silting up of the channels between them, became united to form what are now the Csallóköz and the Szigetköz. The first lies between the „Old" Danube and the „Little" or „Vág"-Danube; the second between the „Old" Danube and the „Moson" Danube. Tributaries on the right bank are the Lajta, Rába, Repce, known at its mouth as the Rábca. On the left bank are the Vág, the Nyitra with the Zsitva, and the Garam.

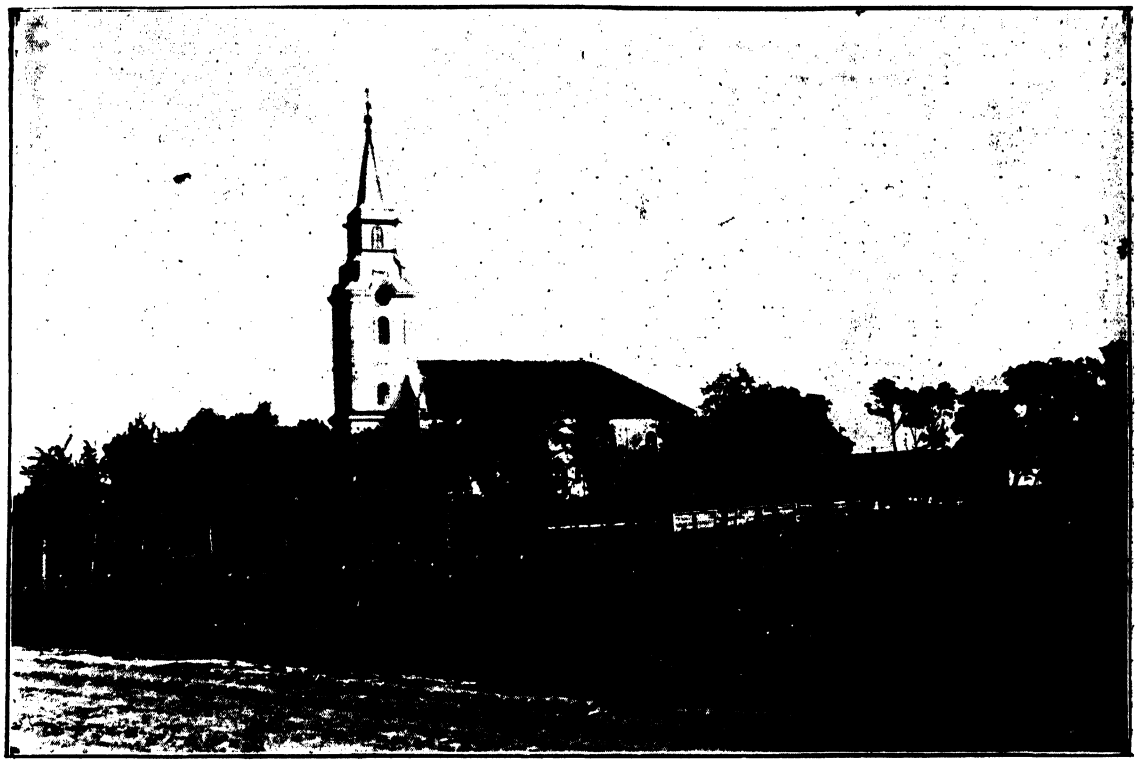
There are many marshes on the Little Alföld, the largest being the Fertő and the Hánság. The Fertő is a shallow, rush-fringed muddy lake, continuously changing in size. Its water level is always varying and, indeed, in 1860, it was completely dried up. To the east of the Fertő is the Hánság, the last marsh of Hungary, in many places becoming a regular peat-bog. Both of these swamps are being drained.

Climate. Better than the Great Alföld. Not so extreme, with fewer late spring frosts, and fewer long rainless spells in summer. Rainfall greater than in the Great Alföld.

Much of the soil is alluvial, and agriculture is more intensive than on the Great Alföld. The best barley and sugar beet in Hungary is grown in this region. Wheat and rye are also grown. The vegetables of the Little Alföld find a good market in Vienna. Since there are no such expanses of sandy and sodaic pastures as on the Great Alföld, instead of grazing in the open, much use is made of sheds and byres in rearing cattle, which are fed specially with a view to the Vienna market. Apart from the barley and sugar-beet crops, the Little Alföld farmer depends most on his dairy and then on his poultry. He is at an equal distance from two of the great cities of Europe, Budapest and Vienna, where he can find a ready sale for his milk, butter, eggs etc.

Naturally, most of the Little Alföld industry is agricutural, though some mining is done on the perimeter.

The settlement of the Little Alföld differs from that of the Great Alföld. There are many small villages and manorial farms and no such large towns. What



Sáp. Presbyterian Church.

towns there are, however, are more towny, more like the towns of other parts of Western Europe. The roads, too, are numerous and good. Apart from the Hungarians, who preponderate, Slovaks live in the nothern, and Germans in the western districts.

Towns. Győr (Pop. 50.000) is the principal town on the right bank of the Danube and the seat of a bishopric. It has many historic associations. In Turkish times, it was the key to Vienna and lower Austria. When Győr was recovered from the Turks, crosses were erected all over the threatened districts of Austria in token of thankfulness. These were called „Rächer-Kreutze", but later their origin was forgotten and they came to be known as „Räuber-Kreutze", it being generally supposed that they marked the spot where some highway murder had been committed. To-day, Győr is a great commercial and industrial town and a Danube port.

South-east of Győr is Pannonhalma with its famous monastery, founded by Saint Stephen, Hungary's first king.

Komárom-Newtown is connected with the older Komárom, now in Czech territory, by a railway bridge spanning the Danube. Other towns are Ács, Bábolna and Nagyigmánd. On the edge of the Little Alföld stands Esztergom, the birthplace of Saint Stephen, with its great cathedral overlooking the Danube. This is the seat of the prince-primate of Hungary. Then there are *Magyaróvár, Moson* and *Pápa*, the last named with an old Calvinist theological Academy founded in the 16th century.

Pozsony (Pop. 93.000) on the left bank of the Danube, and now in Czechoslovakia and known as Bratislava, is the largest of the Little Alföld towns. It is situated strategically just where the Danube enters the plain. Below Pozsony, there is no place suitable for crossing the river till you come to Komárom. It is thus naturally a commercial centre and also an industrial town. In 1920 it had 78.000 inhabitants of whom 32.000 were Hungarians, 33.000 Germans and 12.000 Slovaks and yet, according to Wilsonian principles, it was adjudicated to the Czechs. It is now the principal Czech port on the Danube.

Komárom (Pop. 18.000) is now, as we have seen, divided into two. It was a fortress guarding the passage across the ri-

ver and its boast is that it was never taken by siege. The town was purely Hungarian, though now in Czech territory.

The Carpathian Highlands.

From Devesz to Orsova, the great chain of the Carpathians sweeps round in a rough semi-circle, separating the Hungarian basin from the East European Plain. Its length is about 1250 miles, and in width it varies from 50 to 95 miles. It may be divided into three sections: a) the North-Western Highlands; b) the North-Eastern Highlands; c) the South-Eastern Highlands or Transylvania.

Sárrétudvari. Presbyterian Church.

The North-Western Highlands.

This region extends from the Great and Little Alföld north to the old frontier and from the Morva valley to the valleys of the Poprád, Tarcsa and Hernad. It covers half the area of the Great Alföld. The outer chain of the Carpathians begins at the Danube in the Little Carpathians and terminates in the Jablonka. Roughly parallel, an inner range runs through the Great and Little Fátra to unite with the other in the Magura and continue, to form the greatest mountain mass in Hungary, the High Tátra, south of which is the Low Tátra. The highest point in the High Tátra, is the Francis Joseph peak, 2663 m. (8737 ft.) These mountains are covered with pine forests and in the valleys, the terminal moraines of the Ice Age glaciers have been the means of creating beautiful lakes, of which the most renowned are Csorba, Zöldtó, Öttavak, Tengerszem and Poprád. South of the Low Tátra, the hills are rich in minerals e. g. the Hungarian Erzgebirge, Gömör-Szepes Erzgebirge and the Vepor Hills.

To the south of this great mountain region is another of much lower hills, the most notable of which is the lovely Mátra which figures on the Hungarian coat of arms. It is a continuation of the Hungarian Central Highlands and its highest point, 3314 ft, is now the highest point in Hungary. This group ends in the Bükk Mountains, where the only iron mine left to Hungary is to be found at Rudóbánya.

This whole highland region was the glory of Hungary. It has a beauty of infinite variety. The Tátra is a region of towering, jagged peaks, rushing torrents and deep, placid tarns, reflecting as in a mirror the snowy heights which tower above them. Along the Vág valley, romantic ruins of old castles, crowning the crests of the hills, hark back to „old forgotten far-off things and battles long ago". Then there are the velvety-green upland pastures and the roaring torrents and broad plateaus of the lower hills, the beech forests and, in the depths of the mild valleys, the old popular watering-places. Now all belongs to the Czech.

With the exception of the Poprád and the Dunajec, which are tributaries of the Visztula, all the rivers belong to the Danube system. Those of the western section flow direct into the Danube, viz. the Morva, the Vág with its tributaries, the Nyitra, Garam and Ipoly. In the eastern section, the Rima, Sajó and Hernád flow to the Tisza. The natural routes follow the valleys and run down towards the Alföld and not north over the high divide towards Bohemia-Moravia.

Climate. Since it is a region of alternating mountains and valleys, its climate is naturally not so uniform as the Alföld's, but varies with the land configuration. The winter is long and cold, the summer short

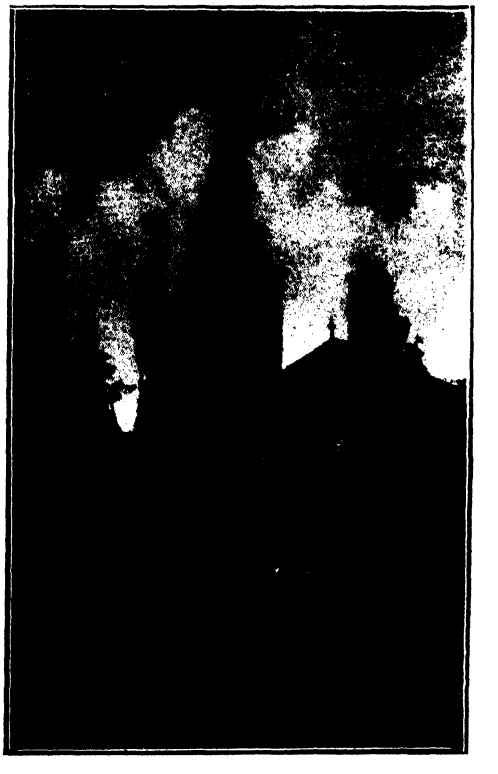
and not so warm as on the plains. The south is warmer than the north, with a mean annual temperature 2° C. higher than the Alföld's, while the mean in the north is 4° C. lower than it is on the Alföld. Snow begins to fall in the higher parts in September and lies till late in the spring. The rainfall is heavier than on the Alföld, 800—1100 mm yearly.

As might be excepted, it is not such a good district for agriculture as the Great Plain is. In fact it needs to import food from the plains. In the lower parts of the valleys, among the foothills of the south, the soil is, in the main, brown clay, good for cereals and hoed crops. Wheat grows on the lower levels of the south, higher up we find barley or rye, and highest of all, in the north, oats is the only cereal cultivable. The oats crop is harvested in August and it supplies the poor people with their bread. Altogether the cereals grown do not amount to 45% of the Alföld's crop. Of the hoed crops, potatoes are by far the most important, and, indeed, form one of the staple foods of the hill people. Industrial plants are represented in the lower valleys by flax, sugar beet and tobacco.

The vine is only grown on the southern slopes of the hills on the rim of the Alföld. Fruit is found all over, but in the north it does not ripen well. The beach and the oak flourish in the south and in the north are the great pine forests, covering the sides of the mountains. Above the 1500 metre line the woods cease. Shrubs, dwarf pines and juniper grow on the rocky slopes. Then come the snow meadows and the mountain pastures above which the slopes run steeply up to the bare and jagged peaks where nothing grows but moss and lichens and only the chamois, among living creatures, is to be found.

The forest industries are important in the north-western part of this country, where many saw-mills are kept busy turning out wood for all purposes. Many people are engaged in the manufacture of furniture, for instance. The woods are full of game. Deer and boar are common, but in some parts you may even find sometimes wolves, bears, lynxes and wild cats. On the upper meadows, the peasants mow the hay and graze their herds in summer. In the usual Alpine pastoral manner, they drive their cattle and their sheep up to the higher levels in the spring time, just as soon as the grass is free from snow, remaining there till the first snowfall of autumn tells them that winter is coming. The wool of the mountain sheep and such dairy produce as the celebrated „liptói turó", cheese etc. is exported to great distances.

Minerals. In olden times, the gold and silver mines of the Magyar Erzgebirge were famous. (Selmec and Körmöcbánya) but now they are almost worked out. At the present time, it is the coal and iron mines which are important. These are



Somogyszob. Presbyterian Church.

found principally in the Szepes-Gömör districts and supply more than half of the total output of the whole country. Copper is mined at Szomolnok and Gölnicbánya. In the valleys of the Garam, Hernád and Gölnic, you find foundries and forges one after the other, where the local ore is dealt with. Coal-mines exist at Salgótarján and in the Sajó and Boldva valleys.

This, in fact, is the industrial area par excellence of Hungary. Iron manufactures, especially of agricultural implements and engines and of railway materials, take the lead. Salgótarján, Ozd, Diósgyőr, Zólyom-

Somogyszob. Village Office.

brezó are the principal centres. Woodmills, furniture works and paper-mills are also numerous. There are also considerable leather and glass industries. Communications with the plain are numerous and good, but the routes north over the mountains are few.

At the time of the coming of the Hungarians, this region could only have been thinly populated by Slav tribes, since the Hungarian kings had to take steps to have its population increased. At the same time, excavations show that man has lived here since the Old Stone Age. In modern times its population amounted to 3 millions.

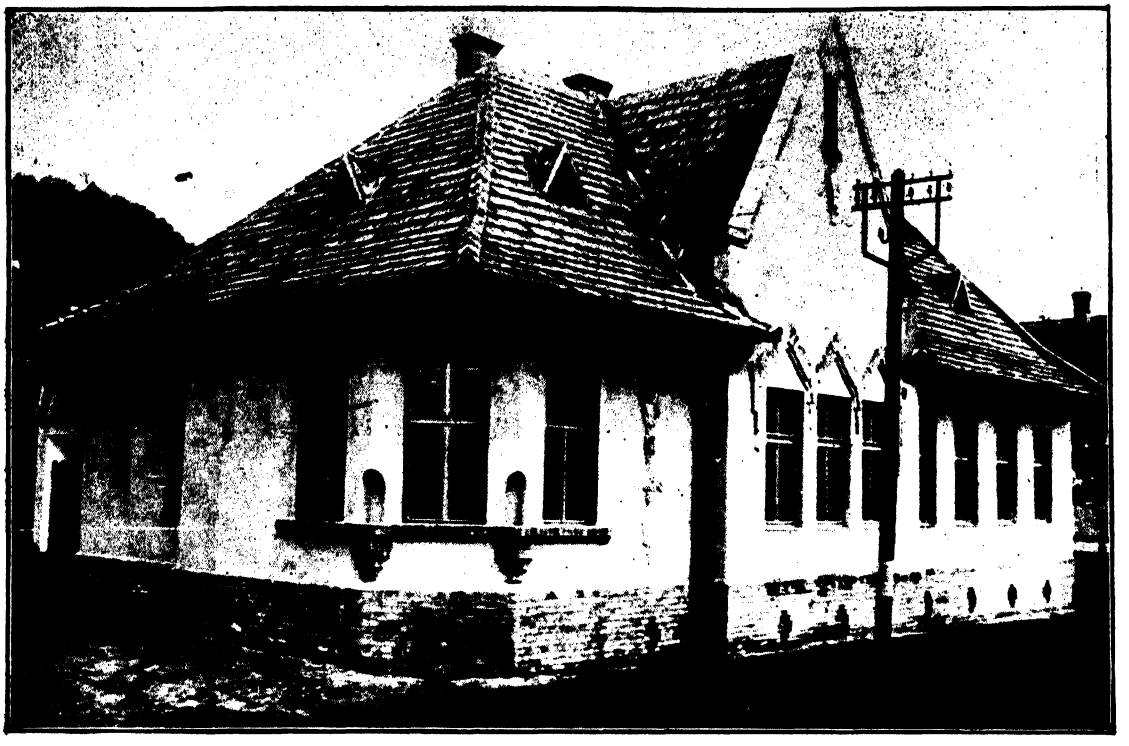
On entering their present home, the Hungarians immediately occupied the basins of Nógrád, Gömör and Hernád, and here we find many ancient place names of Hungarian origin and many old Hungarian settlements. The Nyitra and even probably the Morva basins were also occupied at an early date. At the time of the Trianon Treaty, half of the North-Western Highlands was purely Hungarian and most of the Slovaks and Germans spoke Hungarian also.

The Hungarian highlanders, who speak a peculiar dialect of Hungarian, are called the „palóc" people, and round Mezőkövesd are the „Matyók." The colourful „Matyó" embroideries are world-famous.

The Slovaks settled in this region later, coming probably from the more inaccessible corners of the Carpathians. They are not the descendants of the Moravians who lived in the Czecho-Slovak Empire. Their language is distinct from those of the Czechs and the Moravians, though nearer to the Czech. It is obvious, however, that from an etnographical point view they are more akin to the Hungarians than to any other race, Their folk-songs are similar and having no natural dance of their own, they dance the „Csárdás". In general, in their enthnographical characteristics, and their whole mode of thought, they resemble the Hungarians more than they do either the Czechs or the Poles. 70% of them are Roman Catholics and 30% are Lutherans. The west Slovaks differ materially from those of the east, so much so, that it would seem to be certain that their racial origin must have been very mixed. They have multiplied and spread southwards, in many cases ousting the Hungarians and slovacising old Hungarian communities.

Living, as they mostly do, in the high valleys, existence is not too easy. Their own agriculture is not of any account and they depend more upon the exploitation of the high mountain pastures and upon commerce and industry. Like the Savoyards, the Slovaks are also constrained to seek a livelihood, usually either by manual labour or peddling in the lowlands. Thus,

Somogyszob. Railway Station.



Százhalombatta. Notary's House.

especially in former times, the Slovaks were known over half Europe as itinerant glaziers, tinkers, basket-workers and potters. Their custom was to descend from their mountains at the beginning of the summer and then to return to their families in the winter with what they had earned abroad. During the great building boom in Budapest in the years preceding the war, the day labourers were nearly all Slovaks. Also, on the Alföld, the Slovaks from the Turóc and Árva districts used to come for the summer months to work in the fields, where they made enough to keep themselves and their families for the winter.

In their own country, the forests offered one source of income, and formerly it was a common sight to see some Slovaks taking the results of weeks of labour down their rivers in the form of large rafts. Then, previous to 1919, with the assistance of the Hungarian government, the industries of these highlands were developing rapidly, entering into vigorous competition with the factories of Bohemia. That was why it was necessary to „free" the Slovaks, for now the Czech government has pulled the feet from under them and they are no longer dangerous competitors of the Czechs. In number they were about 1.700.000.

The original inhabitants of the towns were of German origin. They were settled by the Hungarian kings in the interests of the mining industry. When the mines were worked out, however, the descendants of those Germans took up other occupations and mixed with the Hungarians. Most of the Hungarians who have German names, come from these parts. The old mining towns declined, of course, and they are not now the imposing places they used to be. In Selmecbánya used to be the famous mining school. While the language used in the lectures was German, its students were mostly foreigners, but after Hungarian was adopted, the foreign students ceased to come. Since the Czech occupation, the college has been closed down. This was part of a deliberate policy to enslave the North-Western Highlands to Czech capital. Most of the Germans come from Szepes. They are of Silesian origin and are called Saxons by mistake. They call themselves „Zipsers".

Both Germans and Slovaks were good Hungarian subjects and did their part

Szendrő. Ruins of Castle.

faithfully on the Hungarian side in the Liberty War.

Besides these, some Poles are to be found in the basin of the Árva.

In the pastoral and forest districts of the North-Western Highlands, the population is scattered and the people live in wooden houses. We do find tiny villages in the valleys, but in them also only the larger and more important buildings are of stone. Larger communities have sprung up in spots adjacent to mines, or favourably placed as market centres, or at the junction of different routes.

Mining towns: Selmecbánya, Körmöcbánya, Besztercebánya, Breznóbánya, Kapnikbánya, Gölnicbánya. These have all declined with the decline of mining. The Hungarian government endeavoured to indemnify each of these communities in some way e. g. Selmecbánya with the school, Körmöcbánya with the mint etc. but it was hardly possible to prevent the natural decay.

Towns with a double reason for their importance as being both centres of administration and points upon which routes converge are Trencsén, Zsolna, Zólyom, Rózsahegy, Késmárk, Igló, Lőcse, Eperjes, Kassa, Rozsnyó, Balassagyarmat etc: and to these we may perhaps add Miskolcz.

With the exception of the small discrict lying to the south of the Ipoly and the Sajó, all these regions are now in Czechoslovakia.

Districts of the North-Western Highland Region.

A) *Under Czechoslovakia.*

The Vág valley is the wildest and least productive part of the whole region, but its natural beauty surpasses belief. Over its whole length it is covered with the picturesque ruins of old castles. Towns: Liptószentmiklós, Rózsahegy, Alsókubin, Árvaváralja with its famous castle, Turócszentmárton, centre of Slovak culture, with its museum, Stubnya, Ruttka and Zsolna the largest of the Vág-towns and an important railway junction; Trencsén, where Matthew Csák had his stronghold, and Pöstyén, the world-famed spa.

The Nyitra, Garam and Ipoly valleys. Nyitra was once one of the outer bastions in the defences of the Little Alföld and a

Szendrő. Ruins of Castle.

market-town for the commerce of the North-West Highlands. At Nyitra-bánya, there is the largest colliery in Czechoslovakia. At Nagysurány, one of the largest sugar-refineries within the borders of old Hungary is to be found. Léva is a considerable town in the Bars county. Ujbánya and Körmöcbánya are old mining towns which have, like others, declined as the gold and silver mines have been worked out. In Körmöcbánya, however, they used to print the Hungarian money and even worked for other countries on contract. Vihnye and Skleno—watering places. In the Garam valley: Zólyom, Zólyombrézó, Breznóbánya, Selmecbánya, Losonc, Gács are centres of the cloth-manufacturing industry in the Ipoly valley.

The High-Tátra, including the Poprád-Dunajec valleys. This is a tourist district purely and simply. The Hungarians invested large sums of money in the various holiday resorts. Centres: Tátrafüred, Csorba, Tátraszéplak, Tátralomnitz, Barlangliget, Poprád, Felka, Késmárk, where Thököly is buried, and Lubló.

The Sajó, Rima and Hernád valleys form the south-eastern sector. Rimaszombat is the principal town on the Rima. At Dobsina is the famous ice-cavern. In this interesting cavern the cold air of winter is caught and held so that the water which percolates through the rocks, remains frozen even during the summer. Other towns are Rozsnyó and Csetnek.

In *the Hernád—Gölnic district* Lőcse is the centre of a beautiful region. It is noted for its old, medieval buildings. Igló is an old industrial town. Eperjes, in the Tarca—Hernád valley, is an old commercial town on the route to Poland. Other towns are Kisszeben, Bártfa, Sóvár, Vörösvágás, Much the most important town in the whole North-West-Highlands is Kassa, on the Hernád. Its situation is ideal from many points of view. Francis Rákóczi II. is buried here and it has many other points of historic interest.

B) *In Mutilated Hungary.*

This district includes the lower-lying southern part of the North-West Highlands proper, together with the Cserhát, Mátra and Bükk Hills.

Szerep. Remains of old Castle.

On the western boundary is the frontier town of Balassagyarmat. Salgótarján is a great mining town, with iron works and glass factories also. Parad is a famous watering place. Eger, on the edge of the Alföld, is the key to the North. It is renowned for the part it played in the Turkish wars. In Heves County seismic disturbances occur from time to time, due, however, not to volcanic action, but to subsidence of the deeper layers of the Alföld's subsoil.

Iron is manufactured at Diósgyőr and Ózd and mined at Rudóbánya, where the only iron mine left to Hungary is to be found. One of the most interesting natural phenomena of Hungary is the stalactite cave of Aggtelek.

The North-Eastern Highlands.

Boundaries: the Poprád, Tarca, Hernád valleys on the west; and the Aranyos, Beszterce valleys to the east.

This region is composed of a narrow double line of mountains which rise steeply from the Great Plain. The one chain, which marks the old frontier, is built up of sedimentary rocks and includes the Carpathian Forest, the East Beskid and Máramaros Mountains. The highest peak is the Hoverla, 2058 metres. This region is covered by great forests, the greatest in old Hungary, and extensive mountain pastures. Large tracts of it are uninhabited. The passes and cols over which the roads lead are easy and good: e. g. the Dukla, Uzsok, Vereczke and Tatár passes. The Carpathian range is at its narrowest at this point and from a military point of view, the Carpathian line is here most vulnerable. In the fierce fighting of 1915 many Hungarians were killed defending these passes.

In the west of this region a long spur of low, rounded hills runs out to the south ending in the Hegyalja, on the slopes of which are the famous vineyards of Tokaj. The soil in which the wines are grown is of volcanic origin. Further evidence of ancient volcanic activity in this area is supplied by the line of volcanoes running along the circumference of the Alföld parallel to the high Carpathian sedimentary range, between the Vihorlát and the Gutin.

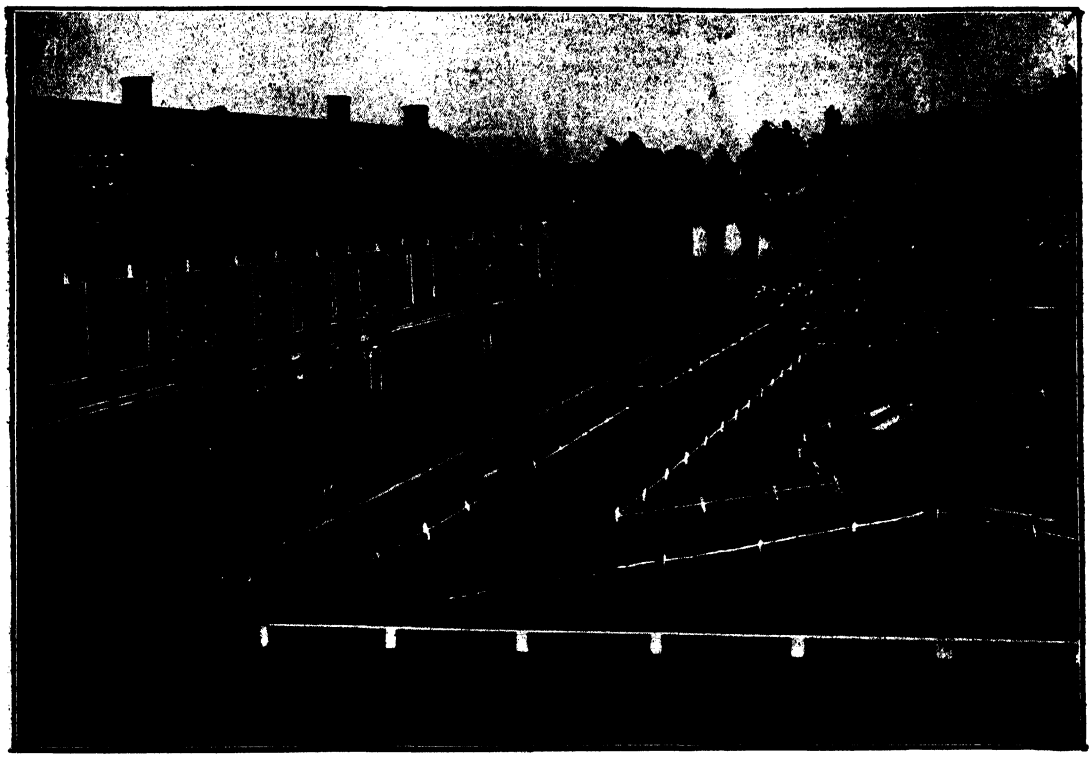
The old frontier coincides with the watershed and the rivers of these parts all run to the Tisza. The Tisza itself rises in these mountains in two streams, the Black and the White Tisza. It used to be a purely Hungarian river from source to mouth, but it is so no longer. The tributaries on the right bank are the Tarac, Talabor, Nagyág, and the Bodrog with its own tributaries, the Latorca, Ung, Laborca, Ondava and Topoly; on the left bank, the Viso and Iza.

Rainfall: 1500 mm; three times as heavy as on the Alföld. This is the wettest part of the Carpathians.

The region as a whole is not suitable for agriculture, though some rye, oats and potatoes are grown in the valleys.

The most famous product of this part of the world is the Tokay or Tokaj wine. The name is given to it by market town of Tokaj, but the vineyards themselves occupy the volcanic ground on the slopes of the Hegyalja.

Wines made from the grapes of Tokaj in the ordinary way are very good, but it is the „aszu" that is most celebrated — „the wine of kings and the king of wines". Imitations can be and are put on the market, but they can never be really like the real thing. The reason for this lies in the special climatic conditions of the Hegyalja. The preparation of Tokaj „aszu" requires that the grapes should desiccate on



Szikszó. Town Hall.

the vines without rotting. For this, dry, warm weather in the autumn, after the grapes are fully ripe, is necessary — i. e. an Indian summer or „old women's summer", as the Hungarians call it. This regularly occurs in the interval between the change from summer to winter monsoon conditions. In the Mediterranean climatic region the conditions of this „old women's summer" are not to be found, owing to the autumn rains. Even on the Hegyalja, if the rain comes early, it is impossible to make „aszu" wine that year. When the year is good, the bunches of grapes are picked with great care, only those which have desiccated properly being used. These, on being pressed, naturally give only a small yield of must, and that so thick and sugary that it has to be diluted with wine made in the ordinary way. The process is rather complicated. The grapes are measured out by the panier or dosser („puttony"). The more perfect their condition, the less must they yield to the dosser, or „puttony", to use the Hungarian word. Thus to any given quantity of wine, it is necessary to know the number of „puttonys", in order to judge of its quality. The higher the „puttony" number, the finer the „aszu" wine.

The northerly slopes of the Hegyalja, towards the Hernád, are covered with woods which supply the material for the winebarrels, which are manufactured at Göncz. These Göncz barrels are the unit of measure in the Tokaj wine trade.

Life in the North-Eastern Highlands.

Not much is to be said on this head. Ruthenians are in the great majority in this region, a people allied to the Slavs of Galicia and differing considerably from the Slovaks in all respects. Culturally they are on a lower level. They are poor and under the thumb of the Greek-Catholic priests. The Hungarian government did what it could to help them, for economically they were dependent on Hungary, being separated from the other Russian peoples by huge, impassable forests; and so they were always faithful subjects of the Holy Crown. For two main reasons, however, the well-intentioned efforts of the state met with no success. In the first place, the people in themselves are slovenly and good-for-nothing, though if well led, they work well enough. By themselves, however, they show no initiative whatever,

and no foresight. Because of this they are dirty in their persons and their houses, they have little culture, and they are addicted to spirit-drinking. In the second place, the efforts of the government to raise this people failed, because of the Galician Jews who settled among them. These are even dirtier than the Ruthenians and very unscrupulous. They exploit the stupid Ruthenians, and they are so numerous that they give their complete character to some of the towns. Everything is in the hands of the fur-capped, be-kaftaned Jews, and the Ruthenians are only their serfis. According to the census of 1910, the sizes of the Jewish communities were as follows:

	Total Population	No. of Jews
Munkács	17.275	7675
Ungár	16.919	5305
Sztropkó	2585	1141
Varannó	2145	587
Alsóverecke	1935	800
Bilke	4685	1021
Huszt	10.292	2371
Szaplonca	3475	1134
Faluszlatina	3860	1838
Felsőapsa	4704	1029
Tiszakarácsonfalva	2517	1330
Nagybocskó	5955	1163
Borsa	9343	2260
Felsőrusó	9249	3201
Máramarossziget	21.370	7981
Visó Parish	44.206	11.088

The Ruthenians were a people wilting under constant pressure by Slovaks from the west, Romanians from the east, Jews from Galicia, and Hungarians from the Alföld. All these different peoples were steadily penetrating the Ruthenian highlands and establishing themselves there at the expense of the autochthonous Ruthenians.

Czechoslovakian Districts. Zemplén with Nagymihály and Homonna, the chief towns. Ung, Bereg, with Ungvár and Munkács as the principal towns. Máramaros—Huszt, the key to the district.

Roumania. In the interior of the North-Eastern Highlands the only really considerable town is Máramarossziget in Máramaros. In 1920, it had 22,000 inhabitants and is the largest of all of the North-Eastern Highland towns. It commands the route followed by the railway over the Kőrösmező Pass to Lemberg (Lwow). Quite

Szikszó. Town Hall Square.

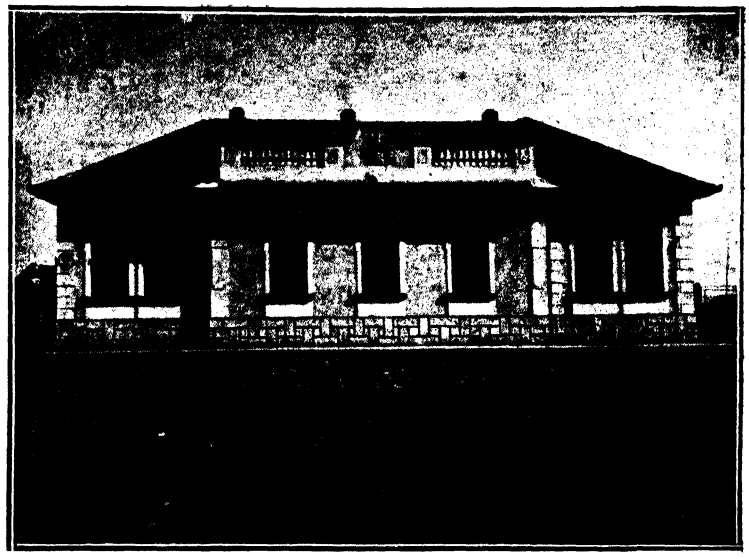
near are Rónaszék, Szlatina, Aknasuhatág with their salt mines. In Szatmár, there are gold and silver mines at Nagybánya, Felsőbánya and Kapubánya, in the Gutin Hills.

Mutilated Hungary. The rim of the Alföld. Szerencs, the greatest centre of the Hungarian sugar-refining industry. Tokaj, Tállya, Mád, Tarcal, Tolcsva, all sources of Tokaj wines. Sárospatak, a very old town with an old Calvinist Theological Academy and a castle which belonged to the Rákóczys. Sátoraljaujhely, on the present frontier.

As is obvious, this whole region, no less than the North-Western Highlands, is economically tied up with the Alföld. The population of both of those regions together is divided as follows: Hungarians 1.1 million; Germans, 0.25 million; Slovaks, 1.7 million; Ruthenians, 0.5 million. The Czechs don't comprise 1% of the population of this territory they now rule, as against 30% Hungarians and 47% Slovaks.

In losing these highland regions, the Hungarians have lost an annual amount of 14 million quintals of cereals and 23 million quintals of potatoes i. e. 44% of the

total potafo crop, 1/3 of the barley used for brewing and of the sugar beet have also gone to the Czechs, besides 23.000 holds of vineyards, producing 170.000 hectolitres of wine per annum. A still greater loss was that sustained by Hungarian industry. More than 800 factories employing about 100.000 men are situated in these highlands; thus a quarter of all the factories of Hungary, with 18 % of the total number of workmen, are now in Czechoslovakia. Mines, foundries, chemical and glass works, textile factories, sawmills, tanneries, papermills, many of them have been torn from their natural centre and have gone as an embarras de richesses to the industrial Czechoslovakia.



Szikszó. Administration Office.

The South-Eastern Highlands or Transylvania.

Transylvania is the name given to the well-marked geographical region lying in the angle of the Carpathians on the east of the Great Plain. For a long time it was an independent state, whose Protestant princes were the champions of the Hungarian nation for centuries. Geologically, its origin was similar to that of the Alföld. It also was once the bottom of an inland sea, though now its general level is much higher than that of the Great Plain. The natural divisions are the following: a) Székelerland in the east, b) the South Carpathians, c) the East-Hungarian Outlying or „Island" Mountains in the west, d) the Transylvanian Basin, in the centre of a), b) and c).

a) *Széklerland* occupies the most easterly sector of old Hungary and extends from the Borgó Pass southwards to the Pass of Tömös. In the east it is bounded by the main chain of the Carpathians, the old frontier of Hungary, and in the west, by the Hargitta Mountains (5899 feet). Between these two mountain lines there lie broad and fertile valleys where dwell that interesting and puzzling people, the Széklers. To the north flows the Maros, to the south the Olt. In the Hargitta Group is perhaps the representative of the last active volcano in Hungary. The crater of the Csomal Hill is still plain to be seen. The pretty Saint Anna lake fills part of it; surface 950 m. above

Szikszó. Sheriff's House.

A Street in Tarany.

sea-level. Its depth is 8 m. and above its crystal clear waters the walls of the crater rise for 300—350 m., completely covered with trees. The neighbourhood bears many signs of its volcanic origin. The eastern boundary chain is difficult to cross, but there are numerous passes e. g. Borgó, Tölgyes, Békás, Gyimes, Ojtor, Bodza. It is asserted that it was to guard these passes that the Székler people were settled here by the Hungarian kings.

In Széklerland the winters are long and the climate colder than on the Alföld. The land, too, is poor, good only for rye, potatoes and oats. Thus the people are largely occupied in sheep and cattle rearing, for which they have the advantage of the mountain pastures. A characteristic animal is the buffalo (bivaly). Life is not easy for the Széklers, and to supplement the produce of their fields, they have to exploit their forests or fare far afield selling their famous „wine-waters" (borvíz), a kind of mineral water like wine in appearance.

The Széklers are a tall race of spare build. Their villages are bright and pleasing in appearance. The houses are built of more than one story, with porches usually full of flowers. A light wooden fence separates the courtyard from the street and the gateways are often veritable works of art. The gate stands always open, as if the master of the house would say that he is gladly at home to everybody.

b) The South Carpathians.

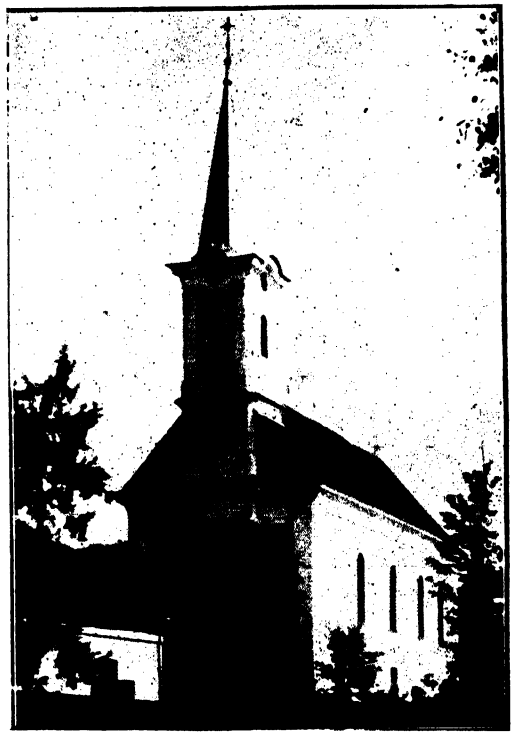
The South-Carpathians begin from the Királykő and continue westwards as far as the Danube. They may be considered in two sections. 1. the South Carpathians proper; 2. the South-Hungarian Highlands.

1. The South Carpathians are, next to the Tátra, the loftiest mountain mass in Hungary. The central chain is very high indeed, reaching its highest point in the Negoi (8320 feet). Communications in this mountain region are difficult. The slopes are bare and between the spurs lie mountain tarns of glacial origin. The only easy routes leading over the divide to Roumania are those by the Zsil and the Olt valleys, over the Vulcan Pass and the Vöröstorony (Red Tower) Pass respectively. The northern slopes flatten out to the broad Barcaság and the plain of Fogaras. They are quite unproductive except for their woods and their mountain pastures. The wildest scenery is found in the Retyezát, west of the Vulcan Pass.

2. The South-Hungarian Highlands, lying between the Maros and the Danube, form quite a different region. The northern part is covered with forests and the southern is exceptionally rich in coal and iron. The Danube breaks through these mountains by the Kazan Pass, one of the most beautiful bits of scenery in all Europe. It was here that Count Széchenyi built the great road named after him, and that later the Hungarian gevernment undertook the great task of blasting a navigable channel through the dangerous reefs of the Iron Gate. It is in this part of the Danube that you find the interesting little island of Ada-Kaleh which has still a Turkish population. The Temes, Berzava, Karas, Nera all rise among these hills and flow to the Danube.

Economically, the mines of this region are its most important feature. It is not in general suitable for agriculture. Besides Hungarians, both „Saxons" and Roumanians inhabit this country, the last-named being in the majority. These Roumanians are a race of mountaineers, most at home on the high pasture lands where they tend their sheep. When they descend to the valleys, they make some attempt at agriculture, but their efforts along this line are not to be compared with the work of the Hungarians and the Saxons. They are not steady workers. Their villages are irregularly built and incredibly dirty. They are full of superstition. The village priest, or „popa", as he is called, often can neither read nor write, but he rules his people with an iron hand by trading upon their superstitious fears. If anyone should cross him, the priest will "overlook" his cattle that may cease to give milk, and curse his land so that it may yield a poor crop. Because of the large number of high days and holidays in the Greek Orthodox calendar, work stagnates and the Roumanians have become accustomed to idleness. The Transylvanian Hungarians made a great mistake in permitting these Roumanians to spread and multiply as they did. By proper cohesion and sound policy. the Roumanians could easily have been held in check, although the Austrians always took the Roumanian side and on the military maps prepared in Vienna, preferred the Roumanian to the Hungarian names of places. In this way, and especially because of these maps, Transylvania was presented to the world with a Roumanian face. It was bad policy from the Austrian point of view, but the Hungarian government was also to blame for standing it.

The Saxons were settled in Transylvania by Geza II. in the 12th century to defend the south-east frontier and to develope industry, and still live in compact communities round Brassó, Nagyszeben and in the two Küküllős. They were always a very exclusive people and never really fraternised with the Hungarians, nor mixed with them. As a result, they have degenerated and declined in numbers. The Germans of Hungary proper always agreed



Tarany. R. C. Church.

very well with the Hungarians, but not so these Saxons, from whom the Hungarians had much to endure, and who were really allowed to be a state within the state. It must, however, be admitted that they form the most civilised community of Transylvania. They are for the most part an industrial and commercial people. Their village schools are models. Since the population of the industrial towns was originally German, we find that the inner parts of the large towns are built in a pedantic German style.

Saxon villages are clean and orderly. The houses are built with the gable to the street, and between the front of one house

Tiszaeszlár. Village Office.

and the back of another is the courtyard of the first. This courtyard is separated from the street by a high wall pierced by two gates, a larger and a smaller, both kept jealously closed against the possible curiosity of passers-by. The village seems dead. No children run about the streets; for the „one child" (egyke) idea has established itself and the number of children is small. This is a dying people, avoiding contact with the peoples around, and even hardly permitting its women to marry strangers.

The high levels of the mountains are uninhabited, though on the mountain pastures there is a scattered population of shepherds living in wood or stone „sztinas". All the villages and towns are in the valleys or in the neighbourhood of mines.

Towns. The better known towns on the borders of the Alföld are: *Fehértemplom, Versec, Lugos.* Those in mining areas are: Dognácska, Oravicabánya, Stájerlak-Anna, Resicabánya, Petrozsény, Vajdahunyad. This last has a well known iron-works and a still better known old castle. *Orsova* is built in an important position. Even in Roman times, the road leading from the Danube at Orsova north over the Porta Orientalis to the Maros-Danube plains, was famous. By taking this road, the narrow and formerly practically impassable valley of the Danube was avoided. We know that the Emperor Trajan literally cut a road out of the rocky flanks of the Kazan Pass, and we have already mentioned the Széchenyi road constructed according to Paul Vásárhelyi's plans. That, together with the great work of canalising the Iron Gate was a great triumph for Hungarian engineers and represented an enormous expenditure of Hungarian maney. Now the Roumanian boasts that they are his.

Brassó in the Barcaság was one of the most beautifully situated towns in Hungary. Before the war, half of its inhabitants were Hungarians, a quarter Saxons and a quarter Roumanians, and in the suburbs near the moat, some Roumanised Bulgarians had settled. Part of the old fortifications of the Innerstadt are still standing. The narrow streets and high houses, the lovely Gothic of the Black Church, the Town Hall, built in several styles, which stands in the principal square, all combine to give a picturesque, antique flavour to the town which, in all Transylvania, has best preserved its original appearance and

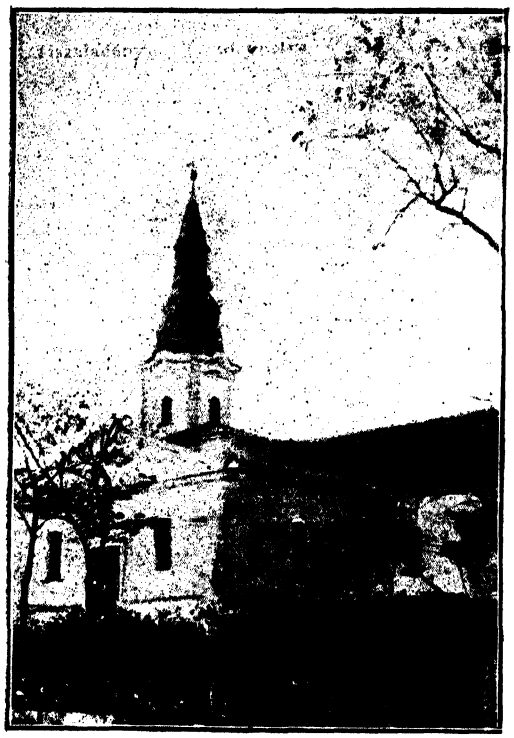
Tiszaeszlár. Reformed Church.

Tiszakeszi. Ferry over the Tisza.

design. *Nagyszeben* also has preserved a large proportion of its old, Germanic buildings. Its lofty castle and its bastions exist still in a respectable state of preservation. Nagyszeben is the centre of Saxon culture. Both it and Brassó are situated on routes leading to the old Kingdom of Roumania. The one from Brassó passes over the Tömös Pass, the other over the „Red Tower" Pass. Now that Transylvania is in the possession of the Roumanians, both have lost most of their former importance.

The East-Hungarian Outlying, or „Island" Mountain region.

This region lies between the rivers Maros and Szamos, and rises like an island above the lower lands of the Alföld on the one hand, and of the Transylvanian Basin on the other. The Hegyes-Drócsa Range runs from Arad eastwards above the right bank of the Maros. The continuation of this line to the east is the Transylvanian Erzgebirge, rich in silver, gold and other minerals. Its gold mines were worked by the Romans when they took possession of the province of Dacia, as Transylvania was then called. At this point begin the mountains of Bihar which are the greatest obstacle lying between the Alföld and Transylvania. Only two really good routes cross them, the one by the Maros valley and the other by the famous „Királyhágó" (King's Pass) over which for centuries the most frequented route between the Alföld and Transylvania has led. West of the Bihar Mountains is the lower group of the Bili Hills which descend on the west gradually to the Alföld. To the east, rising above the Transylvanian Basin, are the Gyalu Mountains, and to the north, the flanks of the Király-Erdő (King's Wood) Range slope down to the valley of the Sebes-Kőrös. The Bihar Mountains, catching the rainbearing winds, are the source of many streams. The Sebes (Swift), the Black and White Kőrös, which all unite in the Alföld to enter the Tisza near Csongrád as the Triple Kőrös, rise in these mountains. Towards Transylvania flow the Aranyos, the Warm and the Cold Szamos, which enter the Great Szamos near Kolozsvár. These rivers often flow through deep gorges of great natural beauty, and sometimes pass underground through great caverns much



Tiszaladány. Reformed Church.

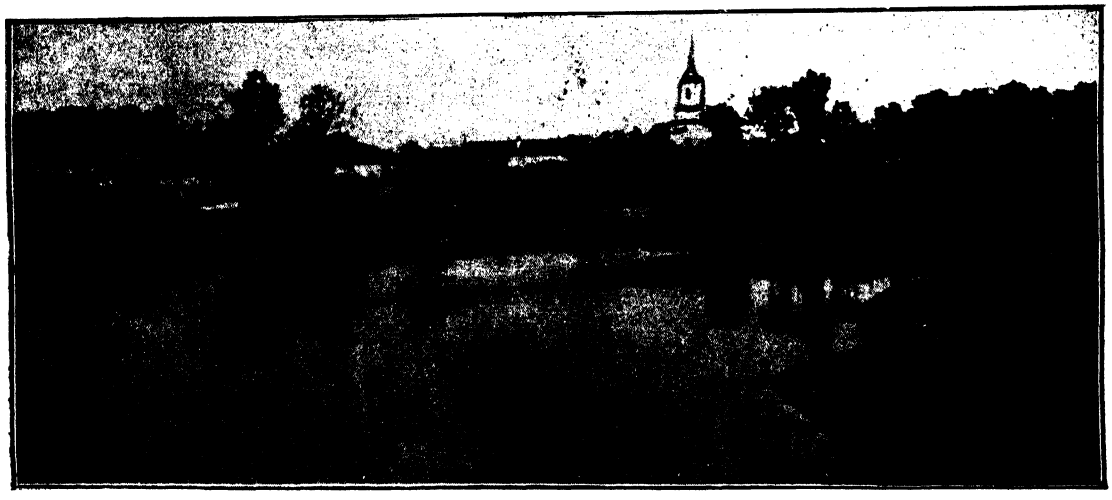
visited by tourists. North of the Szamos, the mountains gradually decrease in height, eventually terminating in the soft contours of the Szilágyság. At this point, we are already at the frontier of Transylvania. Between the Szilágyság and the Alföld, there is still another range of hills, thickly covered with woods, — the Szatmár and Bükk (Beach) Hills.

In consequence of the heavy rainfall, the sides of these hills are covered by great forests and mountain pasture lands. In the Szilágyság, fruit of all kinds and maize are grown. The gold mines of the Transylvanian Erzgebirge are the most productive in Europe. The gold is mined at Brád, Zalatna, Abrudbánya and Verespatak.

The inhabitants for the greater part are Roumanians. The valleys running up from the Alföld are inhabited by Hungarians who form the connecting links between the main Hungarian block and the Székler Hungarians in the east. In Kalotaszeg and Bánfihunyad there is a population of Hungarians who have preserved the ancient picturesque folk dress and many of the old customs. Their embroidery is famous. Torockó is also renowned for the beauty of its folk dress. The towns were built on the skirts of the mountains. Gyulafehérvár was once the capital of the independent Hungarian princes of Transylvania. *Nagyenyed* has an old Calvinist college founded by Gabriel *Bethlen* and in which Alexander *Csoma* de Kőrös, the great Tibetan explorer, once studied. *Torda* has famous old salt mines. The largest salt mine is in Marosujvár.

The Transylvanian Basin.

Between the three highland areas lies the Transylvanian Basin like a great saucer whose rim is broken by the valleys of the Maros, Szamos and the Olt, along which the main roads lead out of Transylvania. The whole district is tilted to slope from west to east, and both geographically and economically, its main connections are



View of Tiszalök.

Tiszanána. Village Office.

with Central Hungary and not with the Kingdom of Roumania which lies over the high divide of the Carpathians. The ancient seafloor has been deeply dissected by the rivers, so that little remains of the former plain. Instead, you have the common features of a dissected plateau. The surface is covered by hills of the clay sediment laid down by the ancient sea. North of the Maros stretches the Mezőség, an area of treeless, grassy hills, insufficiently watered, so that agriculture and even grazing are difficult. The Maros winds along the southern edge of the Mezőség, being joined by the two Küküllős lower in its course. There are many lakes in this basin. In the time of the Transylvanian princes, many dams were built across the rivers to form fishbreeding ponds.

The soil is not of the best quality. In the south, maize, vines and wheat are grown, but the north is mainly given over to grass and hay. Because of the bad surface water, cattle-rearing is not so flourishing here as on the surrounding highlands. The most valuable product of the basin is the rock salt, which often crops out above the surface in great crags. Natural gas is also found at Kissármás where the yield is so great (40.000 cubic m. per day) that it could supply the needs of Budapest several times over.

The inhabitants of this basin used to be all Hungarians, and they formed a large majority of the population not so long ago. The Roumanian penetration, however, has been going on steadily for the last 500 years. Saxon settlements are also to be found in the southern section, along the two Küküllős.

Kolozsvár, the cultural and economic centre of Transylvania, is the largest town of the whole province. In the central square stands the cathedral of Saint Michael, with the great equestrian statute of King Matthias near by. The origin of the name is the Latin „Clausa" which meant a small fort built of turf, guarding a valley or a road. Probably the original fort was built when this region was still unsettled and danger continually threatened it from the east along the roads leading into Central Hungary. When the Roumanians seized Kolozsvár on Christmas Day, 1918, only 4000 of 75.000 inhabitants were Roumanians; the rest were Hungarians. The number of children and young people alone, attending school in the town, was 16.000; for this was the great school and college town of Hungary. *Segesvár* stands on the edge of the Küküllő Plain. Nearby is the plain of

Fehéregyháza where Alexander *Petőfi*, Hungary's national poet, fell fighting against the Austrians and Russians in the war of 1848—49. Other important towns are: Erzsébetváros, Szamosujvár, Marosvásárhely, Dés and Beszterce.

The Roumanians were not contented with Transylvania, but seized lands lying beyond the Királyhágó, along the Alföld, so as to obtain possession of the large towns built on the edge of the plain. They also placed a possessive hand on the Nagybánya and Máramaros districts.

Before departing from the subject of Transylvania, something should be said of its autochthonous inhabitants and of the origin of the Roumanians who claim to be the descendants of Roman colonists. We don't know much about the original inhabitants of Transylvania, but this much we know that the Dacians, as they were called, were not the forefathers of the present Roumanians. For 150 years, the Romans ruled in Hungary, and it is impossible to believe that the Roman colonists and the Romanised Dacians survived the collapse of the Empire and the consequent ravages of the Barbarians. In Pannonia, where the Romans remained for 500 years, no traces of their occupation remain, except some tombs and some monuments of archeological interest only. The truth is that the weight of evidence forces us to consider the Roumanians as being Slavs.

Population of the Transylvanian towns, according to the census of 1910:

TOWN	Number of inhabitants	Hungarian	German	Roumanian
Kolozsvár	60.808	50.704	1.676	7.562
Brassó	41.056	17.821	10.841	11.786
Nagyszeben . . .	33.489	7.852	16.832	8.824
Marosvásárhely .	25 517	22.790	606	1.717
Resica	17.384	2.713	9.435	3.796
Besztercze	13.236	2.824	5 835	4.470
Gyulafehérvár . .	11.616	5.226	792	5.170
Segesvár	11.587	2.687	5.486	3.031
Székelyudvarhely	10.244	9.888	212	115
Nagyenyed	8.663	6.497	163	1.940

(These figures show that the Roumanians were a village-dwelling and not a town-dwelling people.)

The Down Country over the Drave and the Maritime Highlands.

The country lying to the west of the Drave and stretching to the Adriatic, covers about as large an area as Pannonia. It may be divided into two: 1. the down country between the Save and the Drave; 2. the Carso and the coastal highlands beyond the Save.

Ujszentiván. Farmers' Cooperative Society.

1. The *Drave-Save Down country*. The Alföld is continued far up the valleys of the Drave and the Save. Above the flat country, along the courses of the river, however, the land rises in irregular series of low hills. Above the course of the Danube, south of Ujvidék, rise the Fruska Gora. Between the Drave and the Save we find the Psunj, the Papuk, the Bilo and the Kalnik. In the west, rising towards the Alps, are: the Matzel, the Ivanscica, the Sliemen and the Uskoken Hills. The climate is similar to that of Pannonia, only much warmer. The two large rivers, the Drave and the Save, both rise in the Alps. They have not been „regulated" as yet, and therefore their mains streams flow frequently through extensive marshes.

The region is well wooded. Fruit and vines are both cultivated extensively and conditions are favourable for maize. This is the great plum country and it is also the region whence comes the main supply of such produce as peas, lentils and beans. There is scarcely any mining, but forest industries are important. The inhabitants are, for the greater part, Croatians. At the same time, this region has been a part of the Kingdom of Hungary since the days of Saint Ladislaus (XI. century). In the most eastern part of the south, the people are mostly Serbs. The languages of the Serbs and Croatians are nearly allied to each other, it is true, but there is a marked contrast both in religion and culture between the two peoples. The Croatians are Roman Catholics and the better educated.

The Serbs are Greek Orthodox. The large towns grew up on those spots on the banks of the Drave and the Save where

Ujszentiván. State Elementary School.

these rivers were most easily crossed: Eszék, Pétervárad, Zimony. Others were built at the foot of the hills, like Zagreb and Pozega.

Varasd was the most thickly populated district in the Hungarian Basin (120 per squ. km.). Eszék is the principal river port on the Drave. Zagreb, near the Save, is the principal town in Croatia. The main routes from Hungary to the sea and up the Save to the Alpine country pass through it. It has a university, which is the centre of Croatian culture. Sziszek is the highest point at which the Save is navigable. Zimony is the most important town in the Szerém plain and an important port on the Danube. It lies on the main line to Constantinople.

The Carso and the Coastal Highlands.

West of the Sliemen Hills stretches the Turopolje, as the broad plain of the Upper Save is called. Between this plain and the Adriatic Sea is a great limestone highland region. This is the Carso, the continuation of the Alps. These mountains are from 1300—1500 metres high. Their barren crests rise above barren plateaus. The whole district is markedly deficient in vegetation. It was not always so. Once these hills were covered by rich forests, but when the Venetians occupied this region, they cut down these forests in order to find timber for their ship-building. The mountain soil thus exposed to the wind and weather was quickly washed off the steep slopes. In most respects it is a typical limestone region with the usual features e. g. of rivers which disappear underground etc. Indeed, only one of the streams reaches the sea on the surface; viz. the Resina, which enters the Adriatic near Fiume.

The climate of the Carso is extreme; hot summers following long, cold winters with only a short spring between. The coastal strip, however, has a milder climate than any part of Greater Hungary. Snow and frost are rare and rainfall is ample, three times as much as that of the Alföld. This area is swept by destructive winds, notably the cold Bora, which plays terrible havoc over the whole countryside and on the sea. It blows so strongly, that it has been known to overturn a railway train. The counter to the Bora is the Sirocco, which is a warm and rainbearing wind, blowing from the Mediterrenean.

Besides the dominant Croatians, many Italians live in the coastal towns. There are not many towns in the whole region and of those which are found, most of them lie along the coast: e. g. Buccari, Zeng and Cirkvenica, the last being a fashionable seaside resort.

The total population of this country lying between the Drave and the sea is 2.7 millions. Hungarians and Germans 250.000, Croatians 1.7 million, Serbians 700.000.

FIUME.

From the Hungarian point of view, the town of Fiume has a special importance, significance and value. Fiume was a *corpus separatum* in the old Kingdom of the Holy Crown. It was ruled by a governor, specially appointed by the king, who had also powers of control over the other parts of the coast. It was entirely independent of Croatia and the official language used in it was Italian, though the laws by which it was governed were made in Budapest.

Ujszentiván. Village Office.

Fiume lies in the Bay of Quarnero, into which the river Resina flows. Its harbour is protected by the Islands of Veglia and Cherso. There is scarcely any shore, and what there is has been recovered from the

Vaál. R. C. Church.

sea. The town is built on the bare flanks of the Carso. Its climate is oceanic, mild with autumn rains. Most of the inhabitants are Italians, but, as in other ports, there is a considerable mixture of races. Its entire importance was given to it by Hungary whose only port it was. Great care was given to the construction of the port and of the railway connecting it with Hungary over the wild Carso. The docks themselves, together with the mole and the sheds, cost more than four million pounds. It was here that the Hungarians established their Exports Academy; the Central Offices of the Hungarian Steamship Company were here, and to these were added a naval dockyard and torpedo factory. The life of the town was always busy and stirring, since it was the only port connecting a great hinterland with the outer world. But naturally it stood or fell with Hungary. Its traffic to-day is scarcely a sixth of what it was in 1914. It bears strongly the marks of decay, since now it is cut off from the largest and richest part of its natural hinterland. After the war, there was a squabble for its possession between the Italians and the Serbs. In the end it fell to the Italians while Susák, which is practically continuous with it, is in the possession of Yugoslavia.

Budapest.

Budapest demands special treatment, not only because it is the capital and the centre of the political, cultural, industrial and commercial life of Hungary, but because its population represents a considerable proportion of the population of the entire country as it is to day and because, like Vienna in Austria, so Budapest has to be considered a special geographical unity in Hungary. The importance of Budapest is due in the first place to its position. No other capital in Europe is so favourably situated. In the first place, it is the greatest market town in Hungary, since it lies convenient to such varied regions as the two Alföld, Pannonia and the Upper Highlands. It marks the point, in fact, where the most important market line of Old Hungary — that which runs from Zagreb to Sátoraljaujhely — crosses the main trade route, that along the Danube. In Roman times, Aquincum, which occupied the site of the present Óbuda, also marked the best ford over the Danube. In those days there was a backwater of the Danube, which extended from Ujpest by way of the Vácz Road and the Great Ring to the point where at present the great grain elevators are built. Shortly after the Hungarian occupation, the

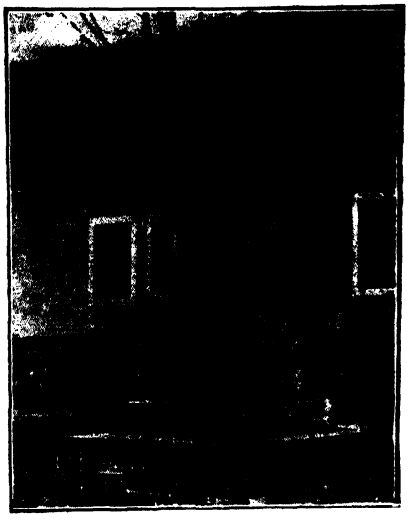
Vaál. Tomb.

best ford across the river lay between the Tabán and the Belváros. After the Mogul invasion, (1241—42), it was felt that it was necessary to build a castle. Besides

being a simple ford town, however, it must be remembered that it stands roughly in the middle of the greatest commercial waterway in Europe. Its neighbourhood has an abundance of those materials necessary for building i. e. stone, lime and clay; and, besides, a large number of hot medicinal springs adds to the amenities of the neighbourhood. It is thus not to be wondered at, that after some tentative attempts at locating the capital in Székesfehérvár, Esztergom and Pozsony, in the long run the Hungarians settled on Budapest as the place for their metropolis. Later, the natural advantages were supplemented by others. Budapest, e. g. became the centre of the whole network of railways by which Hungary was covered. In fact, it might be said that its situation was too advantageous. It came to dominate the rest of the country too completely, so much so, that apart from Budapest, no centre, either of cultural nor economic life, was able to reach any high point of development. Indeed, the prestige of Budapest was such that even those towns in the northern highlands and in Transylvania, which had been local capitals for centuries, began to

Vasvár. Church.

lose their place to the central metropolis. The present capital, though it was not always the capital of Hungary, was always an important town, historically and economically. It has been already mentioned that the Romans built a city on the spot where Óbuda stands, and the importance of the site was immediately recognised by the Hungarians when they arrived in this



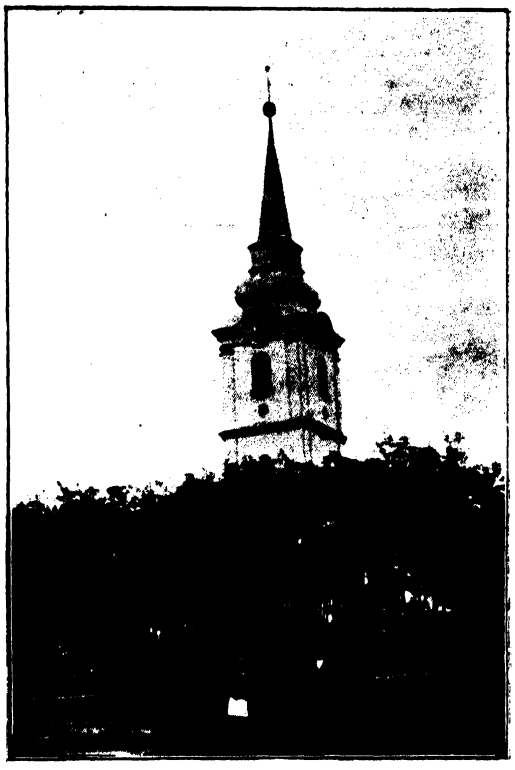
Vál. Statue of Johan, Vajda the poet.

part of the world. It is even alleged that Árpád formed a settlement on Csepel Island which is just below the present town. Later, three towns arose on this spot: Buda, Pest and Óbuda. Buda was a flourishing town in the reigns of Béla IV, Charles Robert, Sigismund and Matthias, but its glory departed with the coming of the Turk. When it was wrested from the Sultan, it had been ruined by the siege. Later rulers endeavoured to restore the beauty and dignity both of Pest and Buda as far, that is to say, as the Austrian camarilla allowed them, but the true benefactor of the city was the Palatine Joseph of happy memory. After the „Ausgleich", it became the official capital of Hungary.

In 1872, the cities which had from ancient times confronted one another across the Danube, were united to form one great city, fit to rank with the other capitals of Europe. Its situation is remarkably beautiful, the view over the Danube of the Gellért Hill and the Citadel of Buda being one which never fails to charm those who visit the city.

The Hungarian people, recognising this, have done all that they could to make the capital worthy of the nation. As soon as liberty was won in 1867, the work of renovating and beautifying their much bat-

Vasvár. R. C. Church.



Vámospércs. Reformed Church.

Vasvár. Chapter House of the Dominicans.

Velence. The Lake.

tered metropolis was taken up with tremendous enthusiasm. Five bridges were built to span the Danube, and quays and promenades were built along the banks. The palace was extended and rebuilt, the Fishermen's Bastion was beautifully restored, and the great Parliament House was erected on the riverside. In the city itself, new and modern streets were built and many fine squares laid out. The development of the city was speedy and even precipitate, as may be judged from the following table, showing the increase of population:

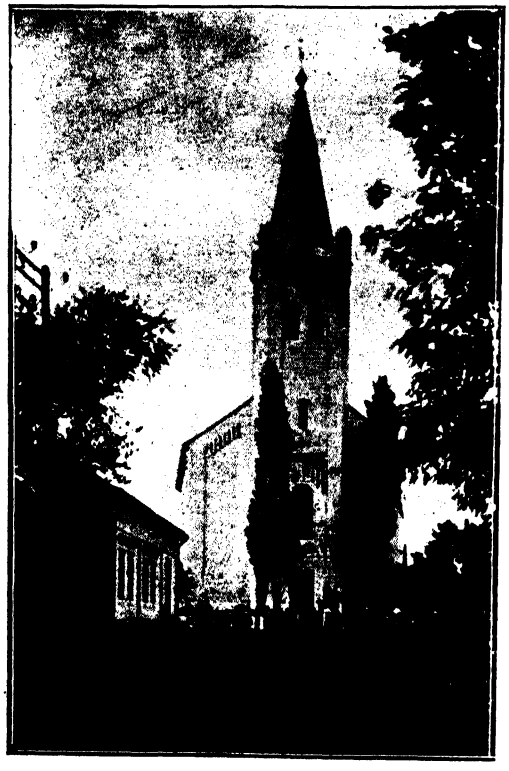
in	1787	Pop.	52.944
„	1830	„	101.127
„	1869	„	270.685
„	1900	„	732.322
„	1910	„	880.371
„	1920	„	928.996
„	1926	„	960.000

The war, or rather the peace conditions which followed the war, put a sudden check to the rapid increase of Budapest's population, but they were not able to bring about a decline in the city's fortunes. In 1920, Budapest with its suburban towns, which are built practically continuous with it, had a population of 1,179.000, i. e. 14 per cent of the total population of the country. This proportion is perhaps too high from an economical and political point of view but it is low compared with Vienna, whose inhabitants number a third of the population of Austria.

Though the appearance of the town suffered from the debacle which followed the war and the revolutions, and from the consequent poverty, Budapest has made a marvellous recovery and now presents an exterior which even surpasses in brightness and liveliness that of the years previous to the war. Enter the city from the East and the orderliness and cleanliness of everything will impress you with the sense of being in Western Europe again. Budapest covers an area of 72 sq. km. and though, of course, it cannot be compared with London, it is still one of the largest cities of Europe in extent. Nothing much remains of striking historical interest among the buildings. Some conception of what the city looked like in the 18th century may be got by a walk through some of the oldest streets of Buda; and the Belváros, in Pest, at least in the lines followed by its streets, still conveys an idea of its condition at the beginning of the last century. In other parts of the city, little, old houses of one or two stories are to be found cheek by jowl with loftier modern buildings. The modern public buildings are imposing and, in general, the dwelling-houses are good. The suburbs — especially the hills of Buda — are plentifully besprinkled with villas, many of them the summer houses of the richer citizens of Pest, but others all-the-year-round family houses. The unparalleled rate, at least for Europe, at which Budapest developed, is further illustrated by the figures showing the increase in the number of buildings. In 1849, there were 9.518 buildings within the area of modern Budapest: in 1927, there were more than 22.000 and of these 19.506 were dwelling houses. With the rapid development of the town, there arose, of course, the traffic problem. To solve this, a modern tramway system was installed, which spread its network of lines not only over the city, but far out to the suburbs also. This has been further supplemented by motorbuses and taxis,

while ferry steamers ply accross the river and a small funiculaire climbs the steep slopes of the citadel. By these varied means, 830.000 people are transported daily within the city.

Although Buda and Pest are now one, there is still a marked difference in character between them. Buda is built on a tumble of hills and valleys and is, in the main, official and residential. Pest, on the other hand, is the commercial part of the town, and, incidentally, much larger than Buda. It is built on a perfectly flat



Vértes. Reformed Church.

plain: how flat is best realised by viewing it from the citadel (Vár), — one of the sights of Europe. Although it is not generally claimed for Budapest that its architecture is specially distinguished, many of its public buildings are interesting and some quite imposing. Among the latter are the Art-galleries, which, taken in their setting with the great Millenium Monument at the edge of the City Park, form a most pleasing ensemble. And here it may be mentioned that the contents of these galleries, though not to be compared with those of cities like Munich, Dresden, have an interest all of their own, since they contain representative works of those artists who have within the last century done so much for the artistic reputation of their country. It would seem, however, that the most popular expression of the artistic impulse in Budapest is musical and dramatic. There are many theatres in Budapest and judging from the notices, somebody always seems to be giving a concert, while the gipsy music in the cafés appears to have neither a beginning nor an end. The state supports the Opera which is housed in what must be one of the most charming buildings of its kind in Europe. There are also a National Repertory Theatre and a Camera Theatre likewise state-supported.

Budapest is not particularly well endowed with public parks, but one of them is unique in that it is formed of an island in the middle of the Danube, the Margaret Island. In the City Park (Városliget) also, there are Zoological Gardens in which great care has been taken in designing the background against which the animals are to be seen.

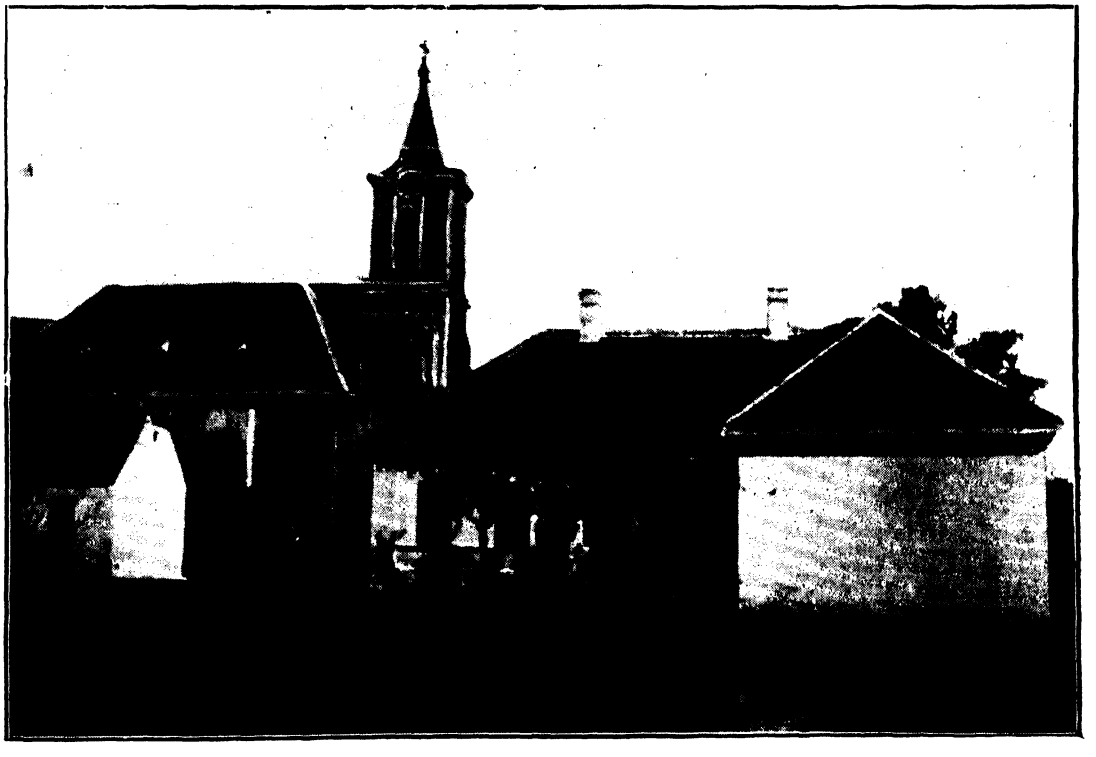
The architecture of the churches is, in general, undistinguished, but two are worthy of mention; the Matthias or Coronation Church on the Citadel, an old building of XV. century Gothic, but in its present state much restored, and the St. Stephen's Cathedral in Pest. About the latter there is violent difference of opinion. Maurice Jókai, in one of his novels, describes it as a „gigantic wedding-cake in stone".

Much more imposing than the churches are the baths. Budapest and its neighbourhood are blessed by an abundance of hot springs, many of which are turned to acount and made to supply the water for a number of splendid baths. At the present time, indeed, the city is advertising itself as a spa and with good reason, considering the quality and variety of its waters and its bathing facilities in general.

A little more than half of the population is Roman Catholic, 25% are Jews and the rest Protestants, mostly Calvinists and Lutherans.

At the head of the town administration is a Burgomaster appointed by the King, or, as now, by the Regent. The actual affairs of the town, however, are directed by the Vice-Burgomaster and aldermen, elected by the City Council which is, in turn, elected by the citizens. For purposes of administration, the City is divided into ten

A Street in Vértes.



Vértesboglár. R. C. Church and School.

Zagyvapálfalva. View of Village.

wards, three on the Buda and seven on the Pest side of the river.

Until comparatively recent times, the immediate neighbourhood of Budapest was unlike that of most great cities. On the Buda side, the great forest covering the hills came up to its very doors, while Pest was surrounded either by shifting sand-hills or by extensive marshes. The wild began, in fact, just where the city stopped. Now, however, these environs are much more sophisticated. The forest of Buda is, in parts, full of villas and in its entirety, a favourite resort of excursionists. This is not to be wondered at, for few cities can offer their jaded citizens such pleasant relief and recreation as is afforded by the hills around Buda. A view from the Elisabeth Tower on the St John's Hill, the highest point in the neighbourhood, is one worth all the effort required to see it. On the other side, the marshes have been drained and built upon, so that all but a few stray hints of the old wilderness have disappeared. Ujpest, to to the north of the capital, but practically continuous with it, is specially the industrial suburb, although it is legally an independent town with its own administration.

A Geographical Review of Mutilated Hungary.

So far we have been dealing with the Hungary of tradition, the land, that is to say, comprised within the circle of the Carpathians. We have, indeed, pointed out incidentally what has been lost through the Treaty of Trianon and what remains. For the sake of clearness and completeness, however, we should like to summarise the scattered references in a short geographical sketch of Mutilated Hungary.

The Treaty of Trianon deprived the Hungarian State, which before it, extended to cover the whole Hungarian Basin, of those higher lands which lie on the perimeter, and of parts of both Alfölds and Pannonia.

Most of the Great Plain was left to Hungary, but large areas were expropriated, and these the most fertile and productive; viz, the Bánság and Bácska. Of the land remaining, much of it is light and sandy and much of it rendered useless by the soda.

The Little Alföld has also suffered partition, since the Danube has been taken as marking the frontier line, and the northern part of the Little Alföld included in

Zagyvapálfalva. Part of the Village. NAWAB SALAR JUNG BAHADUR

Czecho-Slovakia. There is neither ethnographical nor economic justification for this frontier. It was dictated purely by considerations of military strategy.

In Pannonia, the frontier was drawn so as to exclude the western border-lands, the Hungarian Alpine district, and the land lying in the angle made by the Drave and the Danube. In this case also, the line has been arbitrarily drawn.

Of the Northern Highlands, nothing was left to Hungary but the foothills: the Börzsöny, Cserhát, Mátra, Bükk and the most southerly spurs of the Gömör—Szepes Erzgebirge and the Eperjes-Tokay Hills.

Within the boundaries of the present state, there is nothing which could be called a complete geographical unity.

The deliberate intention of the Treaty of the Trianon was to leave Hungary as an Alföld state. But even as that, the frontier ought to have been drawn along the watershed of the Garam and Ipoly, the Ostrowsky Vegor Hills, the Poprád-Hernád watershed, the Eastern Beskides, the Bihar Mountain Group, the Poljana Ruska and the Hills of Krassó-Szörény. Within this line, there is no other which could be regarded as a natural boundary, no natural barriers which suggest themselves as suitable frontiers of a state.

The seven geographical regions which compose the great Hungarian Basin, are so arranged as to supplement and complete each other. The Alföld had plentiful supplies of cattle and grain, which the highlands lacked and on which the highland people depended for their subsistence. The centre of the Hungarian Basin, on the other hand, has few trees, but the great forests of the highlands can supply all the wood necessary for fuel and building. Besides this, the mines of the upland districts were able to supply all the needs of the old Kingdom. The highlanders were accustomed to descend to the plains and find work in the fields, while the citizens of the Alföld towns were accustomed to recuperate during their holidays among the hills, or to look for work in the highland factories. By the route leading to the Adriatic Sea, the Hungarian Basin was brought into direct communication with the outside world, and thus was enabled to import directly those articles which could not be secured from neighbouring countries.

Thus, instead of the rich variety of the old Hungary, Mutilated Hungary appears monotonous and uniform from the point of view of physiography, climate and natural production, so that its economic life is flagrantly lop-sided.

There is no correspondence between the natural features of the land and the present political frontiers and so the fundamental conditions of the economic life of Europe have been violently disturbed. Dis-

Zsadány. Village Office.

harmony prevails everywhere between the physical features and the artificially determined territories of the new states. The position of Hungary has created an impossible situation, because its territory was the finest possible example of a state harmoniously built up on a natural basis, and because the nation had suceeded, by a thousand years' labour, in establishing a perfectly harmonious economical structure upon this natural harmony. (Fodor.) Now the disharmony is complete.

It must also be remembered that the closest relations exist between the surface features of the land and the hydrographical conditions. The old Hungary was an unparalleled hydrographical unity. All the rivers made their way from the surrounding highlands to the central plain, and eventually the total drainage of this whole area was collected in the great central river, which carried off the overflow, in one great channel, through the Kazan Pass.

Of all those factors making for the intimate unity of Old Hungary, the drainage system was the most effective. Now the water supply of the small Hungary is markedly deficient. Apart from a few insignificant streams, not a single river rises in its territory. Moreover, those rivers which enter the country from without, no longer make the contribution to the welfare of the country which they might and did once make. The rain which falls upon the highlands above the plains may be to the plainsmen either a blessing or a curse. It is a blessing, if there is a harmonious state of affairs existing between the uplands and the lowlands, if they cooperate in regulating the rivers and controlling the run-off, as they did in pre-Trianon days. But it is a curse, if the headwaters of the streams are in the hands of a power which has no care and no concern for the fate or fortunes of those who live in the lower valleys and the plains, and who may be starved of water or flooded out for all that the uplanders care — as is the case now. In the Christmas of 1925, the lower valley of the Triple Kőrös was flooded by the swollen waters of the river rushing uncontrolled over the frontier from Roumania, causing enormous loss and entailing misery for thousands. Again, in the spring of this year, 1928, the slackness of the Czech authorities in the upper reaches of the Hernád and the Sajó, was the cause of disastrous floods in Hungarian territory, when

ETHNOGRAPHICAL MAP OF HUNGARY, BASED ON THE DE

a) Of the 125,641 sq. mls. (325,411 km²) covered by the **territory of the pre-war Kingdom of Hungary,** only 35,656 sq. m (92,607 Km²) were left to Mutilated Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon Hungary's territorial loss was thus 71·5%, while G many's was only 12%. **The population of Old Hungary** in 1910 was 20,886,487: of this total 7,606,971 remained to Mutila Hungary, according to the figures for 1921. **Number of Hungarians thrown as prey** to the Succession States: 3,333,000, o 31·3% of the Hungarian race.

b) **Proportions of the nationalities of Hungary in 1910.**

Magyars	54·5%	Serbs	2·5%
Germans	10·4%	Ruthenians	2·5%
Slovaks	10·7%	Croats	1·1%
Roumanians	16·1%	Others (Poles, Wends) etc.	1·8%

c) **The Hungarian language area extends far beyond the Trianon frontiers.** According to Dr. Chas. Kogulovics, Professor of Geography in Szeged University, the Hungarians, in forming their state, centrally situated, as they were, formed also a Hungarian language area whose boundary runs from Pozsony to the Drave, thence to the Tisza at Óbecse, further through Arad, Nagyvárad and Szatmár into Máramaros, then by Munkács, Ungvár, Kassa, Losonc, Léva and Nyitra to run far up the Vág valley into the Carpathians. — *The Trianon frontier line was drawn at every point well within the natural Hungarian ethnographical boundary. In some parts the language boundary lies 100 kilometres beyand the Trianon frontier.*

Population figures are taken from the census of 1910.
Every 0·5 square millimeter coloured indicates 100 inhabitants.

historical frontier.
new (Trianon frontier.)

Ethnographical maps hitherto disregarded the density of population. They cover densely inhabited regions and ho with scattered populations equally, with plain colouring. On ethnographical maps of Europe, 2·4 million Norwegians are r or sented by a bigger coloured surface than the 43 million inhabitants of Great Britain, and 30,000 Lapps by an equal surface. Tl conveys to the general reader a wrong impression, especially as to the relative weight of ethnical groups of population.

In the present map, I have tried to provide the general reader, — the man in a hurry — with a map enabling h recognise at a glance *the number and nationality of the population.*

Different nationalities are represented by different colours, and each 0·5 sq. mm. of coloured surface represent inhabitants. Relatively uninhabited and sparsely populated areas, the villages and settlements of which are too small t indicated on such a small-scale map, appear as white. *At the same time, every single inhabitant is represented.* Scattered n inhabiting mountain, forest, steppe and marsh lands, have been reckoned in with the populations of the valley, or the n r largish community, and are shown in their appropriate colours.

Y OF POPULATION, BY COUNT PAUL TELEKI, PROFESSOR OF GEOGRAPHY.

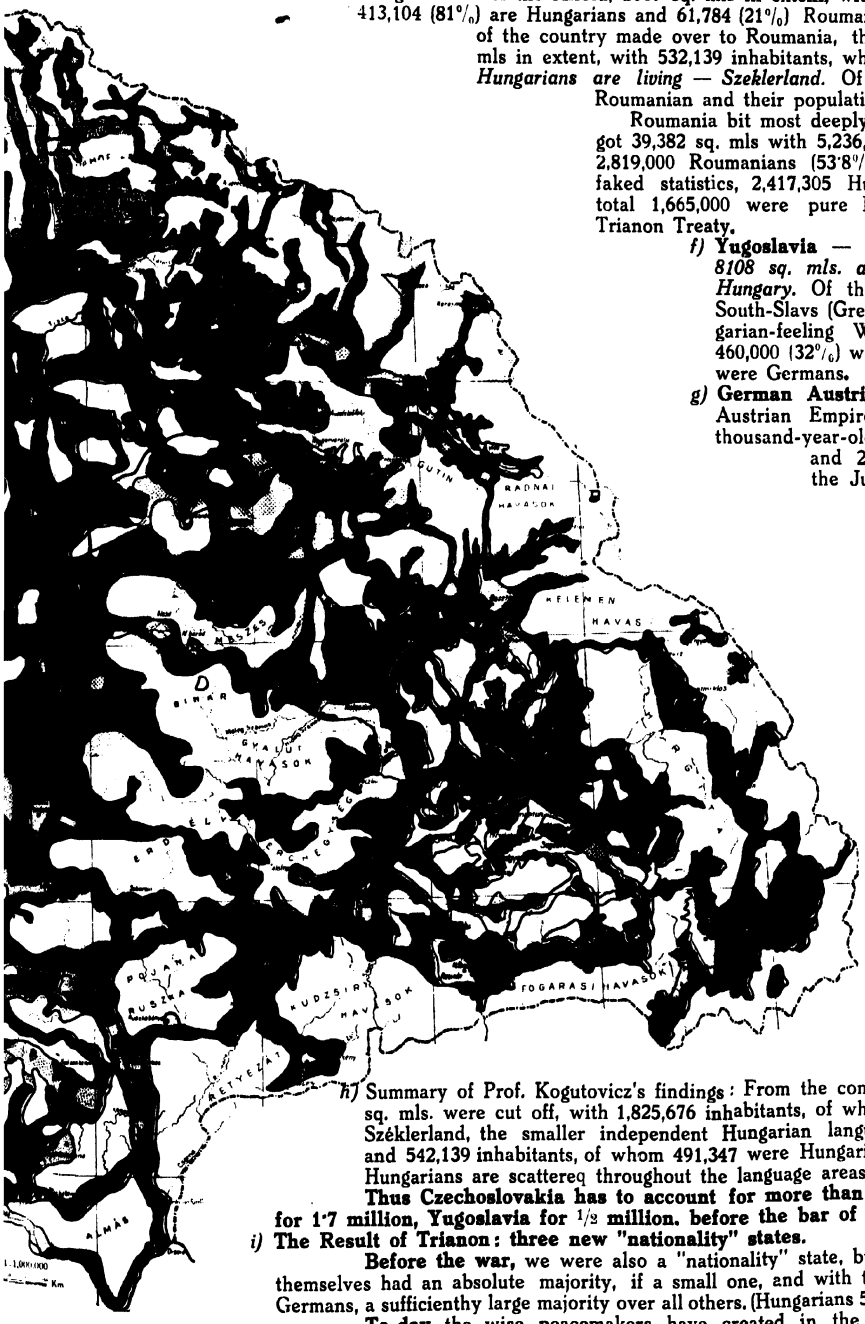
d) **Czechoslovakia** robbed the Hungarian language area of 4,633 sq. miles when the Trianon frontier was defined between Pozsony and the Upper Tisza. In this region there are 843 *Hungarian villages*, together with the towns of Pozsony, Komárom, Nyitra, Léva, Losonc, Kassa, Ungvár etc. of whose 945,471 inhabitants 813,501 or 86% are Hungarian, while 61,296 or 6·4% are Slovaks. Altogether 24,324 sq. mls. were separated from historic Hungary, with 3·5 million inhabitants, simply because 1·7 million Slovaks (47·7%) lived in this territory.

e) **The Roumanians** also received a liberal slice from the great Hungarian language area, along the rim of the Alföld, 2019 sq. mls in extent, with a population of 508,563, of which 413,104 (81%) are Hungarians and 61,784 (21%) Roumanians. In the south-eastern corner of the country made over to Roumania, there is a single district of 5124 sq. mls in extent, with 532,139 inhabitants, where a *solid block of 491,347 (90·6%) Hungarians are living — Szeklerland.* Of its 445 communities, only 17 are Roumanian and their population numbers only 38,000 (17%).

Roumania bit most deeply into the body of Old Hungary. She got 39,382 sq. mls with 5,236,305 inhabitants, on the grounds that 2,819,000 Roumanians (53·8%) lived on this territory. Through faked statistics, 2,417,305 Hungarians and Germans, of which total 1,665,000 were pure Hungarians, were betrayed by the Trianon Treaty.

f) **Yugoslavia** — apart from Croatia-Slavonia — *took 8108 sq. mls. and 1,519,000 inhabitants from Old Hungary.* Of this population, 470,000 (30·9%) were South-Slavs (Greek Orthodox Serbs, and Croats, Hungarian-feeling Wends, Sokaces, Bunyevaces etc.): 460,000 (32%) were Hungarians; and 307,000 [20·2%] were Germans.

g) **German Austria,** the legitimate successor of the Austrian Empire, also received its share of the thousand-year-old Hungarian Kingdom, 4026 sq. mls and 292,000 inhabitants; and it accepted the Judas price offered to it.



h) Summary of Prof. Kogutovicz's findings: From the compact Hungarian language area 8703 sq. mls. were cut off, with 1,825,676 inhabitants, of whom about 1,490,787 were Hungarian. Széklerland, the smaller independent Hungarian language area, also went: 5134 sq. mls. and 542,139 inhabitants, of whom 491,347 were Hungarian. In addition, more than 1 million Hungarians are scattereq throughout the language areas of other nationalities.

Thus Czechoslovakia has to account for more than 1 million Hungarians, Roumania for 1·7 million, Yugoslavia for ½ million. before the bar of history.

i) **The Result of Trianon: three new "nationality" states.**

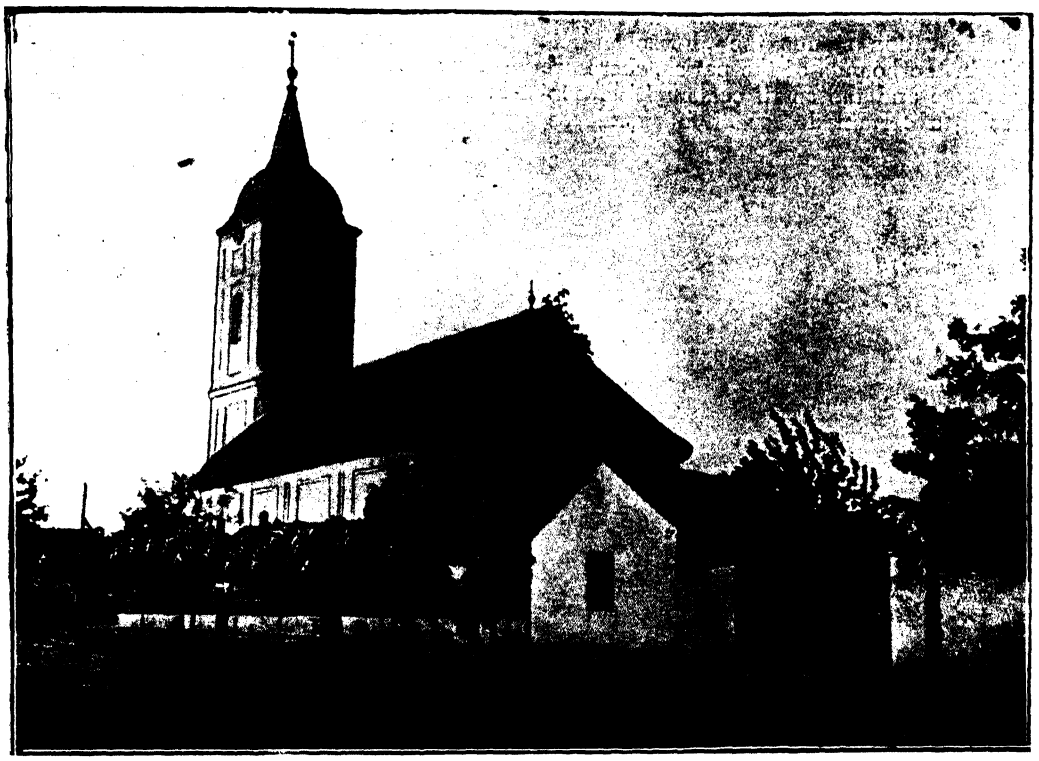
Before the war, we were also a "nationality" state, but one in which the Hungarians by themselves had an absolute majority, if a small one, and with the other state-forming element, the Germans, a sufficienthy large majority over all others. (Hungarians 54·5%: Hungarians & Germans 64·9%.)

To-day, the wise peacemakers have created in the Danube basin, in the place of one "nationality" state, — *one national state (Mutilated Hungary,* in which more than 90% are Hungarians), and *3 "nationality" states, none of which,* with the exception of Roumania, *is the state-forming race in the majority.*

The population of **Czechoslovakia** in 1921 was 46—48% Czech-Moravian, 12—13% Slovak, 27—30% German, 6·5% Hungarian and 3·4% Ruthenian.

In **Yugoslavia** only 40—42% are Serbs, 22% are Croats, 9% Slovenes, 7—8% Hungarians, 7—8% Germans, 5% Mahomedans. Religious and cultural differences compel us to discount materially the apparent South. Slav predominance.

In **Roumania** there is indeed a Roumanian majority of 60—62% against 13—14% Hungarians and 5·5% Germans, but there is simply no comparison between the state-forming Roumanian race and the Hungarian and German races, considering them from the point of view of culture.



Zsadány. Reformed Church.

many thousand acres of standing crops were completely destroyed, and great losses of other kinds incurred also.

From this it will be readily understood that the new conditions brought about by the Treaty of Trianon have also completely ruined the great system of irrigation which was being rapidly developed in Hungary, which is, indeed, necessary for the full exexploitation of the Alföld's agricultural resources, but for which the control of the upper reaches of the rivers is absolutely necessary.

Those who have not forgotten what was said about the climate of Old Hungary at the beginning of this work, will remember that it was characterised by a striking variety. That meant, in effect, that the country was assured against any of those disasters which may befall those lands which lie exclusively under the influence of one set of climatic conditions. This variety of climate, moreover, combined with other natural features to endow Hungary with a remarkably varied wealth of products of the soil. During the last half-century, even in the worst years, Hungary was never driven to import grain from foreign countries. In contrast with this, the present Hungary is entirely at the mercy of one set of climatic conditions, and the crops of the whole country can be ruined by a drought brought about by unwelcome changes of weather eventuating in one quarter.

Public Administration. — Towns. Nationalities. — Denominations. Education.

For purposes of administration Hungary is divided up into counties and boroughs. The boroughs are outwith the jurisdiction and the control of the county authorities, being completely independent like the old royal free towns.

The head of the county administration is called the „Alispán", while the head of the administration of the city is the Burgomaster; both of these officials are elected by the citizens. The „Főispáns" represent the government, both in country and in borough, much as the lord-lieutenant does the king in England. The county is again

divided into parishes, at the head of whose administration stands the „Főszolgabiró". Within the bounds of the parish, there are the large and the small communities, possessing a certain degree of independence,

A Street in Zsáka.

though every bye-law passed by them must receive the sanction of the county authorities. The towns are under the immediate control of the county.

Since the conditions affecting the development of the counties have been entirely historical, few of them are geographical unities with natural physical boundaries. They vary also greatly in size: e. g. the county of Pest covers 4633 sq. miles, while that of Turócz (now in Czechoslovakia) covers only 434 sq. miles.

In Old Hungary, there were 63 counties, 27 boroughs and 113 towns. The Trianon frontier has been drawn without any respect for these old administrative areas. Sometimes it has divided an old borough into two, as in Komárom; at other times, it has cut a city off from its own suburban lands, as in Szabadka; while it has even separated a town from its railway-station, as in Sátoralja-Ujhely. Altogether only 10 counties have been left intact, while 23 have been cut up, leaving a total of 33 counties, in whole and in part, in the present-day Hungary. Some of these partitioned counties, however, have been so divided that little of them remains; — often the county town is over the border — and thus they have been constrained to amalgamate and form new administrative areas:

Examples of amalgamation:

Borsod, Gömör and Kishont
Csanád, Arad and Torontál,
Győr, Moson and Pozsony,
Komárom and Esztergom,
Nógrád and Hont,
Szabolcs and Ung.
Szatmár, Ugocsa and Bereg.

As a result, there are at the present time in Hungary 25 counties, 11 boroughs, 44 towns and 156 parishes with 3424 communities.

Population of principal towns:

Budapest	960.000
Greater Budapest, (i. e. Bp. and suburbs) . .	1,150.000
Szeged	119.000
Debreczen	103.000
Kecskemét	73.000
Hódmezővásárhely . .	61.000
Miskolcz	57.000
Győr	50.000
Békéscsaba	47.000
Nyiregyháza	43.000
Székesfehérvár . . .	39.000
Czegléd	37.000
Sopron	35.000
Szombathely	35.000

Languages: . . . . . Within the narrow boundaries imposed upon Hungary by the Treaty of Trianon, there is practically no room for the old, vexed question of the nationalities to exercise itself, for the population of mutilated Hungary is overwhelmingly Hungarian (Magyar).

The following figures clearly reveal the situation. The total population of Hungary today is about 8 millions. Out of this, those whose mother tongue is Hungarian number 7,147.000. Germans number 554.000; Slovaks, 160.000; Roumanians, 28.000: Those who speak Hungarian are 7,772.000, or 96.8% of the total population.

Zsáka. Part of Village.

Religious Denominations.

The partition of the country brought great changes to the various religious denominations, occasioning to some of them the greatest suffering and loss. The Hungarian

Roman Catholic Church lost more than six million members; the Hungarian Reformed Church, out of a total of two and a half millions, lost a million, 700.000 of whom were in Transylvania alone; the Lutherans lost three quarters of their numbers, and finally, of 75.000 Hungarian Unitarians, only 5000 remained to Hungary.

Table showing the consequences of the Treaty of Trianon for the various religious denominations of Hungary.

Denomination	No. of members or adherents according to the 1910 census returns	Percentage of Total Population	Remaining in Mutilated Hungary	Percentage of Total Population	Lost to the Succession States	Percentage lost
Roman Catholic	10,888.138	52·1	4,778.421	62·8	6,109.117	57·0
Greek Catholic	2,025.508	9·7	165.238	2·2	1,860.270	91·8
Reformed	2,621.329	12·6	1,632.273	21·4	989.056	37·7
Lutheran...	1,340.145	6·4	485.036	6·4	855.107	63·8
Greek orthodox	2,987.163	14·3	61.468	0·8	2,925.695	97·9
Unitarians	74,296	0·3	5.099	0·1	69.197	93·1
Jews	932.458	4·5	471.255	6·2	461.103	49·5
Others	17.452	0·1	8.088	0·1	9.371	53·7

Education: Taking the ability to read and write as our basis, we can say that definite progress has been made in general education. In 1870, a few years after the Ausgleich, only one quarter of the population of Hungary above 6 years of age could read and write. In 1910, the number had increased to 68·7 per cent of the whole. In 1920, the returns showed that in Mutilated Hungary, 84·8 per cent could read and write. This compares very favourably with the neighbouring states, for, while the proportion of illiterates in Mutilated Hungary in 1920 was 15·2 per cent, it was 41 per cent in Roumania and 64·6 per cent in Yugoslavia. Great attention has been paid to education in Hungary, especially during the last three or four years. More elementary schools have been built during this period than were built altogether during the two decades preceding the war, so that the problem of educating the children living on the remote tanyas, has at length been solved.

*

The preceding pages have been written as an attempt to show on the basis of an objective geographical study of this part of Europe, how irresponsible and unnatural were the determinations of the Treaty of Trianon and what violence it did to the principles of geography as well as of justice. Indeed, there is no one who can repeat the Hungarian irredentist hymn with more fervour and sincerity than a geographer, trained, as he is, to feel that what God has obviously joined in nature, man should not lightly put asunder in politics:

I believe in one God,
I believe in one Fatherland,
I believe in the everlasting righteousness of God,
I believe in the resurrection of Hungary.

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF HUNGARY.

BY

PROF. **SIGISMUND BÁTKY**

DIRECTOR OF THE ETHNOGRAPHYCAL MUSEUM OF BUDAPEST.

THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF HUNGARY.

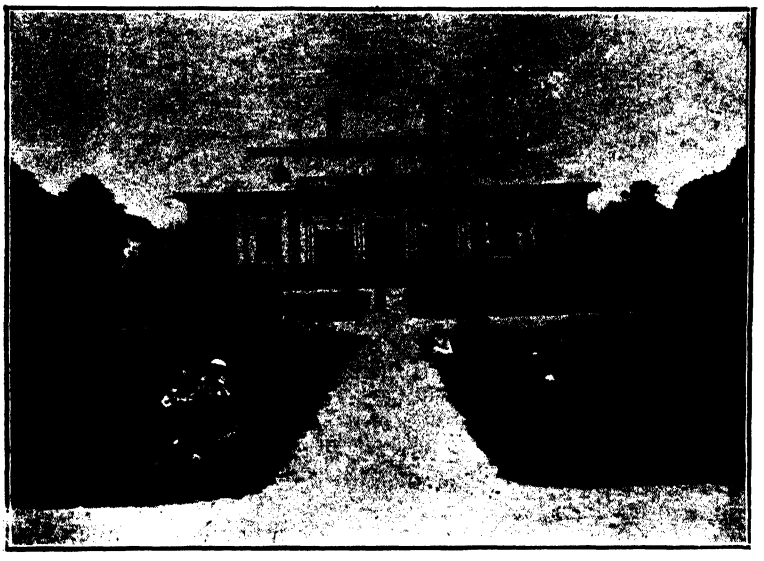
The ethnographic map of South-Eastern Europe presents the appearance of a piece of mosaic work. This characteristic is especially noticeable when we look at Hungary where it lies within the arc of the Carpathians; for in this country, besides the Hungarians themselves, there are to be found, side by side or inextricably mixed, not one, but several kinds of the three principal European races — the Slavs, the Latins and the Germans.

The present distribution of the different greater races is shown on the accompanying map. On this, it will be seen that there are two main groups of Hungarians: the greater in the west and the smaller group in the east. The former constitutes the Hungarians of Pannonia, the Great Plain and the Tisza. The latter the so-called Széklers. Both Hungarian groups are surrounded by other races. That is to say, the central position of the Hungarians brings them into contact with every other race represented in this part of the world. The Hungarians of the Great Plain and the east form wonderfully compact blocks. Those in Pannonia, however, are divided along three lines by other races. The numerous little isolated groups of Hungarians seen to lie between those of the Great Plain and the east are patent evidence of the fact that formerly the two main race groups formed a single unit.

The characteristic of the German population is its dispersion. Not counting the smaller settlement, there are 8 greater groups, living on the western border in South-Hungary, in the Central Carpathians and next to the Serbs in the east. The home of the „Slovaks" is in the north, the upland country of the Carpathians, lying between Pozsony and Ungvár. They are confined to this one quarter of the country, their solidarity being only broken in one or two places by larger German and smaller Hungarian patches. The „Ruthenians" live on the border among the narrow ridges of the Eastern Carpathians. The Roumanians („Wallachians: oláh") occupy the great highland country lying between the Hungarians of the Great Plain and those of the east. Their population, however, is not compact, Hungarian and Saxon groups being thickly interspersed among them, not to speak of the uninhabited forests which cover so much of this part of the country. Such forests, indeed, separate them from their brothers of the Kingdom (Regate). Here also, as elsewhere in the country, it is the Hungarian element which preponderates in the city. The „Croatians" live beyond the Drave and along the Adriatic coast, much mixed with Serbs, Hungarians and Germans. They have smaller settlements on the western border of Pannonia also. The Serbian settlements are in the south, stretching over an area almost 800 km. long and occurring in greater and smaller patches with Croatians, Hungarians, Germans and Roumanians between them. The Jews in Hungarian statistics are not considered to be a special race, but only a religious denomination. They are mostly town-dwellers and are to be found everywhere. They are most numerous however in those countries lying on the frontiers of Galicia, their original home. Besides these, there are other races represented, but in such small numbers as to make them unimportant: the Wends, the Bulgarians, the Poles and the Gipsies.

According to the census taken before the war, the numbers of the various races were as follows:

Hungarians	10,050.575
Germans	2,037.435
Slovaks	1,967.970
Ruthenians	478.587
Roumanians	2,949.032
Croatians	1,893.162
Serbs	1,106.471
Others	469.255



Old Curial or House of Small-landowner. Gagybátor.

Non-Hungarians, understanding or speaking Hungarian: 1,939.987.

In the same way, we find a considerable variety of religions. The numbers are as follows:

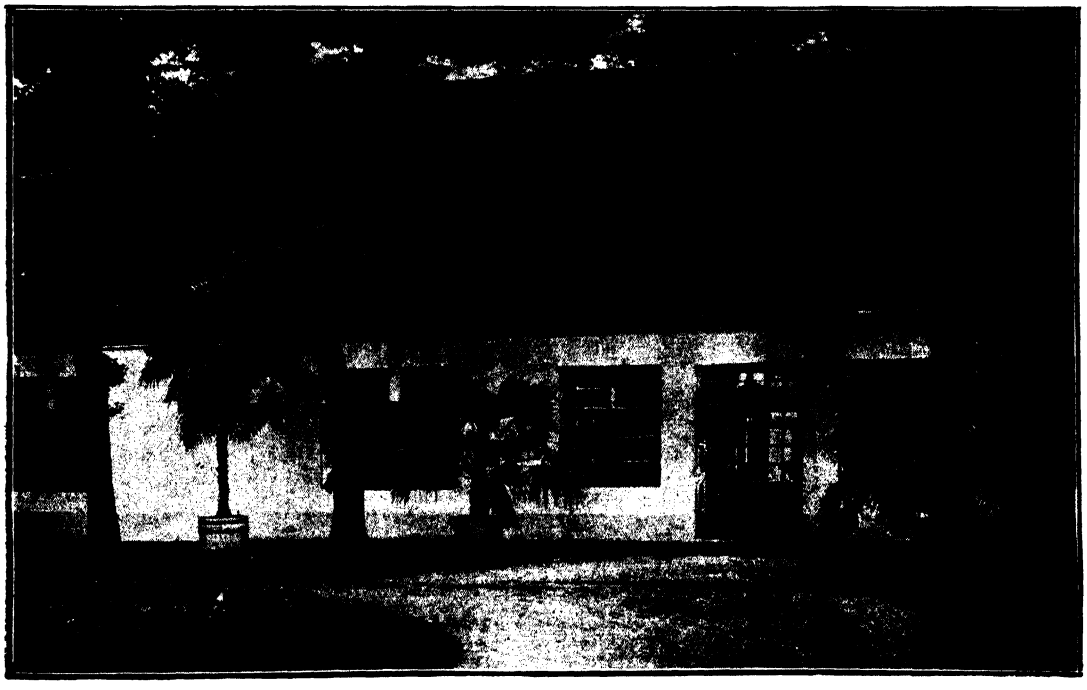
Roman Catholics . .	10,888.138
Greek Catholics . . .	2,025.508
Greek Orthodox . . .	2,987.163
Reformed (Presbyterians)	2,621.329
Lutheran	1,340.143
Uniterian	74.296
Jews	932.458
Others	17.452

The Roman Catholics are found among Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks and Croatians. The Greek Catholics are principally Ruthenians and a minority of Roumanians. Presbyterians are purely Hungarians. The Lutherans: Slovaks, Germans and Hungarians. The Greek-Orthodox are Serbians and the majority of the Jews consider themselves Hungarians.

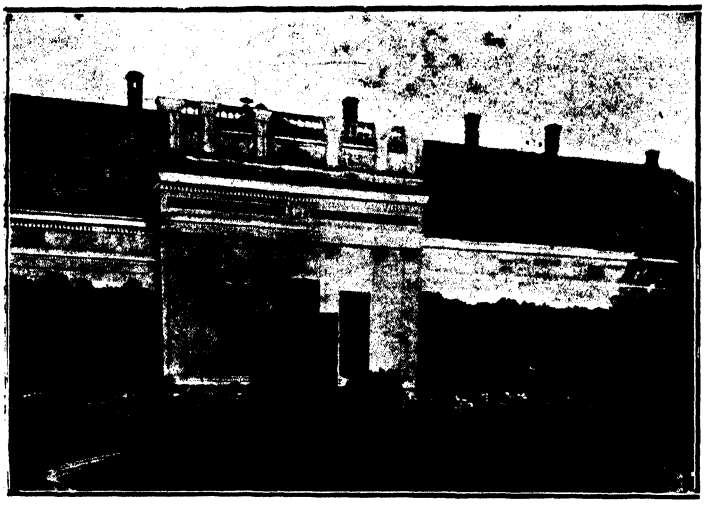
This ethnographical sketch of Hungary, including Croatia, does not represent a state of affairs which goes back to the 9th century, when the Hungarian state was constituted. Among the race groups represented here, only two were known to the original Hungary as settlers, the ancestors of the Croats and of the Slovaks. The others are all incomers of a later time, who settled in the country with the King's permission. The Croatians occupied Dalmatia and the country beyond the Save, leaving their original home, north of the Carpathians, on the invitation of Byzantine emperors. Their leaders, as has been recently shown by a foreign scientist, were Avars. The Croats have lived for many centuries in their original home beyond the frontiers of Hungary, and it was only the Turkish struggles which drove them to the western part of the region lying between the Save and the Drave, which was known as Slavonia, where they displaced the original inhabitants. The settlements of Croats in West Hungary, Lower Austria and Hungary proper, first arose as places of refuge during the Thurkish wars.

In Upper Hungary, or Slovakia, the western part was in Roman times the home of the German tribes of the Quadi and Marcomanni. The names of the rivers: Vág, Nyitra and Garam originated with them. Before the coming of the Hungarians, the Moravian Empire held sway over this territory, and it is among the people of this empire which the Hungarians overthrew, that we must look for some of the ancestors of the present Slovaks. It is true enough that our sources for this period, e. g. the letter addressed by Theotmar, Archbishop of Salzburg, to Pope John IX in A. D. 900., describe the inhabitants of this country not as Slovaks, but as Moravians. Complaints are made against them for leaguing themselves with the Hungarians, shaving their heads in the Pagan fashion etc. This southern part of the Moravian Empire quickly lost its Slav character. In those days, the most purely Slovak countries of the present day, Árva, Turóc, Liptó and Zólyom, with the exception of Trencsén and the northern part of Gömör, where, according to documentary evidence, there were small Slovak settlements, were covered by uninhabited forests. It was only 200 years after the coming of the Hungarians that these lands began to be settled, as part of the definite policy of the Hungarian kings and public authorities.

Old Curial or House of Small-landowner. Kokasd.



Old Curial or House of Small-landowner. Kőrösladány.



Old Curial or House of Small-landowner. Nyirbátor.

rings. On this head, he himself received considerable lands, and he was recognized by the law as the head of the community, The colonists were for the most part Slovaks, but among them, and especially among their leaders, there was a considerable number of Hungarians who, by living in a predominantly Slovak country, became quite Slovacised. Much later, during the time of the Hussite movement, Czech colonists also entered Slovakia, but only to suffer the same fate as the Hungarians. The numbers of the prolific Slovak people

These settlements were established round the royal castles. The Slavs were not by nature settlers, and so the settlements of that time was regulated by German law. The forests belonging to the king or the lord of the district, were gradually cleared by foresters (called Schulteiss, from the medieval latin word „Scultetius") who received this privilege from the captain of the castle; and it was he who superintended the subsequent settlement of the clea-

were increased later by the addition of the Slovacised Ruthenians, who lived in the northern and eastern districts of the Carpathians. These Ruthenians were Greek-Catholics and have remained the same to this day. Part of the German colonists of Upper Hungary, the so-called Saxons, were likewise absorbed by the Slovaks.

Since the Slovakian territory was not overrun by the Turks, the Hungarian nobles drew many of their vassals from it to

Notary's Dwelling and Village Offices. Tiszanagyfalu.

populate the ravaged land of Hungary, after the Turks' withdrawal. Many Slovaks, in this way, settled in the Great Plain and in Croatia, and these Slovakian settlements, as the map shows, have remained until this day.

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When the Hungarians took possession of the vast territory of their new home, they were not able of themselves, not being numerous enough, to populate it thoroughly. As a matter of fact, they had no desire to do so, since the great forests which surrounded it were valuable as means of defence. It is intelligible that the Hungarian kings, whose efforts were all to introduce western civilisation, should have looked abroad and especially to the West for likely settlers. The first Hungarian king, St. Stephen (1000—1038), in the „Admonitions" addressed to his son, enjoined him to show goodwill to those of his subjects who were of foreign origin. And so guests (hospites) began to come on invitation into the country in large numbers, even during the hundred years following the Hungarian occupation. Among them were knights, merchants, artisans, monks, for most part of German, though later of northern Slav origin. Some Latins also came, especially Italians (Latini), memorials of whom are still to be found in the names of Hungarian villages, such as Olaszi and Velence. The Italian origin of the world-famous vineyards of Tokay is certified by, among other things, the Italian names of the villages in that district.

Old Curial or House of Small-landowner. Zsáka.

The Latin-speaking incomers, however, being cut off from the main stock of their race, were completely Magyarized within a century or two. It was otherwise with the most important German colonies, which

Castle. Berettyóujfalu.

Magnate's Castle. Tiszadob.

have preserved their individuality and German character to this day. The oldest of these German settlements — founded at the end of the XII. th. or the beginning of the XIII. th. centuries — are the Saxon districts of Upper Hungary and Transylvania. These Saxons were invited into Hungary by successive kings from Silesia and the valley of the Meuse, and were granted autonomy to such an extent that they really became a state within the state. Much more extensive, however, was that German colonising movement which took place after the final expulsion of the Turks, at the beginning of the XVIII. th. century, and which was encouraged by the Vienna court as part of their expressed anti-Hungarian policy. The depopulated Hungarian districts of the Great Plain and the estates of the Hungarian nobles who had been driven out by the Turks, were ruthlessly confiscated by the military authorities of Austria. The colonising zeal of the Austrians was such that, besides the hordes of Germans brought in, they also introduced even French and Spanish peasants and gave them lands in South Hungary, where they were quickly Teutonised or disappeared. It is beyond doubt, of course, that there were smaller German settlements in Pannonia even previous to the coming of Hungarians, but by far the largest portion of the Germans of West Hungary entered the country at a much later date.

At the time of the German settlement of Transylvania, we meet first with the Roumanians who appear living in the forests on the frontier between Transylvania and Roumania. The first documentary mention of them is dated 1208. They are also mentioned in another document, dated 80 years later: „Should there be any Roumanians discovered dwelling on the estate of any person whatever, they must be removed and settled in the King's lands of Székás". This shows how few they were in those days. The pretentious Roumanian historians of the younger school have pressed into the service of their irredentism the well-known fiction of their origin in the legionaries of Trajan, But though this is still in fact maintained by them, it is completely incredible. It is not our business here to write a polemic, but we may mention that it seems a strange thing for a people who claim to be the original inhabitants of a land, not to have any name of their own for it, but to call it after the name given to it by those who, according to them, are interlopers. The Roumanian name for Transylvania is not of Latin origin; it is „Ardeal", which is simply an un-

Village House and Street. Nagyrábé.

unintelligent corruption of the Hungarian „Erdély" which in turn is a Hungarian translation of Transylvania, the country across the forest. Not one of the ancient names of the towns, rivers and hills of Transylvania survives in their language — which, in fact, has no original words for town, village, street, fatherland, frontier etc. And besides, their language, mythology and culture in general are packed full of ancient Balkan and Slav elements. Knowing the nomadic propensities of Roumanian shepherds, of course, no one denies that smaller pastoral groups of Roumanians may have made their way into the border country of Transylvania at a very early date.

The documents, however, make it quite clear that the purely pastoral Roumanians found blocks of Széklers and Saxons already living in Transylvania. And it can be demonstrated that their expansion, corresponding to their pastoral manner of life, always followed the lines of the mountains. It was only later that they spread into the river valley. Their settlement occurred in much the same way as that of the Slovaks. They also were settled on the King's estates, in the immediate neighbourhood of the castle. There was this difference, however, that the regulations governing their settlement were not of German origin, but of Bulgarian. It is remarkable that among their leaders (known as „kenézes", a word of Bulgarian origin) many bore Cumanian names. This is quite intelligible, when we remember that in those times, the Cumanians were the masters of Roumania. Pope Gregory IV., writing to the Hungarian crown-prince in 1234, about the question of establishing a Cumanian bishopric in Roumania with the help of the Hungarian king, says: „In Cumanorum Episcopatu sicut accepimus, quidam populi qui Walachi vocantur existunt"... The names of distinguished families of Cumanian origin later figure prominently in Roumanian documents. In contrast with later settlers, who were Hungarians, the Roumanians were in a favourable situation, inasmuch as, being Greek Orthodox, they had neither tithes nor church taxes to pay, and being a pastoral people, no land tax was levied upon them either. About the year 1335, they wandered in large numbers into the country of Máramaros which is next to

Village House and Church. Ófehértó.

Bukovina, and there served as frontier guards. After the dreadful Tartar ioray of 1658, they settled along the Maros; but it was especially after the withdrawal of the Turks that their increase became notable, because, dwelling upon the upper slopes of the hills as they did, they had escaped the destruction wreaked by the Turks on the other peoples of the land. Lastly, when the Phanariots were the masters of Roumania, large numbers of Roumanians sought refuge in peaceful Transylvania.

Of still later date than the entry of the Roumanians is the entry of the Ruthenians. Most of these came into the country at the end of the XIV. th. century under Theodore Korjativics, Prince of Podolia. They crossed the frontier from Galicia into the Carpathian forests, at that time uninhabited, but included in the estates of the King and his nobles. This process of settlement in the inner valleys of the Carpathians continued until the XVIII. th. century. They were never able to obtain local autonomy such as the Slovak and Roumanian colonies enjoyed, but remained in complete vassalage.

Most recent of all the incomers were the Serbs. It is well known that the Byzantine emperors invited them, together with the Croatians, into the empire in the VII. th. century; and their home for centuries lay to the south of their present home. At the time of the Hungarian occupation, Bulgarians were living in what is now Northern Serbia, along the banks of the Danube and the Save, and Belgrade at that time was known as Alb Castle of the Bulgarians. There were some insignificant Serb settlements in Hungary as early as the XIII. th. century, just as there were small settlements of Italians, French, Walloons, Bulgarians, Czechs, Poles and Russians; but the cause of their real entry into Hungary, later on, was quite other than those operative in the case of other races. They came flying before the Ottoman armies who had seized the Eastern Empire. They first appeared between the Drave and Save in 1430 and then later, after the abolition of the Serbian principality (1459), in greater and greater numbers, moving sporadically up the Danube as far as Budapest. These, however, were only small colonies. An event of decisive importance occurred in 1690, in connection with the wars of deliverance against the Turks. When the forces of Prince Louis of Baden withdrew from the Balkans, the Serbians who had earlier been under the Emperor, led by Csernojevics, the Patriarch of Ipek, begged permission to be allowed to settle on the southern borders of Hungary to the number of 36.000 families. They promised, if permission were given them to do so, that once the freedom of their own country, for which they had suffered so much, was won, they would return to it. This, however did not happen, because the politics of Vienna which, after the expulsion of the Turks, was quite openly directed to the purpose of beggaring Hungary and depriving it of its national character, led the Imperial authorities to retain these Serbians by granting them privileges; and they, of course, were only too glad to remain on the fertile Hungarian land.

The Jews made their first appearance during the reigns of the earliest Hungarian kings. They came in the company of small bands of Eastern Mohammedan merchants. But the Kazars, who were Jews by religion, actually accompanied the first Hungarians who entered the country. The enormous increase in their numbers, however, has been due to the immigration from Galicia of the so-called „Polish-Jews".

Village House and Street. Pocsaj.

After this general survey which may serve as an introduction to the subject, let us now turn to a more detailed description of the specifically Hungarian nation.

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The Hungarian language belongs to the „Finn-Ugor" branch of the great Ural-Altai group. The original home of the Finn-Ugor language may have been the country between the Urals and the middle Volga. The original Finn-Ugor language and people later split into two divisions, the one Finn and the other Ugrian. The second again divided into two, and from one the divisions sprang the Hungarian language and the Ugrian ground stock of the Hungarian people. Philology demonstrates that these Ugrians, during the pre-Christian era, were already living as an organized nation, principally devoted to hunting and fishing. During the earlier centuries of the Christian era, these ancestors of the Hungarians left their original home and migrated southwards. In any case, before the Vth century, they came into contact with a people of Turkish or ancient Bulgarian character, by whom they were conquered and with whom they intermixed. The union of the two peoples has perpetuated itself in the legend of a rape of women, which strongly resembles the story of the rape of the Sabine women, behind which there is the solid historic union of the Latin Ramnes and the Sabine Tities. These Turks, at that time, lived in clans organised for war and the conquered Hungarian-Ugrians were adopted into the clan system which, from a military and political point of view, was on a higher level than their own. On the other hand, the Turks, being definitely in the minority, came in course of time to adopt the language of those whom they had conquered. The same thing happened in the case of the Bulgarians of modern Bulgaria who, in the course of 200—300 years, became completely slavonised; so also with the Cumanians of Turkish origin, who became assimilated by the Wallachians in Roumania. This union was the means of introducing them to a higher level of culture, for as we can learn from the words which have come into the Hungarian langauge from the Turkish,, e. g. the words for plough, to sow, scythe, sheaf, wheat, barley, flax, hops, apple, grape, ox, mutton, goat, it was these Turks who

taught them the arts of agriculture and cattle-rearing. By the beginning of the IXth century, the Hungarian people had been welded into a single ethnical unity with a single language, although, in the eyes of Byzantine and Eastern writers of that time they appeared as Turks or as a Turkish type of people. It was at that time that the name „Magyar" (Ungri, Ungari, Hungari) began to be given to them in Western languages, by which name they became later generally known. The origin of this name is to be found most likely in the old Bulgarian „Onogur" (ten Ugrians). A more romantic view derives the name „Magyar" from the principal Turkish clan, or rather from the name of its progenitor. (Romulus was the original progenitor of the tribe Ramnes). Árpád, the leader of the Hungarians when they entered Hungary, was a member of this clan. His name indeed, is a common Turkish word, as are the names of many others belonging to this clan and nation.

Village House. Zsáka.

We see then from this that the Hungarians, on their first appearance in history under this name, were a mixture of a Finnish race, the larger part, and a Turkish race, the smaller part. Their language was Finn-Ugrian, but their culture was Turkish. They were in a half-settled state, organised as a confederation of clans. Their cavalry was a formidable force which compelled the earnest attention of the Byzantine emperors at whose court Hungarian envoys made their appearance. The first home of the Hungarians, which can be identified from documents, was *Levedia*, which, according to the Emperor Constantinus Porhpyrcgenitus, was contiguous with the empire of the Kazars, and lay along the shores of the sea of Azov, between the Kuban and the Don. According to the same authority, commercial relations existed between them and the Byzantine cities of the Crimean Peninsula. At that time, they were still nomads, partly engaged in agriculture and partly in cattle-rearing, just, in fact, in that intermediate stage preceding their final settlement. Fate, however, postponed that. Their Eastern neighbours, the „Besenyő" who lived beyond the Volga, suddenly attacked them and, as a result of this attack, split their confederation into two. The smaller part sought refuge in Armenia. The larger, the people of the seven clans, withdrew in company with the Turkish-speaking „Kabars", a branch of the Kazars, into Etelköz, now the southern part of Bessarabia and the Danubian district of Roumania. It was here that the seven, or rather the eight clans chose Árpád to be their dynastic prince — an action which made a nation out of a confederation of clans. *So the Magyar (Hungarian) people came into being.*

This election was an act of real political foresight, for the leaders saw quite clearly that a new attack was threatening them from the „Besenyő" who were themselves pressed from the East. Because of this, thev ontered into an alliance with the Frankish and Byzantine emperors, and fought several campaigns in their interests. The expected attack was not long in coming. They were more fortunate in dealing with it than they had been in dealing with the earlier, but, nevertheless, they left their second home also. In 896, led by Árpád, they made their appearance in the Danube basin which they already had come to know in the course of previous campaigns.

In the IXth century the Danube basin was claimed by both the Frankish and the Byzantine emperors, or, more particularly, by the Bulgarian dependency of the Byzantines. After the collapse of the Avar empire, however, at the end of the VIIIth and the beginning of the IXth centuries, no authority had really succeeded in establishing itself systematically over that area. Along the Tisza and in the eastern part of the country, except for the Székler district, and also in the western half between the Drave and the Save, Bulgarian Slavs were living in scattered communities. They lived in villages protected by primitive earthworks and water defences, and their con-

Hungarian „Tanya". Kiskunfélegyháza.

Windmill. Kiskunfélegyháza.

Windmill. Kiskunhalas.

nection with the central power was very loose. In the western district of the land, between the Drave and the Save, and in certain parts of Pannonia, insignificant groups of Frankish vassals and Slav princelings held sway, but they were much scattered and no more than German-Frankish military outposts. It was possible still to find remnants of the Avars everywhere, but it was only in the west and beyond the Save that compact groups of them, composed of those who had been baptised, were to be found. In the Eny highlands, the Moravian Slavonic ancestors of the Slovaks were thinly scattered over the country. The dense forests of the mountains and the unfriendly areas of the central plain were uninhabited.

The occupation, it would seem, was completed in the course of one or two decades. Since the population already in possession was so thin, the chronicles writing shortly after this great event have no great battles to write about.

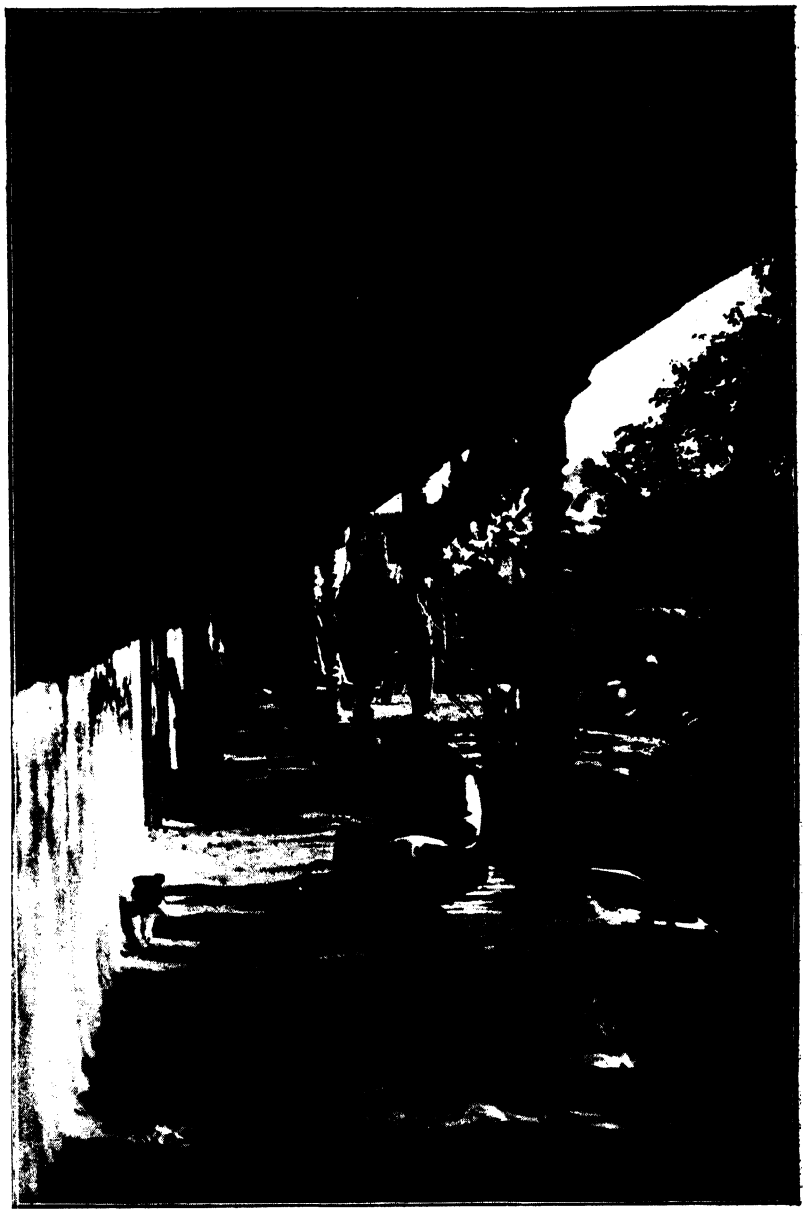
The Hungarians, as was natural when we consider the manner of their life and inclinations, settled first of all on the flatter parts of the country, the Great Plain and Pannonia. The Széklers, however, remained in their eastern mountain home. The leaders divided the occupied territory among the eight clans, and within each clan's lands, they appointed certain settlements for winter and others for summer occupation. The various chieftains' own lands were surrounded by the common lands of the several clans, and in the centre, surrounded by the estates of the clan chieftains, was the estate of the prince. An outer ring, encircling the whole body of clans, chieftains and prince and their properties was formed by a broad, pathless and uninhabited stretch of forest and marsh country. From this it is obvious that it was military considerations which gave character and form to the occupation. On the border lands of the clan territories, the later colonies were settled and here it was also that the church and the various foreign notables who entered the country later, received estates; here also the different races, mentioned in our introduction, were settled.

One can easily understand that the Hungarians, in occupying the country, settled also in those parts which were already inhabited, if we can speak of such, and compelled the people they found there to be their slaves, working either as peasants or as artisans, and paying tribute besides.

It would seem, however, that those previous campaigns which we mentioned, undertaken on the invitation of the Frankish and Byzantine emperors against the Bulgarians and the Moravians, had been a means of providing the Hungarians with immense booty, especially in the shape of prisoners, and had increased the appetite of certain clans for plunder. Thus we can understand how they came to use their new land as a base from which to conduct forays for plunder against the neighbouring states, until severe defeats inflicted on them by the Germans turned them from their evil ways. It is these fierce and destructive raids that we can thank for the reputation which the Hungarians gained among the Western peoples as an uncultured, raw horde of mounted robbers from Asia. It is, however, beyond boubt that the Hungarians, even when they were in Etelköz, had broken with their eastern traditions, and that it was according to a deliberately conceived policy that their chief had led the people to the West. That the chiefs wished their people to adopt the ways of the West is shown by the fact that within a century, their prince, the father of their first king and saint, accepted the Cross. They were no barbarians; they

brought their own system of writing with them; and their original vocabulary proves that, from a material point of view, their culture was not lower than that of the peoples around them, though it was completely different. If they were able to assimilate the new culture in their new home so quickly, a fact which cannot be denied, that certainly seems to show that there was in them already developed the necessary civilised sensibility.

The conqueror and the conquered lived together, at first, under strained racial and social relations. But later, with social development, while on the one hand, a section of the conquerors lost their liberty, on the other, some of the conquered, and naturally some of the „guests" also, were raised to noble rank. That social stratification which had been created after the ocupation disappeared early, with the result that the different foreign racial groups found in the country were absorbed by the Hungarians.



Old Hungarian Porticused House. *Photo Erdélyi.*

The same fate befell those enemies from the East who were ethnologically akin to the Hungarians themselves. Among those, the first were the „Besenyő", their most ancient enemy who attacked their eastern frontiers. Their attacks, however, were broken upon the system of defences which had been constructed in the Transylvanian Carpathians, so that they had to beg permission to enter the Kingdom in small groups, and were settled here and there as armed garrisons. After the „Besenyő" came the Cumanians from Roumania, who began to penetrate the country in the XIth century. They were Mohamedans and Béla IV., the King of Hungary, tried to win them for the Western Church through the Dominicans. Later, when they fled before the Mongols, (1239) the whole people, said to have numbered 40.000 families, were received into the Kingdom and settled on the empty lands of the Great Plain. It was

200 years before that Turkish-speaking, unbridled, rebellious and nomad race could be settled and completely magyarized. The same thing happened to the Jazygians (Jász) from the Caucasus. They became completely magyarized, though they had special privileges until 1848.

Ycung Man Wearing the „Szür". *Photo Erdélyi.*

This settlement of newcomers, however, whether they were racial relations or not, involved numbers which, compared to the numbers of the Hungarians themselves, were small, so that Hungary for centuries remained a strikingly solid national state. At the end of the XVth century when King Matthias Corvinus died, Hungarians formed 75—80% of all the inhabitants. Non-Hungarian races were confined to the border highlands, with the exception of a few towns, and the Hungarians were spread over the larger part of the Kingdom, from the Maros-Tisza region to the Lower Danube and over to the western plains of the Drave and of the Save. But progressive development then received a fatal check and met even with a definite reverse because of two historic events; viz, the Turkish conquest and the accession of the Hapsburgs to the imperial throne in 1526, which latter event meant the enthronement of a policy of denationalisation. As is well known, the Turks occupied the greater part of Hungary for about 150 years; and it was just the specially Hungarian flatter parts of the country that they held. During these 150 years, frequent wars, the repeated ravages of Tartar bands from the Crimea, and above all, the final campaigns in the struggle for liberty completely destroyed the most densely populated districts of the Great Plain and brought about tho loss of many hundreds of thousands, either by death or as prisoners of war carried off into slavery by their captors. One or two examples may be mentioned and will be enough. The Bács-Bodrog County had a population, thirty years after the Turkish withdrawal, of 31.000. It is 800.000 to-day. In the counties of Békés, Csanád and Csongrád together, there were 20.000 people; to-day there are 700.000. In Torontál, Temesvár and Krassó together, there were 30.000; to-day there are 1,500.000. The percentage of the Hungarian popula-

Room in a Peasant-farmer's House.

Photo Erdélyi

tion, apart from Croatia, in the same period was only 45%, though it was between 75—80% before the wars began. Before the Turkish wars, the population of Hungary, apart from Croatia, was between 4—5 millions; while, according to the census of 1720, after the Turkish wars, it had fallen to 2½ millions.

It is easily understood that it was to the nation's interest to populate the country. This hapened in two ways. On the one hand, the people living on the highlands which had escaped destruction, came down to the lower-lying parts. On the other, foreigners were settled in from other countries. These latter, as we have mentioned, were introduced at the instance of the Vienna court, moved as it was by expressly anti-Hungarian designs. The extent to which this foreign immigration took place may be illustrated by figures. In 1700, the population of Transylvania was 250.000. In 1794, it had risen to 800.000. Of this number, a large part were Wallachians who had immigrated from Roumania. The population of the county of Bács-Bodrog rose from 31.000 in 1720, to 565.000 in 1787. Here the newcomers were Swabians and Serbs. The population of Torontál, Temes and Krassó rose from 30.000 to 565.000. Of these, the greater part were Wallachians and the smaller part Serbians and Swabians; though, besides these, the Austrian authorities imported no fewer than 16 different kinds of nationalities. It can be precisely demonstrated that in the XVIIIth century, when the population of the kingdom was trebled within a period of 67 years, 400.000 Serbians, 1,200.000 Germans, and 1,500.000 Wallachians entered Hungary, apart from Croatia, not counting smaller detachments of other races. These were settled in the country which had belonged to the descendants of three of the original eight clans, who had been extirpated during the Turkish wars; and so the country lying to the South of the Maros, — the so-called Bánság —, the southern part of the land between the Danube and the Tisza — the so-called Bácska, — the eastern half of the region between the Save and the Drave, — the so-called Szerémség, — were all lost to the Hungarians. It is from this time also that the mixture of races on this territory is to be dated, which is unparallelled even in Hungary. Such was the wisdom of the colonising committee, that communities are to be found, where not only two, but even three, or sometimes four and five races are living side by side and have remained strangers to each other to this day, differing, as they do, not only in race, but in religious denomination also.

This loss of blood was such that the Hungarian race, in spite of its fertility, could not make it up; and this is the reason why the proportion of Hungarians in the Kingdom, in spite of later magyarizing movements, only amounted to 54% of the whole. Yet there was no nationalist question in Hungary, because, as a Serbian writer, Nicholas Popovich, wrote in a work which appeared in 1865, „the laws of Hungary made no distinction between the different nationalities living in the country. According to the Hungarian constitution, there are only the nobility and the people. To the former others than Hungarians may belong and have belonged. If the majority of nobles have been Hungarians, that because both in point of numbers and character, the Hungarians have been the strongest." The question of nationalities and the play made with it against the Hungarians was the work, first of all, of the Vienna court which always rightly saw in the freedom-loving Hungarian nation its dangerous enemy.

When the Hungarians arrived in Hungary, as we have already seen, they were not merely cattle-rearing nomads, as is the general opinion prevailing in the West, but also people possessing a certain knowledge of agriculture. Their agriculture, of course, to begin with, was pursued in a nomadic kind of way, inasmuch as only scattered parts of the common lands, as they fell to the lot of the different families, would be brought under the plough when the whole village community was scattered over the whole of its allotted territory. It was with reference to this practice that the 11th century royal decree was issued which enjoined that „villages should not lie far from the churches", it having been earlier ordered that a church should be built for every ten settlements. Concentration of the people in a central township was certainly a long time in coming.

We know that the Cumanians, a kindred people that came into Hungary in 1239, lived for a long time in their round felt tents, the well-known shelters of the steppe peoples of Southern Russia and Central Asia, while they roamed freely with their flocks and herds; and only the exercise of the highest authority succeeded in constraining them to live in villages.

Room in a Peasant-farmer's House.

Photo Erdélyi.

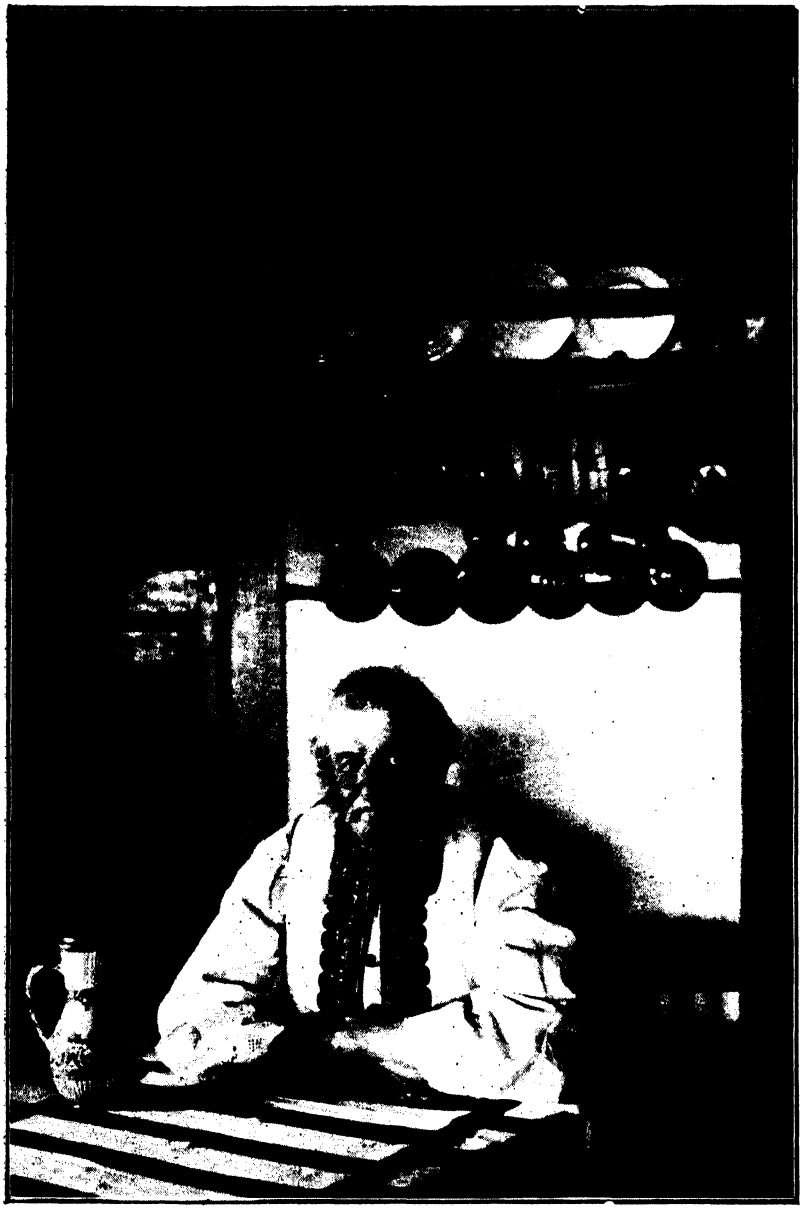
The first settlement took the form of little groups of the larger families and their servants, or of several small interrelated families uniting to form small communities, out of which villages developed later. Before the Turkish times, in different parts of the country, there were from 2 to 4 times as many small villages as there are now. In Bács-Bodrog, already mentioned several times, for instance, there were once 530 greater and smaller communities, where now there are only 130. In those parts of the country which escaped the destruction wrought by the Turks, the villages of about 1000 inhabitants are the most numerous; while in the areas over which the Turkish armies spread themselves — especially the Great Plain — the people live for the most part in towns of from 5 to 20.000 and even more inhabitants. The practice of the Turks was to burn the villages and drive out the villagers whom they either carried off, or slew. Of these destroyed villages and settlements, only a proportion rose again to

A Young Hungarian Woman. *Photo Erdélyi.*

new life. Those that did, absorbed the remnants of the ruined communities in their neighbourhood. Thus it is that the boundares of many communities on the Great Plain are, according to Western European ideas, abnormally large. You will find there towns whose lands extend over from 100—200, or even from 600—900 square kilometres, and whose populations vary from 30 to 50 and even 100 thousand. Taking the 130 communities of Bács-Bodrog, for instance, the average area of land possessed by a community works out at about 86 square kilometres. These large settlements, large i. e., regarded from the point of view of extent or number of inhabitants, are not properly speaking towns, though they show tendencies of developing in that direction. They are enormous villages, most of whose people are workers on the land.

The Turkish dominion altered not only the ethnological aspect of a part of Hungary, but the character of its settlement also. This latter transformation had its own consequences, for the extensive marches thus brought into being gave rise to new forms of farming life, the so-called „tanyas.," With the withdrawal of the Turks, the communities divided up the common land used at first only for grazing, among the members of the clan for tillage, and the individual owners, in order to work their

Peasant-farmer of Kecskemét. *Photo Erdélyi.*



An Old Peasant-farmer. *Photo Erdélyi.*

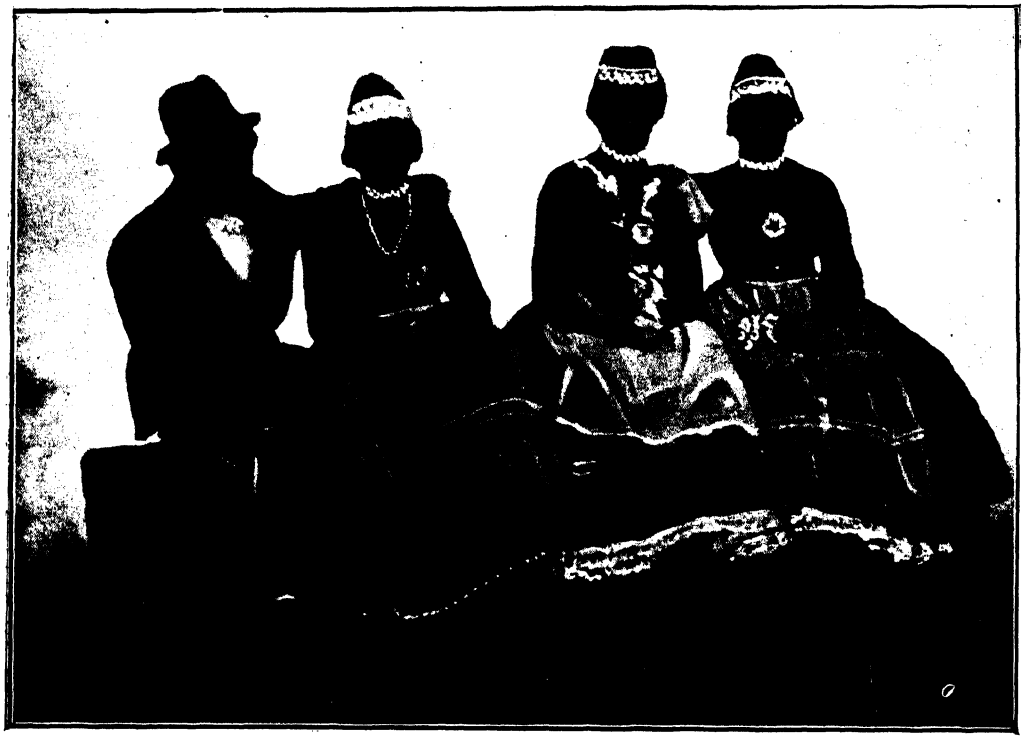
farms more easily, were constrained to establish permanent dwellings far out on the marches. The Great Plain of Hungary to-day is sprinkled with thousands and thousands of these „tanyas", or small farms; and with the increase in population and the division of single holdings, their number constantly grows larger. In mutilated Hungary $^1/_8$ of the total population are „tanya" folk, i. e. small farmers. In some of our towns a third, or even a half of the inhabitants, numbering from 10—40.000 souls, live in families on the frequently remote „tanyas". This is, perhaps, from the agricultural point of view advantageous, but so far as culture and public administration is concerned, it makes for backwardness. One of the most important tasks facing the state is the improvement of the communications and the adequate provision of schools in the „tanya" districts.

Let us take a look at the villages of Hungary. Their appearance bears the marks of the villager's avocation and is obviously conditioned by the environment. A predominantly agricultural and cattle-rearing people like the Hungarians, need roomy steadings and wide yards. That is why our villages are so scattered and incoherent, spacious like the plain which surrounds them. The Hungarian peasant's inherited instinct, moreover, makes him dislike living in compactly built villages. Everyone wants to be the obvious, independent master of his own demesne. Even the field paths and the village streets are broad to the point of prodigality, the latter being narrowed only before the houses by „little flower gardens" and lines of trees.

The dwelling houses, each as a rule, inhabited by one family, are of one story. Since in most districts both wood and stone for building are lacking, these houses are built even to-day of mud and wickerwork, or of earth and straw mixed, or of clay. They are thatched with reeds and straw. Naturally, in recent times, brick houses

with tile or slate roofs have become much more numerous everywhere. Out of these simple materials, the village builders can build houses very economically, and the Hungarian peasant's houses on the Great Plain, in size, neat appearance, with their pillared porches and white-washed walls, and general cleanliness, compare favourably with the poor, wretched, dreary-looking houses of the people of other races who live among the hills. In the eastern, better wooded parts of the Kingdom, especially in the Székler country, the cleverly carved wooden houses with pillared porches, are built in a masterly manner and their great, carved doorways give them a certain style. Among the uplands of Pannonia, in the Bakony-Balaton district, they build houses on stone-foundations with porches and arched in the Roman style. The wealthy, up-to-date peasantry, or the older, smaller nobility naturally live in better-class dwellings, „Curias", they are called.

The Hungarian peasant's house is generally built with its front part to the street and is composed regularly of three parts: the lower house, the kitchen and the back of the house. The room nearest the street is called the „clean room", or the „room for occasions", while the living-room looks on to the courtyard. If the son of the house remains at home, the „clean room" is used as a living-room. If only one family lives in the house, the first room is the gem of the house, the pride of the goodwife and her daughters. Here guests are entertained and here the company gathers on festive occasions. The windows are set off with flowers in pots and draped with white curtains. The furniture — table, benches, chairs, dressers and cupboards, chests and beds — is all painted in bright colours with all kinds of flower designs. On the canopied bed there are 6—9 embroidered snow-white pillows. Gaily painted plates and jugs, and in Transylvania, embroidered kerchiefs are arranged on the dresser, and the chests and cupboards are full of homespun and embroidered linen. Out of these last come the trousseaus of the daughters when they marry. In Transylvania, even the stoves are built of coloured tiles, painted with flower designs, while on the Great Plain, they are round and white-washed. The tasteless shopware, of course,



Folk-dress of Bogács. *Photo Erdélyi.*

Folk-dress of Heves County. *Photo Erdélyi.*

is making its way more and more into the peasant's houses also, and gradually ruining the original simple productions of folk-craftsmanship.

The kitchen opening off the passage, in most districts, has two divisions. The first, off which open the doors of the two rooms, corresponds to the best room. It is white-washed or, as in recent times, painted, and its walls are covered with brightly coloured earthenware kept purely for purposes of decoration. The cooking and baking materials are kept in the other division and it is only this which is called the kitchen.

In the peasant's steading, the farm buildings take up more room naturally then the dwelling house. There are stables, byres, styes, granaries, barns and sheds etc. some of them, as we can easily understand, more substantial and larger then the house itself.

Just as the Hungarians differ from the other races surrounding them in the manner and style of building their houses and in the appearance of their villages, so do they differ in their working dress. In this last they have put others in their debt, inasmuch as the sections of the other peoples who come into direct contact with them, are generally eager to imitate them in their thrifty attire. We know of course, that the Hungarians, when they first occupied the country, after the manner of Eastern peoples, were fond of gay and costly clothes. These have their direct lineal descedant in the so-called „Gala-dress of the Hungarians" which is known all over Europe and is something entirely different from any of the historic dress fashions of other Western nations. Wihout a doubt, this has had an effect through the centuries on the national dress. The real national dress, however, is to-day fast disappearing, though in certain parts it still holds its ground, for our people can still take pleasure in their own work with its distinctive designs and colours and sober variety of effects.

Lack of space forbids us dealing with these in more detail, but we shall have occasion to mention certain examples later on.

Folk-dres: of Kalocsa. *Photo Erdélyi.*

Hungary a Distinctly Agricultural State.

Our people above everything love to work on the land, no matter in what capacity, whether as farm-servants, landless day-labourers, small tenant-farmers or diminutive, small, or middling landowners, to mention only the principal classes of peasant society. The division of the land has been unfortunate. There are still many latifundia and correspondingly, many have no land at all, or very little. Generally speaking, the great estates belonging to laymen or to the Church are most numerous in Pannonia; while on the Great Plain, we find the largest number of middlesized holdings of well-to-do farmers. In 1848, the time of the freeing of the serfs and before the railways were built, agriculture in Hungary was in a bad way, especially on the Great Plain where, because of the bad roads, transportation of produce was fraught with many difficulties and practically only extensive agriculture was practised. Over a large part of the country, the three-years rotation was the rule — that is to say, a third of the land remained fallow. There was far too much land lying fallow and under pasture, and what did remain for tillage was unfortunately broken up into small and scattered units, owing to the folly of those on whom it had fallen to make the division of the land. Extensive agriculture is now no more. Our peasantry now work their forms intensively; and apart from favourable circumstances, their own industry is to be thanked for the fact that a well-to-do, manly and intelligent farming community has been formed which is rapidly coming up to the standards of Western Europe.

The Hungarian farmer goes in mainly for growing wheat and rye and, of hoed crops, maize and potatoes. Maize is used exclusively as a fattening foodstuff. In Hungary, it is only among the Roumanians that it forms an article of diet. Barley is used mainly as fattening food for cattle. Oats is grown for fodder only. Of industrial plants, hemp is widely grown on the smaller farms and, in certain localities, tobacco. On the larger estates, sugar-beet is cultivated.

Folk-dress of Kalotaszeg. *Photo Erdélyi.*

The care of the kitchen garden, in the peasant's household economy, falls to the women-folk, but there are certain districts, especially on the Great Plain, where vegetables and fruit are grown on a large scale. Nothing pleases the Hungarian more than gardening. This occupation had and still has in part its rise in viticulture, for the vine grows well in Hungary. The Hungarian was always an enthusiastic winegrower and since convivial tippling in the cellars during the enforced idleness of the winter months is a traditional custom with him, we may say that every peasant farmer has his vine. The phylloxera pest, which did so much damage at the close of the last century, had one happy result in that it spread the cultivation of the vine and with it, of other fruit-bearing trees, to the sandy lands of the Great Plain which had hitherto lain fallow, or been used mainly for growing sheep. This, in turn, meant an increase of the population, a rise the standard of living and, last but not least, an important intensification of the love of the land. The Hungarian peasantry, as is general with „people of the land", as they love to call themselves, everywhere and especially among the poorer classes, have the so-called „land-hunger". The peasant's highest ambition is to be his own master. He will sweat an save to the point of miserliness to achieve this end, for in peasant society, respect and standing, as is frequent among simpler people, go with the possession of property. It is this which determines marriages even to a much greater extent than among the so-called seignorial classes. The peasant has no great regard for what he considers the idle and trousered fellows, the office workers or merchants with whom his work brings him into contact. „Comers and goers", he calls them expressively.

At the present time, the Hungarian pea-

sant is a tiller of the soil, but in earlier days and until a century ago, cattle-rearing was the mainstay of his farming and the greatest source of the country's wealth. In this, the rearing of horses and of the great horned cattle took the lead. The types of both and the manner of rearing them were brought from the Eastern home of the Hungarian people, when they came to settle in the West. As we have seen, these old Hungarians appeared first in Europe as a race of mounted nomads, and the hardy, fiery Hungarian horse was already in the 10. th. century much sought after in the markets of the West, as, indeed, it is still to-day. The halcyon days of cattle-rearing fell in the 16. th. and 17. th. centuries, when as many as 70.000 heads were sent to the Nuremberg market in the year, most of them from the Great Plain. The half-wild animals roamed free in summer over the wide pasture lands of the „Puszta", watched by herdsmen as wild as themselves, over whose occupation and mode of life the glamour of romance has been freely cast. Western opinion, which is prone to such superficial judgments respecting nations, still thinks of the Hungarians as such a pastoral people, though that old world has long since passed away and scarcely a rumour of it is heard. Indeed the complaint is frequently made that the common pastures have been broken up by the plough to a greater extent than was necessary. In the interest of the milk supply, the red and white breeds of the West are gradually pushing out the old white breed of the Hungarian horned cattle. In olden times, sheep-rearing was also practised on a large scale, especially on the dryer grazing grounds. The sheep were reared for mutton, milk, wool, hides and tallow. Now sheeprearing has greatly decreased, being practically confined to the latifundia. Pigs, on the contrary, are kept and fed even by the poorest.

There is still a considerable trade in connection with this branch of farming. In this the women folk take a large part, looking after the poultry — geese, ducks, hens and turkeys. These are the principal domestic animals of the peasant farmer, especially on the „tanyas" where you will find hundreds of them in the farm yard, whence the merchant takes them for export to the London market.

A Kalotaszeg Bride. *Photo Erdélyi.*

Lately the peasants have begun to take up bee-keeping. To be compelled to depend on goat-keeping for a livelihood means poverty. Fishing is one of the most ancient of Hungarian ocupations and in olden times many won a living from it. To-day however, owing to drainage sche-

Folk-dress of Mezőkövesd. *Photo Erdélyi*

Folk-dress of Szolnok County. *Photo Erdélyi.*

mes and river regulation, fishing has fallen into decline, though it is now trying to rise again by the use of artificial methods.

The village farm combines many sorts of activities in itself and may be said to aim at self-sufficiency. This is specially true of the men's side of the work. Practically every peasant is traditionally adept if not at the actual making, at least at the repair of all farming implements and household effects, and it is with an ill grace that he has to depend upon an artisan. Such a disposition is not favourable to industry, and in general, the peasant regards the smaller tradesman with contempt. He holds his own occupation to be the best of all and would not willingly change his independence for the unending, monotonous labour of the town workshop. This conservative way of thinking explains how it is, that until quite recently, the Hungarians have been slow to take up industrial activites, even though the good reputation of the city workman shows that even here they can hold their own. At the present time, it is reported that in the factories of Hungary, the best element amongst the workers is the Hungarian, and these workmen are, for the most part, sons of the peasantry.

Mezökövesd peasant with his two daughters. Photo Mészöly

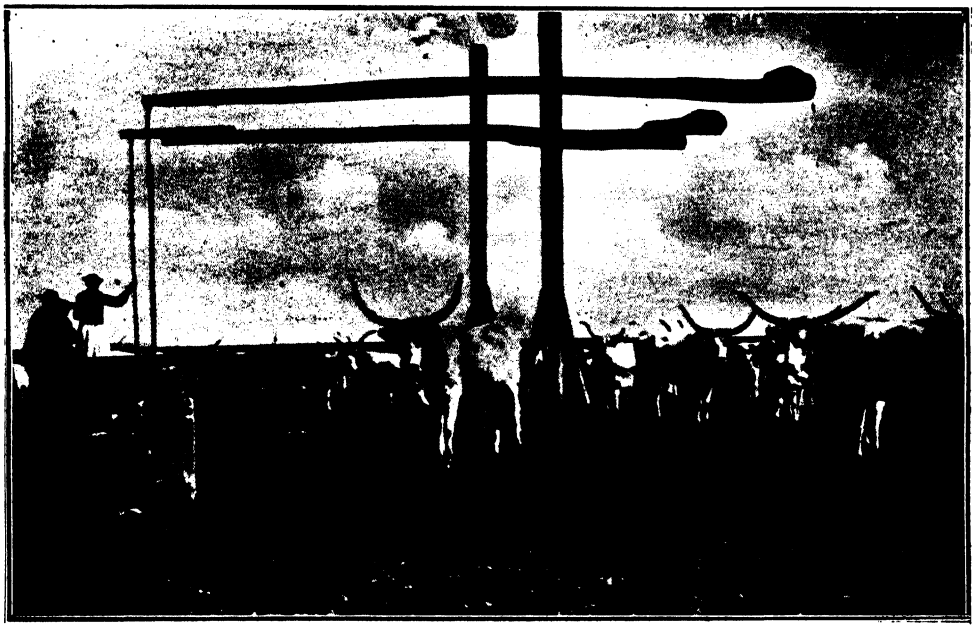
As a free merchant not tied down to a shop, the Hungarian is more at home, for every farmer is not only a producer but also a distributor at the same time.

As compared with other nations, fortune was kind to the Hungarians in settling them down on such a fruitful soil, which in former times yielded them their daily bread without requiring much labour. With this, however, there went a certain lack of ambition and initiative, for such circumstances, to be sure, did not spur men into activity. So it was that our German neighbours, whose industry is proverbial, out of the ill-will which they bore to us, spread the report that the Hungarian was indolent and idle. In the past, there may have been some justification for such an allegation, but there is none to-day when, besides other things, conditions of life are more strenuous and have taught our people to work steadily and keep at it. The capacity for work of the Hungarian peasantry is hardly less than that of the peasantry of other countries, though in culture they may be somewhat behind. One of the causes of the gossip of our neighbours, the consequences of which it is notably hard to wipe out, was simply envey. They envied our people their wonderful land, their bursting granaries and good living. It is not only the upper classes, but the common people also in Hungary who are „fond of themselves" and spend more on their table then many thrifty, more Western peoples. *„We may be poor, but we do live well!"* is a by-word in Hungary. The cooking of the Hungarian upper-classes has been famous in Europe for centuries, but the peasant's cookery can take its place among the best of Europe also, both in regard to quality and variety. There is, we must admit, culture in this also. Hungarian food is plentiful, highly seasoned and fatty. It is not for nothing that so many pigs and so much poultry are fattened. Bread and cakes of all kinds are baked with white wheat flour. The cold winters make a diet rich in fats necessary,

just as they create a demand for garments made of sheepskin. The summer is a busy time, and men could not face the heavy work of harvestry from morning till night on a poor diet washed down with water.

The Hungarian loves to entertain, and when he does so, he likes to display his substance. Baptisms, receptions, weddings, funerals, harvest festivals, name days, saint's days, markets, reaping time, grape-picking, pig-killing etc. in the peasant's eyes are all simply occasians for convivial gatherings of acquaintances, relatives or friends. Name-days especially, but, above all, weddings are held with great rejoicings, in which half the village will take part and keep up the fun for several days on end. Weddings are solemnised with a traditional ceremonial and indeed, in general, our people are punctilious formalists.

It is almost unnecessary to say that on festive occasions great parts are played by dances, songs and instrumental music. The evidence of history goes to show that the Hungarians have always been a dancing people. The names of no fewer than 60 dances have come down from antiquity and the Hungarian language has a rich and colourful dance-vocabulary. The basis of dancing is in a developed sense of rhythm, and according to the statistics, among the soldiers of all the different peoples who composed the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Hungarians had this sense best developed. Serious scientists have demonstrated that there are few folk-dances in which the two constitutive elements of artistic rhythm, unity and variety are both present so emphatically and yet so harmoniously as they are in the folk-dances of Hungary. This combination of emphasis with harmony is but a faithful expression in the dance of a general national characteristic. We can understand how the surrounding peoples have been captivated by these dances to the point of imitation, just as they were by the beautiful national dress of the Hungarians. Even to-day, the youth of the villages spends the afternoon of Sundays and holidays in the enjoyment of the dance.



Herd of cattle on Hortobágy. *Photo Erdélyi.*

Our peasants love to sing. The origin of their songs is double. On the one hand, they have their origin in a very old tradition extending away back to the times of an ancient and undoubtedly high Eastern culture from which that of the Hungarians who entered Europe was derived. The other origin is in the popular music of the day. Every historic period had its own Hungarian minstrels who wrote and declaimed lyrical poems and songs on religious or historic subjects for the nobles, in the

first place. Their style however, was almost popular and the common people, on learning them, worked them over and conformed them to some of the more primitive types of song. So the new was brought into the old line of tradition and the fusion of the two has set the old style for the living folk music of the present.

For their dance music, they use the airs of songs which have a suitable rhythm. In adapting them for the instruments, however, flamboyant variations are introduced, according to the technic of the particular instrument. Such songs as are not set to dance measures, whether they be lyrical or epic in character, may be always sung in a declamatory, rubato manner. The ancient mode of singing abounded in flourishes in which several notes would be sung to a simple syllable. All kinds of work, both lyric and epic, are sung by our people. Even the longest of our ballads and narrative poems are divided into stanzas and sung to a recurring theme right to the end.

Verses of 1, 2 and 4 lines recited during the dance have such a strongly marked rhythm, that they may be said almost to be nearer to song than they are to speech.

Besides these free songs, an important role is also played by songs written for certain occasions, such as Christmas, and spring songs, songs connected with games and certain national customs. To this group belong wedding songs and funeral dirges and other such pieces which frequently are among the oldest relics of Hungarian culture.

In every Hungarian district, simple Hungarian instrumental music was once known, but now it has largely given way before the advance of the „tsigane" or gipsy musicians, who play either newer peasant songs, or others composed to suit the popular taste, bringing to the execution of both their own harmonies, instrumentation and technique. At the present time, the gipsies are the custodians of the folk-music of Hungary. The „furulya" a kind of flute, "duda" Hungarian bagpipes, „tekerő, doromb" (Jew's Harp), tülök (horn), and zither are played to-day only by the poorest classes among the people.

In olden times Hungarians used different musical instruments from these. Documents of the 13th century mention flute-players, drummers and lute players, for the most part in the Kings's service.

Ploughing with Oxen on the Great Plain. Photo Mészöly

These lute players were the ancestors of the minstrels who won such great popularity during the Turkish times of the 16th century, and who used to sing rousing, patriotic songs on historic themes to the accompaniment of the lute. Present research into the history of musical instruments has proved that the violin, lute, oboe and drum were introduced into Europe by the Arabs. We know now that besides their place of origin in the South, there was another in the North also, with which the Hungarians had something to do. They knew the oboe's prototype before the other peoples of Europe and played a great part in introducing the cavalry kettle-drum and the larger side-drum into Europe. Popular Hungarian compositions have found favour with Western peoples for centuries and *„ongharese"* or *„all cingarese"* pieces, although the real music of our people is still unknown abroad.

The folk music of the Hungarians had a great influence on that of the surrounding races. Among the Roumanians, you can find typical examples of Székler folk-songs. The more modern Hungarian folk songs have attained such a popularity among the Slovaks and the Ruthenians, that their own ancient songs have been displaced by them. They have even taken over fragments of the Hungarian words. On the other hand, there has been a certain influence exerted by the Slovaks and Ruthenians themselves, but comparatively speaking, it has been insignificant.

From what has been said already, it will be readily understood that the material culture of the Hungarians is also markedly different from that of the neighbouring peoples, and we may say at once, in addition, that it surpasses the standards of any of them. Its origins are to be found away back in the eastern home of the Hungarian people, in those far-off days, where and when this branch of culture from which we profit here in an attenuated form, attained a higher level of development than it did in the western half of our continent, simply because it could draw upon more ancient and richer sources. It is clear that in the course of centuries, this folk culture was more or less exposed to the influences of

The Hay Harvest. *Photo Erdélyi*

surrounding peoples and an aristocracy, which had already lived through different historic styles and fashions,but it so absorbed and modified those influences that they were unable to change materially either its Hungarian or its folk character: it was in our people's blood. That this was so, is indicated by the uniformity of folk-culture which exists all over the country. It is like our langauge which is almost without local differences and which, in contrast with other languages, was spoken in much the same way one thousand years ago as it is to-day. The love of ornament is displayed by everything the people use and possess, whether it be something made by the peasant with his own hand or made to his order by the small tradesman of the village, more than half a peasant himself. From this it should be obvious that the heavier end of this stick falls upon the shoulders of the men, women confining themselves to tasks connected with cloth and sewing. Even sewing, however, is in part a man's job. It is the men who sew the garments made out of felt and leather, i. e. those the raw material for which is prepared by themselves. There are characteristic and also ancient articles of clothing included in this category, the „szür" the „ködmön" the „bunda", each, of course, being found in several varieties. The first of these is a winter cloak for men exclusively, the other two are winter cloaks for women. At the present time, of course, they are only worn in certain districts. The „szür" is a felt garment made from the wool of the sheep, the „ködmön" and the „bunda" are made from unshorn sheepskins. On the white ground, many-coloured flower patterns are sewn or worked in coloured leather, so that these cloaks are veritable exhibitions of Hungarian peasant-embroidery work. The other nationalities have not been slow in places to copy these practical and beautiful articles of clothing.

Hemp, and, to a lesser degree, flax used to be much more widely cultivated then they are now. In the winter, spinning and weaving, as well as embroidery, were carried on in every peasant's house. In contrast with the primitive Slav peoples who carried their whole property on their persons in the form of gold and silver coins and who displayed their finest embroidery on their clothes, the Hungarians applied their handwork in the first place to the furnishings of the house; bed-linen and table clothes etc., and only in the second place to lingerie, kerchiefs etc.

Homeword Bound from the Town. Photo Mészöly.

This embroidery, in contrast with that above mentioned, is regularly done in one colour, most often red, but also, more rarely, blue, and black; but the same flower motifs are employed. The craft has reached its highest point of development in Transylvania. A greater variety of stitching is included in the technique of

peasant embroidery than in that of the upper classes.

Neither lace-work, nor coloured weaving are usual occupations of the Hungarian peasantry. It is the Slovaks who are lace-workers, while in coloured weaving the Balkan peoples, the Roumanians, Serbs, and Croats take the lead. Smallish coloured carpets of an Eastern type are woven only by the Széklers.

In the peasant's house, as is well known, wood is the principal material used. It is employed for all sorts of things, so much so that we might say with reason that the peasant class lives in the Earlier Wood Age. From this it follows that the working of this easy material offers scope for the peasant's artistic instincts. In the wellwooded districts, as we have already mentioned, the houses and even the churches and belfries, are built of wood. The finest examples of this are to be found in the Reformed Churches of Transylvania, built after the Gothic manner. This practice was taken over by the Roumanians of that country who, however, build in the Byzantine style. Pulpits, choir-stalls variegated roofs, head-boards for graves, wayside crucifixes etc., all are made by peasant craftsmen everywhere. The work is naturally executed in a popular style and in a way distinguishing it from the work of other races, with its sparing use of religious symbols and biblical reminiscences. The lesser ecclesiastical plastic art is almost unknown among our people. They love especially to carve or paint certain parts of their houses, such as the gables, rafters, pillars, doors, gateways etc. Of the furniture, certain tables and chests of various kinds preserve the forms of the Middle Ages, while on other articles, e. g. chairs and benches, we can see the influence of baroque and later periods especially, as is natural in the western parts of the country. In the east, the furniture is carved and painted, though painted furniture is fashionable everywhere. It is the Széklers, living as they do among the forests, who take the lead in this art of wood-carving. Their home lies far out of the beaten track and in the practice of this craft they have preserved many ancient traditions.

Hungarian Four-in-Hand. *Photo Munkácsy.*

We have mentioned already that the principal decoration of the peasant's home, and especially of his kitchen, is provided by the rows of jugs and plates hung up on the walls. Among them are to be found many beautifully glazed and finely designed pieces, jealously preserved by the women-folk, who are more conservative then the men, as relics of a small industry which has fallen into decline. This applies

especially to Transylvania. The practice of the potter's craft in Hungary goes back to the very beginning of the XVIIth century, when one of the princes of Transylvania settled some German Anabaptists in our country, whither they had been driven by persecution from their home in the Southern Tyrol. They were, among other things, skilled potters. Considering their place of origin, we might expect what is indeed evident at the first glance, viz. evidence of Italian influence in their coloured productions. This so-called „New Christian" technique was the means of raising the simpler Transylvanian potter's craft to a higher level of excellence. To-day, however, they have fallen back and turn out coarser, cheaper and tasteless lead-glazed objects. But in certain districts, there were and are still groups of potters deserving attention, who have devoted themselves to the production of work not intended for daily use, but only for use on great occasions, or even simply for the purpose of decorating the Hungarian peasant's house with genuine bits of Hungarian craftsmanship.

Passing on, we may, in a few lines, touch on the subject of the simple art of the herdsmen also. Among this section of the people, which in olden times, pursued its own ancient ways of life independent of others, men were constrained to fashion the things they required out of the material which lay to their hands: wood, hides, horn, bone. They had lots of time to spare and a traditional pride of appearance, so that everything they had was as ornamental as it could be.

Not an utensil but was carved, etched, or poker-worked, or otherwise ornamented with metal, bone or sealing wax. Their dainty vessels, staves, shepherd's-crooks, the stocks of their whips and helves of their axes, the frames of their mirrors and their maize mills provide the best examples of their skill as wood-carvers. Their leather work is seen in the beautifully plaited thongs of their whips, purses, wallets and saddlery; their salt-cellars and swine-herd's horns, etc., etched and burnt in many designs, are proofs of their skill in bone and horn work. The illustrations will give a good idea of the artistic value of their simple productions. We would content

Mezőcsát. Hungarian Pottery from the 14th and 15th Centuries.

ourselves here with saying simply that in applied art, the modern Hungarian designers, whose fame is not confined to Hungary, are as much indebted to them for inspiration as to any other section of our people. It is easily understood that the decorative art of the herdsman has preserved many ancient forms and motifs, and that expression is given to their peculiar environment in scenes of pastoral life, which is almost completely strange to the art of the Hungarian peasantry.

We could go on to speak further of the soul, character and spiritual possessions of the Hungarian people, and how as a race they are related to their neighbours, but purposely we refrain, lest we be charged with being biassed. On the last point, we would content ourselves with pointing out that the history of a thousand years does not provide one instance of a racial or a denominational war. Moreover, in the most spontaneous outpourings of the souls of those peoples who have shared one land with the Hungarians, in their popular verse, songs and recitations etc., in striking contrast to the implacable hatred of the Turks expressed in the popular verse of the Yugoslavs, there is never any feeling of hostility displayed against the Hungarians. On the contrary, the uncorrupted racial soul of the natonalities always instinctively felt the superiority of the Hungarians, and appreciated their conciliatory ways and their understanding of other races which equalled their pride in their own. This last is not simply what we say; it was said by the Transylvanian Saxons in their petition addressed to the League of Nations, when they protested against being brought under the rule of Roumania.

Our hostile neighbours now proclaim us to be foreigners in a country which has been ours for a thousand years, even though we have more of the West in us than any of them; notwithstanding that it was the Hungarian people who helped them to rise to what standards they have attained, feeling called, as it did, one thousand years ago, to the historic task of striking a balance between the East and the West. And the thanks it has received for accomplishing this has been the loss not only of two-thirds of its country, but also of one-third of its people, both gone to these peoples around us, as booty of war.

Ingathering of the Grapes. Püspökladány.

THE ECONOMICS OF HUNGARY.

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AND

PUBLIC INSURANCE IN HUNGARY.

BY

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THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF HUNGARY.

When the Great War broke out Hungary was in the midst of a great development which we may say had been going on continously from 1867, the year when Hungary and Austria came to a definite understanding with each other, and so provided a basis for peaceful development. Until that year, the conditions of modern economic life had been denied to Hungary. The attempts, made by the Hungarian nation to secure them in 1848, had been suppressed by the Vienna government. Some steps were taken, it is true, after 1849 when absolutism prevailed, in the right direction. Thus, for example, railway connections were begun and industry was extended to a small degree. But the way for real expansion was only opened up in 1867 when the „Ausgleich" put an end to the protracted political struggle with Austria, for only then did that insecurity cease in Hungary which is inimical to initiative in business. It was not until it was made certain that the Kingdom was free to control its own natural resources without let or hindrance that their exploitation on a larger scale could be set on forth.

The Hungarian state was perfectly aware that there were important conditions attaching to the economic life of the country, the fulfilment of which was absolutely necessary even though it should entail considerable sacrifices. And so, it proceded to make those huge national investments which were to become the foundation of future economic expansion and development. First of all, it set about constructing a railway system with great vigour. In 1865 in Hungary there were 2160 kms of railways. Ten years later the sum had already jumped to 6.429 kms; ten more years and it was 9,022 kms of railways laid down in Hungary which total was raised to 22,057 kms by 1914. The second great task to be undertaken was seen by the Hungarian government to be the regulation of the drainage systems. As a result of thirty years work the area of uncultivated land which in the fifties amounted to one fifth of the whole contury (19.63%) was reduced to a twentieth, 5.5%. As early as 1880, the area of aralable land was considerably enlarged as a result of these drainage operations, for while in 1851 it amounted to about 19 millions catastral „hold"s, or Hungarian acres (one „hold" 1.422 English acres), in 1880 it had already increased to 22.3 million Hungarian acres. Another reason for this development must be found also in this that the railway expansion made it worth while to cultivate lands which before, owing to their distance from markets, had been unable to show a profitable return on the work of cultivation.

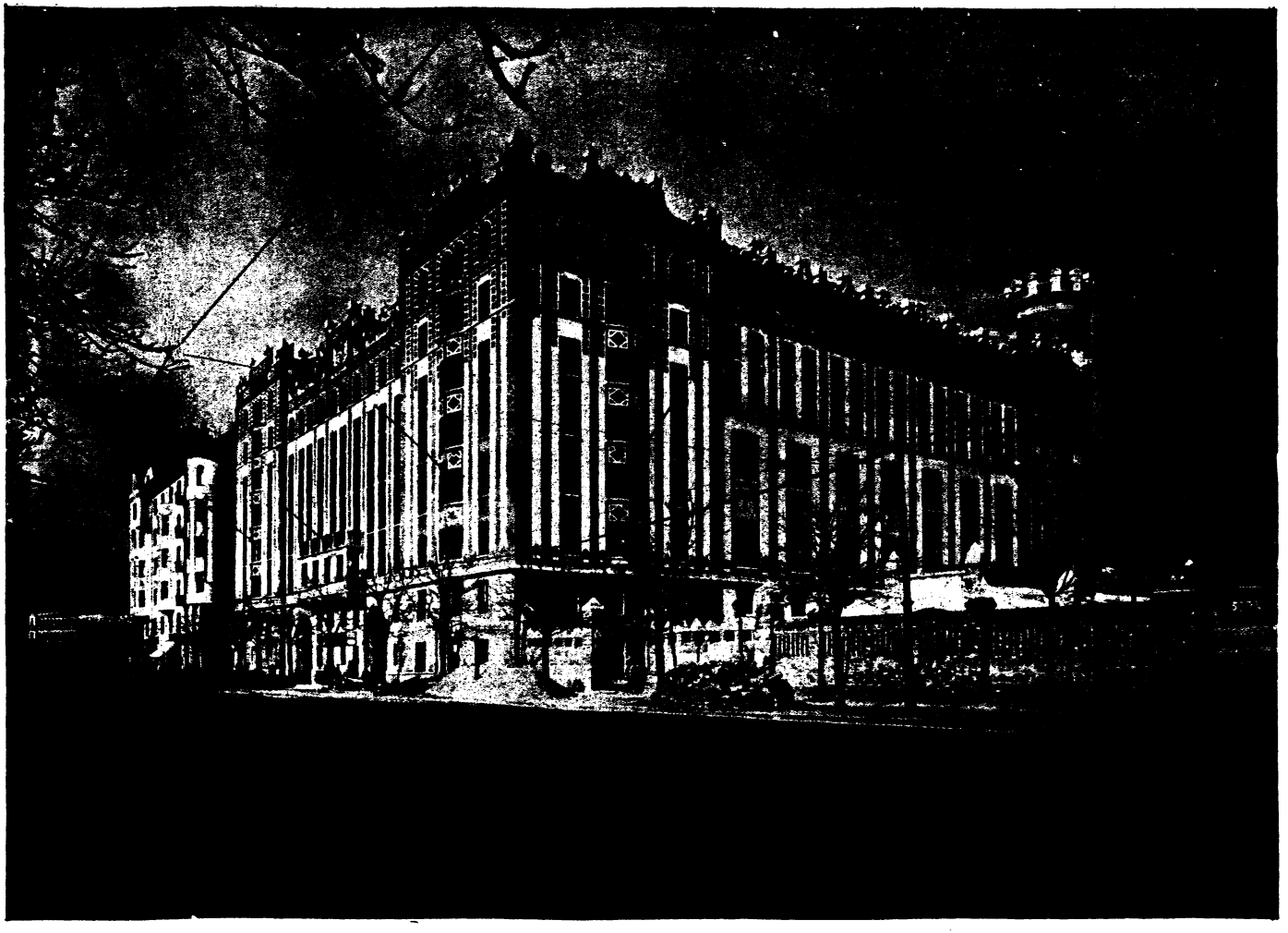
It was Count Stephen Széchenyi, the apostle of the re-birth of Hungary, whose merits have won for him the sobriquet of the „Greatest Hungarian" who clearly saw that the foundation of economic development had to be laid in the creation of credit. Thus he championed the cause of rescinding ancient legislation which stood in the way of credit extension, and in season and out he expounded to his compatriots the productive power which lies in capital. Széchenyi himself visited England repeatedly and he could see there himself the advantages of a growing capitalism.

At first of course the credit system made very slow headway in Hungary and in 1867 there were only 78 banks in the whole country. They were all small concerns as may be judged from the fact that the average value of the stock of one of them only amounted to 271.000 crowns. This was all changed very rapidly. In 1873 Hungary had 429 banks with an average stock capital of 377,000 crowns. It is true that in that period Hungary suffered from the same fever of speculation which prevailed in other quarters of Europe and had

to pay the price of it with the collapse of many banks. But her rapid recovery was sufficient evidence to prove that her credit system was not built upon sand. True enough there were still only 432 banks in 1880, that is scarcely more than before the crisis, but from that date Hungary went quickly ahead and ten years later the total had risen to 634, while in 1900 there were more than 1,000 throughout the country. It was,however,not only in the number of banks that the development consisted but also in the average increase in the stock capital involved which was already 434,000 crowns in 1900. Of course this does not give a properly proportionated picture of the rapid increase of Hungary's capital development, because this is a figure much depressed by the large number of small provincial concerns doing purely local business. Even though these provincial banks, particularly the Credit Association formed after 1890, have played an important part especially in supplying the need for credit in minor business circles, still the capital power of Hungary is in the first place expressed in the 15 large banks operating in the capital which have succeeded in developing excellent connections with capital abroad. These great banks — the stock of each amounts to more than ten million crowns — had together 580.4 million crowns at their disposal in 1909, while between 1900 and 1909 they paid on an average more than 10% on their paid up share capital.

These large banking and their development concerns had likewise a decisive influence on the development of the big industries of Hungary. The country being short of capital and its wealth in consequence of the character of its economic life tied up in real estate and therefore difficult to liquidate, the task of providing the capital necessary for the flotation of manufacturing companies fell upon the large banks. And so, as in Germany and Austria, it was the great banks in Hungary which took the initiative in the development of big industry and even as early as 1867, the year of the „Ausgleich", the assistance of the banks enabled a number of large industrial concerns to get going. In the years that followed, the big Hungarian banks set themselves deliberately to continue their flotation activities and so they opened up new and new sources of production from which the increasing population were able to secure the means of subsistence. The government itself adapted a policy designed to assst development and from 1881 by granting special relief from taxation and in other ways it encouraged the establishment of new branches of industry. This was not an easy matter, for owing to the customs union between Hungary and Austria, new Hungarian industrial enterprises could not compete with the older Austrian companies which besides had the advantage of working with capital partly amortised. As it was, the number of what are properly speaking industrial concerns increased up to 293,135 in 1890, and to 479,469 from 293.135 in 1910. To better realise the character of the development of Hungarian industry, it may be interesting to point out that the coal imports of Hungary between 1882 and 1891 amounted in an average to 4.6 millions quintals per annum (1 quintal — 100 kilogr.) while between 1907 and 1911 this figure had risen to 24.5 millions to which we must add about 3.8 million quintals of coke. And naturally in the interval, the home production of coal in Hungary had increased enormously. Other evidence of the great expansion of Hungarian industry is supplied by the figures for the import of machinery. Between 1882 and 1891 machinery imports stood at 182.704 quintals, from 1902 to 1911 they had risen to about 600.000 qu. (in 1912 1.25.955 qu. of machinery were imported).

Perhaps I may be permitted to mention a few more characteristic facts which throw light upon the economic growth thus set up. In the first place, the increase of the population indicates how it was tending. In 1850, Hungary had 11.5 million inhabitants, in 1900 16.8 million, and in 1910 18.2 million. Together with this increase in numbers, there was also a rise in the standard of living, as is evidenced by the fact that while in 1860 deposit savings in the various banks amounted to 76.2 million crowns, in 1870 the total was 254.9 million; in 1890 it rose to 1 milliard and in 1913 it reached the sum of 7 milliard crowns. Further we may point outt that if we take the figure representing the foreign trade of Hungary on its import side between 1882—1886 to be 100, then between 1907 and 1911 it was 198 and in 1912 it rose to 245. Similarly on the export side taking 100 as the avarage figure for the years between 1882—1886, then we get 201 for the period 1907—1911 and 233 for 1912. Other interesting evidence is supplied by the finances



General Post Office. Budapest.

of the state. In 1868 the Hungarian state's income was only 208 million crowns. Between 1886—1890 it averaged already 941.4 millions, from 1896 to 1900 it rose to 1.086.1 millions and from 1906—1910 it worked at 1.621.9 million crowns per annum. The ability to meet such enormous increases of taxation which these figures reveal, came only from the marked industrial development indicated by the facts we have already adduced.

The upward trend of things in Hungary before the war is further to be seen in the returns made for certain taxes. Between 1881—1883 the taxes paid by limited companies amounted to 5.7 million crowns. For the period 1906—1910 they rose to 14.2 millions which indicates considerable headway being made in industry. For the same periods, taxes on interest paid on investments rose from 9 million crowns to 16.8 million, taxes on houses from 17.9 millions to 58.9 millions; income tax from 32 millions to 58.9 millions and lastly the supplementary tax on general income — this existed before the introduction of the general income tax — from 23.8 to 42.2 millions.

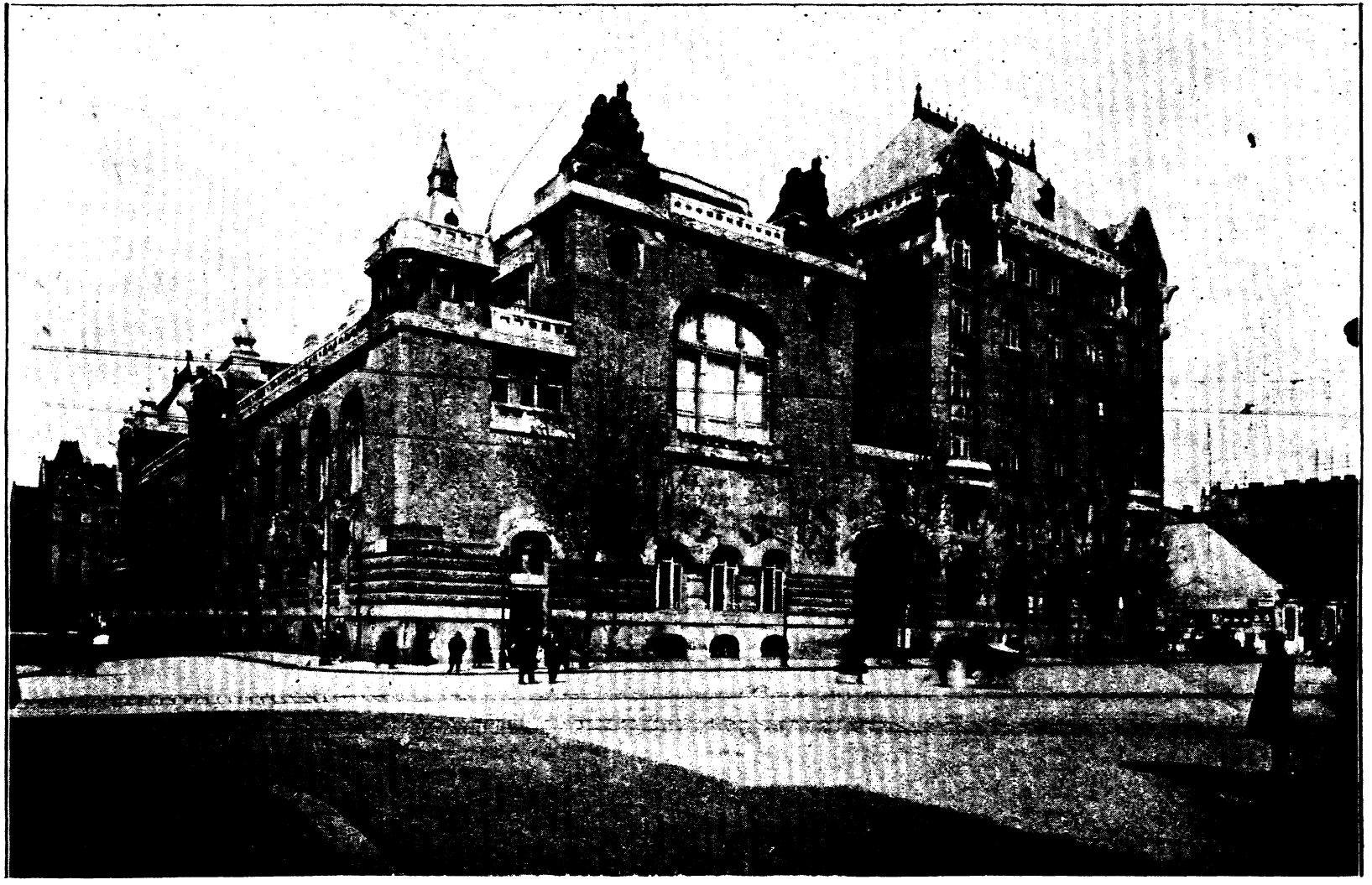
Then let us take as a certain indication of the rise in the standard of living: the consumption of wheat which increased from 118.07 kilogrammes per head for 1895—1900 to 129.02 kg. for 1902—1910; the consumption of sugar which, from the same period, increased from 3.86 kg. per head to 6.23 kg. (in 1914 it was 9.7 kg.) and the consumption of tea which rose from 10 kg. to 16 kg. in the same time (in 1914 it was 23 kg.). Additional proof of advance is given by the figures for the consumption of coal and mineral oil. The first rose from 372 kg in the period 1896—1900 to 541 in 1906, while the second in the same years, taking the gross figures rose from 1,196.000 quintals to 1,807.000 and between 1913—1914 to 2,306.000 quintals.

And now let us put on record another piece of evidence, before we leave off. This is supplied by the expansion of the capital of Hungary. In 1869, Budapest had 280.349 inhabitants, in 1900 735.358, in 1910 880.731. (In 1920 the population was 928.996.) This rapid growth which mirrors the progress of the whole country, was the direct result of the tremendous development of industrial and commercial life in general.

II.

This undeniably enormous advance made by Hungary was interrupted by the Great War. The ranks of the producing classes were depleted to the army; the various commercial and later productive activities were restricted; and as the war went on the inroads made upon capital became more and more, so that the necessary means of production were seriously impaired. As a consequence of the war, increase in the national debt led to an increase on the common burden and allowed the suspicion to grow that after the war the people would have still larger burdens to bear, thus on the one hand threatening production with the danger of an increase in costs and on the other pointing to the danger of a seriously diminished power of consumption.

Still, Hungarian economics, in virtue of their predominantly agrarian character, would speedily and easily have got over these troubles and even have been able to shoulder the war debt, if the war had not ended as a matter of fact, it did, in total collapse. The lack of coal and raw materials resulting in lack of work, characterised the end-of-the-war period. But the worst trouble of all arose out of the destruction of the social equilibrium which brought with it the loss of the desire to work and drove the lower classes into the arms of extremists eventually ending in the establishment of the Bolshevik regime which almost completely crippled all production for the 1918—1919 season. To make this quite intelligible, it is enough to refer to the fact that the same Hungary which had previously always had a large surplus of grain and live stock for export, had to depend upon imported flour and meat in 1919 and 1920, and therefore had to receive credits of significant amount. Another significant fact is this, that while for the season 1913—1914 Hungary dealt with 13,726.543 quintals of sugar beet in her factories, she only used 751.829 quintals in 1919—1920, and in consequence instead of 1,758.077 qu. of sugar, she only produced 107.141 qu. It is a great pity that the production figures for 1918 for the most part are lacking, so that it is only approximately that we can conceive of the deplorable state of affairs which ensued upon the Bolshevik period, nor can we describe the appalling lethargy which settled down upon the economic life of the country as a result of the chaos into which society fell.



Trunk Telephon Exchange. Budapest.

Post Office Savings Bank, Budapest.

The following figures however may perhaps throw some light upon the difficulties made by those terrible times which had to be overcome. Between 1911—1915 there were on an average 527.000 „holds" (Hungarian acres) of land lying fallow. In 1920—22 when the country had already passed through the period of Bolshevism, this figure had risen to 1,100.000 holds.

In the meantime, however, fresh trials awaited the economic life of Hungary; for the Bolsheviks opened the Hungarian frontiers to the Rumanian army which was thus able to advance even into Budapest. The penetration of this foreign army into the heart of the country meant great material sacrifice for the occupied territory which and by the quartering of French and Czech

had to provide for the army's upkeep. This, however, was far from being all that the Rumanian occupation meant, for their army took advantage of its position to plunder Hungarian property and when it left, it carried away with it everything for what they could find room, railway carriages and locomotives, parts of machinery which they even could hardly use at home; all were carted out of Hungary. Professor Desiderius Laky*) from official data, estimated the damage done by the Roumanian occupation to amount to 2.9 milliard or roundly 3 milliard crowns, taking the prices prevailing in August of 1919 as the base of these calculations. This sum represents about 12 to 18 times the taxation value of the territories affected. To this loss, too, there falls to be added the by no means trifling damages incurred first by the occupation of South Hungary by the Serbian troups, (171.6 million gold crowns) and by the quartering of French and Czech forces in the country. As a result of these events, Hungary, from an economic point of view, lost almost a whole year and after, the troubles arising out of the country's economic passivity together with the inflation which went along with it, jeopardised the development of her whole economic life for almost four years more.

Following upon the conclusion of the war, there descended upon Hungary a tremendous economic unsettlement. And is this to be wondered at when we think of the more than fantastic rumours which were flying around about the new frontiers? And unfortunately these fantastic rumours before long became terrible realities when the Treaty of Trianon inflicted frontiers on Hungary such as it is really impossible to comprehend when we consider the true meaning of President Wilson's fourteen points. They create the impression in any impartial man who but casts a glance on Hungarian economics that they were set up on the most extreme interpretation of the principle that accessible territories of economic value should in one way or an-

Post Office Savings Bank. Budapest.

* Desiderius Laky: The Economic Damage done by the occupation of mutilated Hungary (Hungarian Academy of Science Budapest 1923).

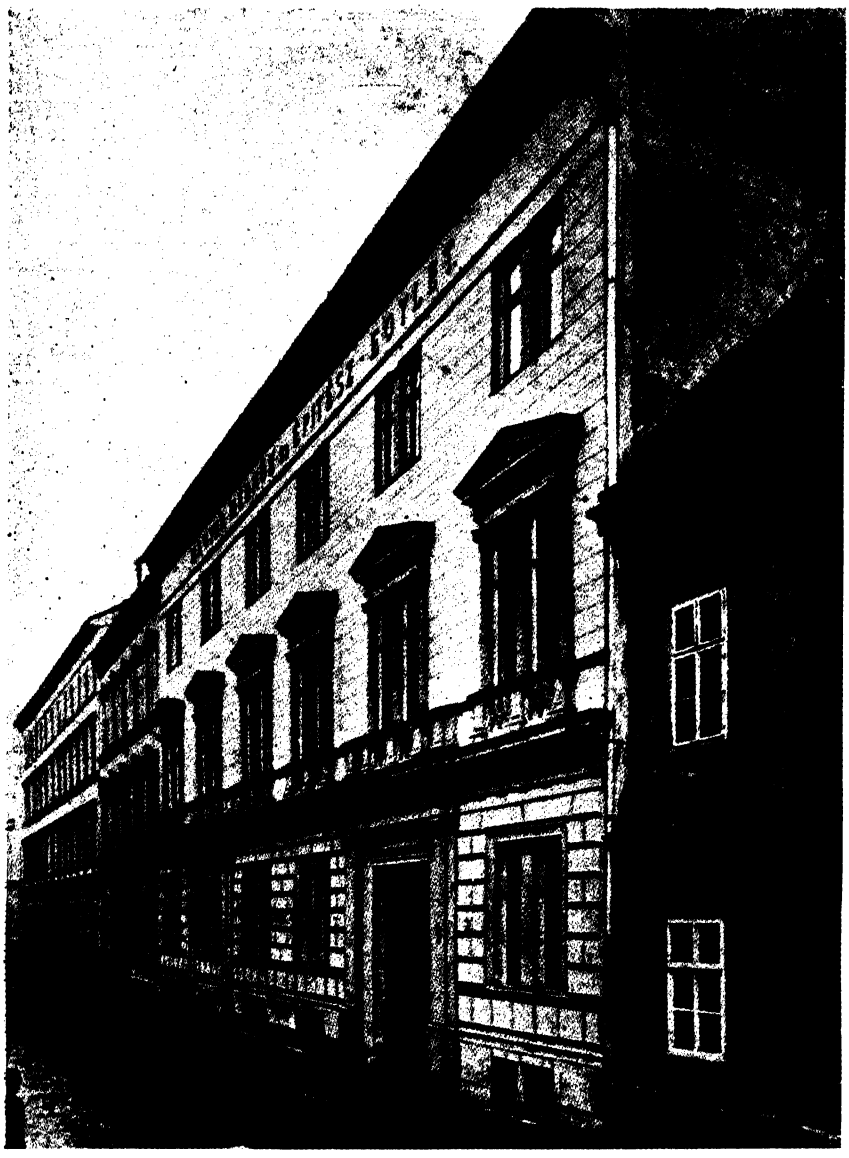
other be alienated from Hungary. As a result, out of 325.411 sq. kms. only 91.443 sq. kms. were left to her or 28.1% *of the whole country*. The new frontiers cut off from Hungary some of her best cropping districts Bácska and Torontál in the South and Mezőség in the East. They left her only 9.5 million holds of land out of 24.7 million, thus depriving her of more then 15 million holds of arable land. In this way the many fine schemes and the great amount of hard work which Hungary had put into its land since 1850 were brought to nothing, for to-day the area of cultivated land in the mutilated kingdom is less than it was in the Hungary of the fifties. It is the same story when we consider the forests. With the dismemberment of the country, 13.3 million holds of forest were taken away, out of a total of 15.2 millions leaving scarcely more than 1.8 million holds of forest in her possession, or 11.9% of the original forest land. From being a country possessing a great wealth in woods, she became strikingly poor in this very respect. Figures reveal the situation as it is. Between 1882 and 1891, Hungary had on an average 3.8 million quintals surplus wood for export, the value of which between 1902—1911 was about 44 million gold crowns. In 1926 and 1927 she was compelled to import 26.2 million and 28 million quintals respectively, costing for the latter year more than 130 million pengős. Of pasture only 1.2 million holds out of 6.2 millions remained and of meadow land 1.1 million holds out of 5.3 millions. The tale told by these figures for the mineral wealth of Hungary is still more terrible. Hungary lost all her salt mines which had been sufficient to supply her own needs and leave a considerable amount for export besides. She lost all her gold, silver, copper, zinc, antimony and manganese mines and a considerable part of her iron deposits, so much so, indeed, that whereas she exported on an average 6.2 million quintals of iron between 1906—1911, she had to import 3.3 million quintals in 1926 and 4 millions in 1927. Although she lost much of her coal also, 72.8% of her black (hard) coal and 69.5% of her brown (soft) coal are still within her borders. Yet the loss which Hungary sustained in her sources of energy was dreadful. She lost the rich sources of her natural gas supplies (in their place they have succeeded in finding one or two wells which yield very little). A large proportion of her water power has also gone in the develop-

Post Office Savings Bank. Budapest.

ment of which so much expense was incurred, and then she has lost her only seaport, Fiume, on the building of which she spent large sums of money.

That the whole industrial situation has changed in Hungary, should be, after this, obvious on the face of it. On the one hand, a large number of factories were lost, because they were located on the economic circumstances. Thus out of 4241 factories only 2029 were left to Hungary. This means that 81.4% of pre-war factory output has been lost in the wood and bone trades; 75% in the paper trade, 61.3% in textiles, 50.5% in wine and beer, 49.5% in chemicals and 46% in food preparations. Only in the metal and machine industries, the stone, brick- and furnishing industries, the food, chemical and printing industries which were all situated in the centre of the country, does the level of production rise above 50% of the pre-war figure. This, however, is far from being all that is to be said about the great change which came over the face of Hungarian business, following the dismemberment of the country, for of course, those branches of industry which were situated well within the frontiers found themselves in a completely changed position. Take for instance the milling industry which had been highly developed in Hungary and was organised so as to be able to handle the harvest of the whole country and even a goodly proportion of the grain grown in the Balkans. When so much of the grain producing territory was taken away, there was a crisis in the milling industry. We may gather how serious the situation was from the fact, that the finest mills in the country, the Budapest mills which ground 8.8 million quintals of grain in 1912, had only 1.5 million quintals to grind in 1921 and no more than 2.2 millions in 1924. The brewing industry suffered severely also. In 1924—25 only 13 out of the 69 pre-war breweries survived, while the production fell from 2.9 million hectolitres in 1912—1913 to 0.6 million hectolitres. The distilling industry likewise suffered much from the loss of grain and potato producing lands, so also did the sugar-industry from the loss both of numerous factories and of sugar beet growing land. Among the most important staple industries of Hungary only the sugar industry has been able to rise above the troubles brought about by the mutilation of the Kingdom. The others are still more or less in a stagnant condition as is only natural when we consider

Post Office Savings Bank. Budapest.



Premises of the Architects' and Engineers Association. Budapest.

e. g. the difficult position of the iron industry brought about by the loss of raw materials and similarly of the wood industry which, particularly along certain lines e. g. the manufacture of furniture, had shown a marked development. As for the glass and paper business, what has been said already is enough to show that they have been almost completely destroyed.

If to all this we add the damage and losses which Hungary had to suffer when with the loss of territory she was robbed of a large part of her great national investments, then and then only, can we conceive the extent to which the peace treaty expropriated the wealth of the nation. We have seen this in so far as territory, mineral wealth and industry is concerned. But this is far from being all for she was also deprived of much of the fruits of Hungarian industry and Hungarian capital investment. Thus of the railway systems only 8.063·5 kilometers remained to her out of 22.081, thus involving the loss of all that capital and work which had been spent on them when the country had strained its financial resources and in part had resource to borrowing even at considerable expense from abroad in order to carry out their construction.

Of the railways built by the state and at public expense, only 17.532·7 km. remain out of 49.420 and the fruits of the many millions spent by the Hungarian State on river regulations are, to a large extend, being enjoyed by foreign states which maintain a *hostile attitude to this country.*

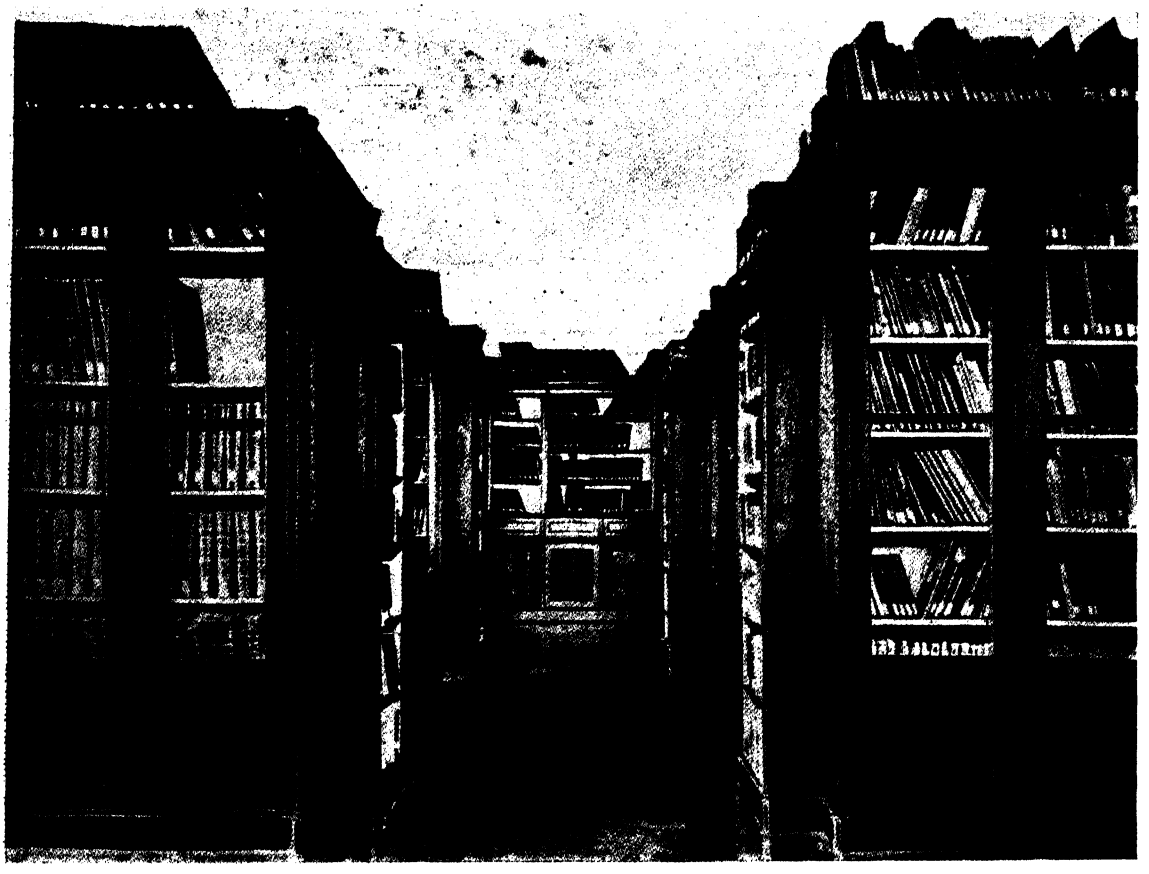
And since Hungary had no sufficient capital of her own in the middle of the last century, the money necessary for railway construction was in large part raised abroad. Then, in addition we must think of all the schools, churches, public buildings, factories and railway stations built by Hungarian hands with Hungarian money on the 234.165 square kilometres of the territories taken away.

Further we must not forget the loss which

Premises of the Architects' and Engineers Association. Budapest.

the credit organisation of Hungary sustained by the dismemberment of the Kingdom. The Hungarian banks, with the bigger banks playing the leading parts, possessed considerable interests in the commerce and industries of the whole country. When dismemberment took place many connections established only after hard work were broken, since the states to which the affected territories fell have done everything they could to nationalise all business concerns and to make them contributory to their own credit organisations. Consideration of the reports issued by the Association of Banks and Saving Banks will help us to understand the strain put upon Hungarian banks in bringing order out of the chaos into which business involved in the Succession States fell.

As a consequence of the serious circumstances, the economic charater of Hungary underwent a great change. Doubtless its fundamental agricultural character remained, but even in this respect there was serious dislocation. Before the war, 64.5% of the population of Hungary were supported by home production: in mutilated Hungary, only 55.8%. As against this in greater Hungary 16.1% of the people were employed in industry, while in the Hungary of to-day 20.2% are so employed, i. e. more than a fifth of the whole. The proportion of those engaged in commerce and communication services has also risen considerably and so has the number of public employees. The reason for this in the first place is that the number of people engaged in occupations cuch as these were always greater in the centre of the Kingdom owing to the centralisation of government in Hungary and in the second place, the Hungarian public servants of the old regime were driven out of the occupied territories and poured into Hungary and even many of the old landed proprietors were forced to leave their houses, because of the land policy of the Succession States which was directed so as to squeeze out the Hungarian landowners. Thus in the Hungary of to-day there is a disproportionately large population to be maintained as compared



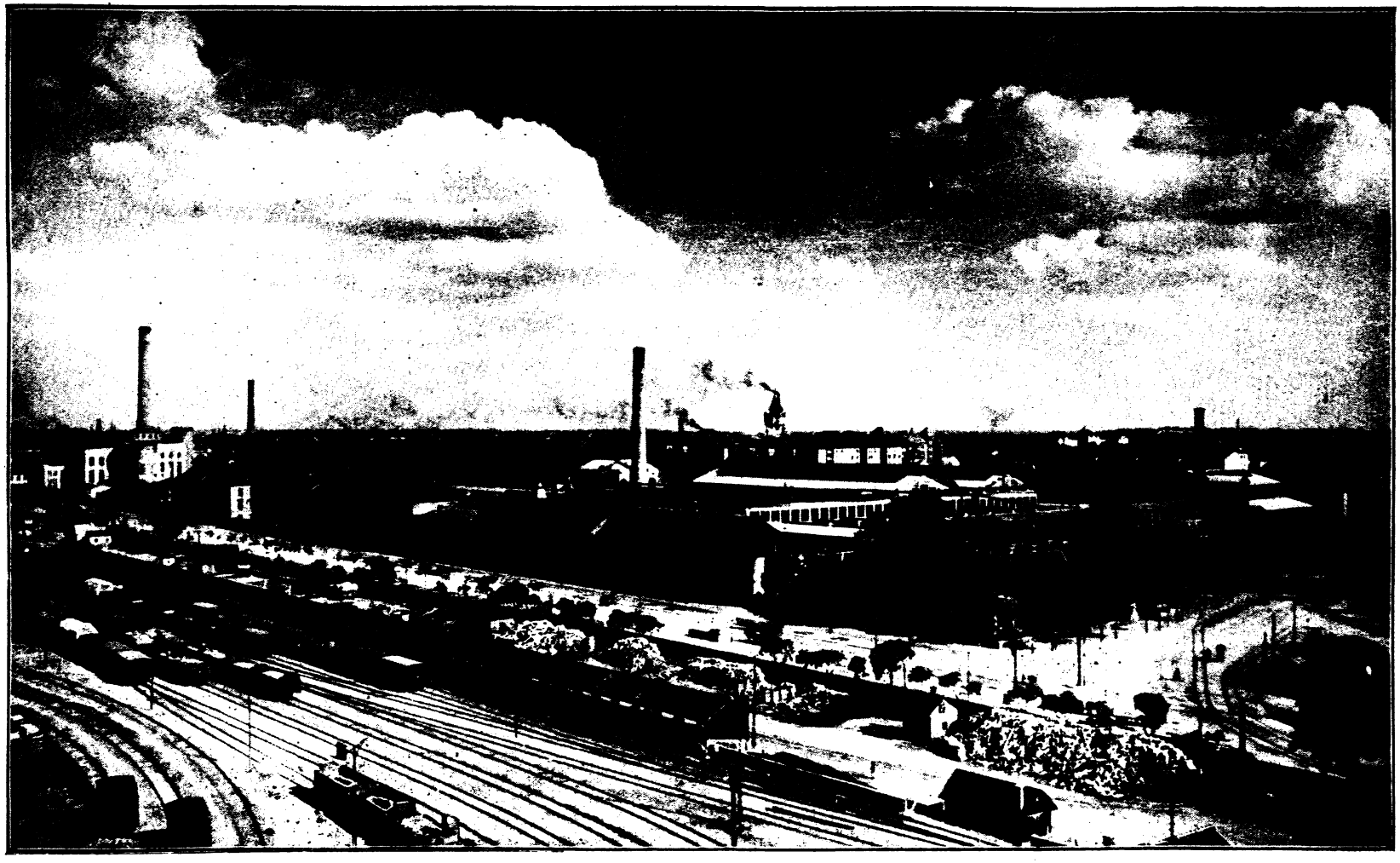
Premises of the Architects' and Engineers Association Librady. Budapest.

with the Hungary of pre-war days. Before the war, the density of population was 64.2 per square kilometre, after the war this has risen to 82.4.

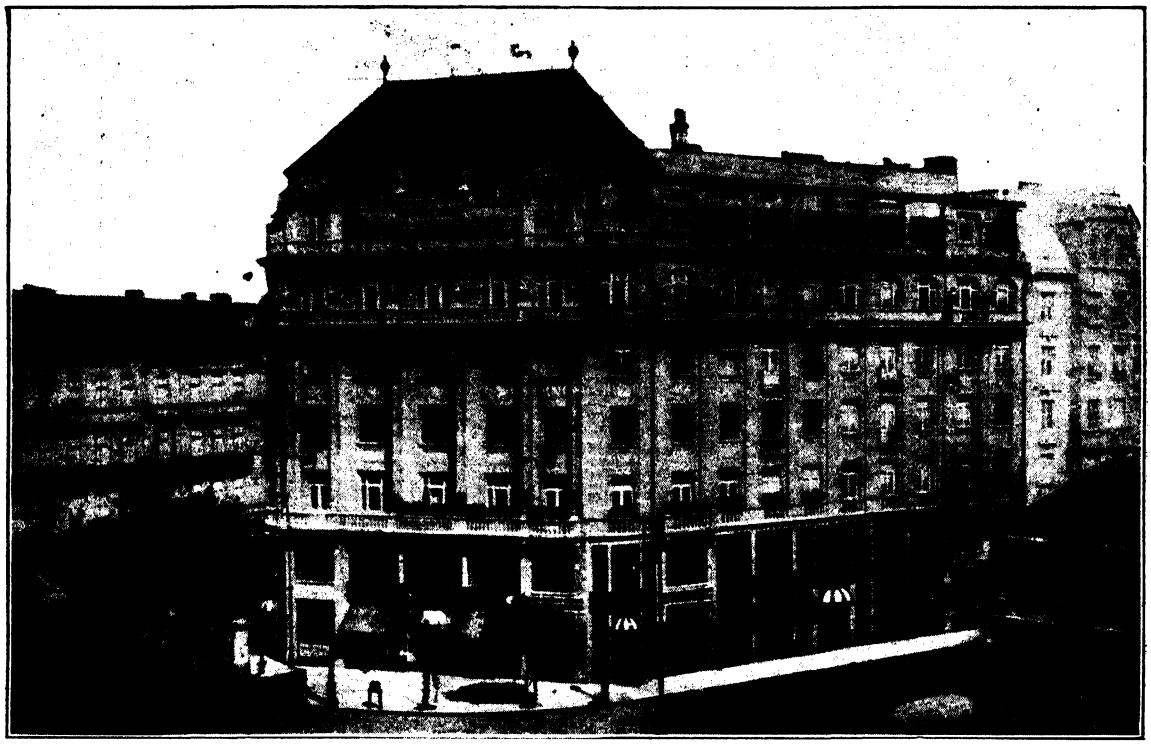
If we think of these things, it will appear remarkable that the foreign powers repeatedly gave the advice to Hungary to concentrate upon developing its agriculture and let its industrial ambitions go. A glance at the facts already mentioned is enough to convince us that this is impossible. It is not from vanity, not because the Hungarian is proud of the results already attained in the develpoment of industry that he feels he must stick to industry. The population of present day Hungary cannot be maintained by agriculture alone.

Without doubt, Hungarian agriculture is capable of great development. We shall return to this and see what important steps have already been taken in this direction. But it is also certain that the country's necessities cannot be supplied out of the production of raw materials alone and then besides there are the debts to wipe out, the incurrence of which was inevitable in view of the difficult circumstances and the economic dependence on foreign capital. By raw materials alone, the country will never be able to secure for its people the standard of life they reasonably demand. If we only think of the fact, that wood, coal, minerals, wool, crude oil, jute, iron, iron ore, as well as rice and coffee i. e. the most important of raw materials and articles of food have to be imported into Hungary.

They are indispensable alike for industry and for the life of the population and in 1926 their imports were 241.4 million pengős, in 1927 273.6 pengős. If we consider that in those two years, which may be called good years, the value of the grain exports was between 250 and 300 million pengős, than it becomes obvious that the exports of grain could not pay for the imports of these necessary raw materials and articles of food every year. And then what about yarns and cloth, machinery, paper, leather, glass etc. What is to pay for their



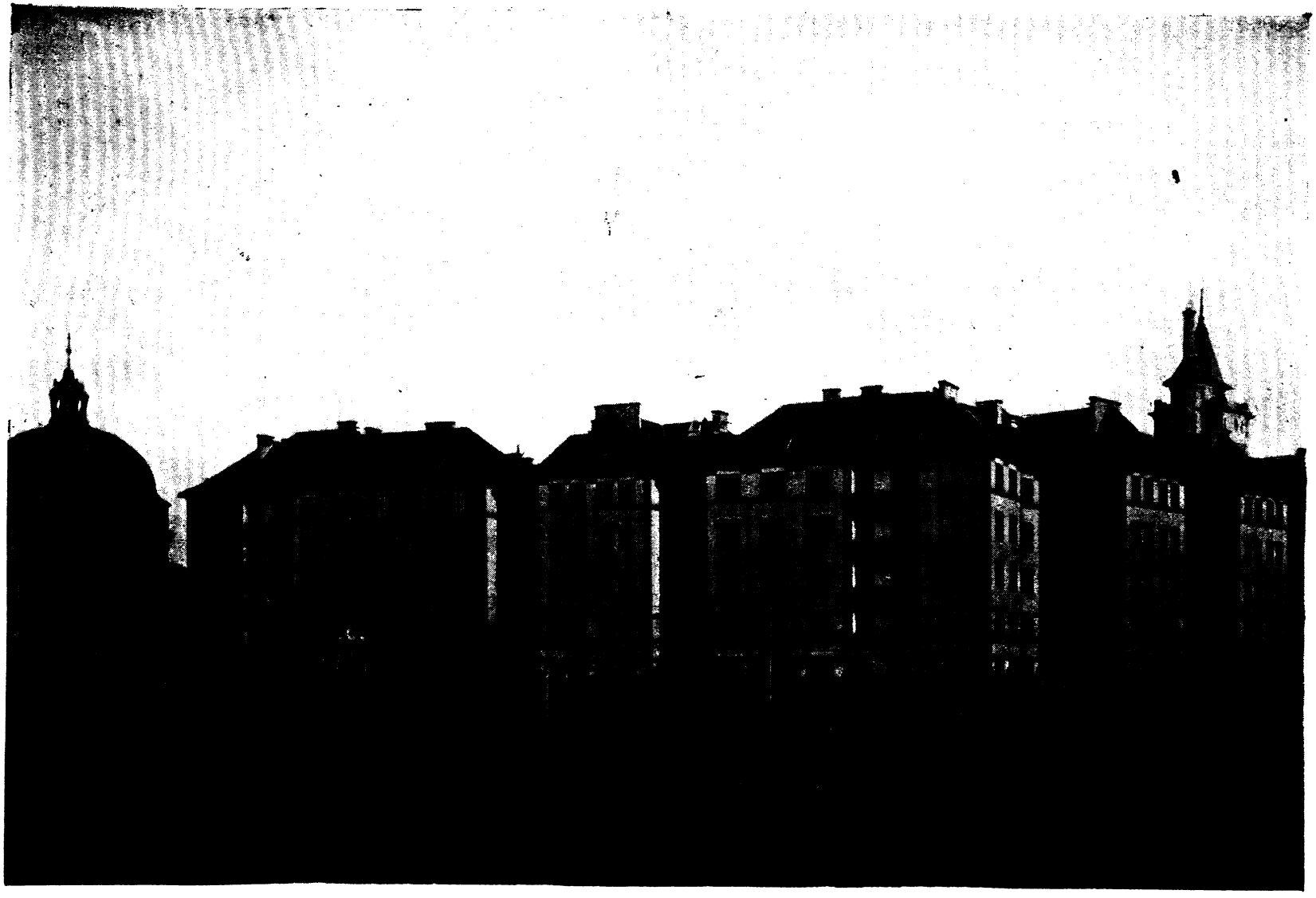
Hungarian State Iron, Steel and Engineering Works. Budapest.



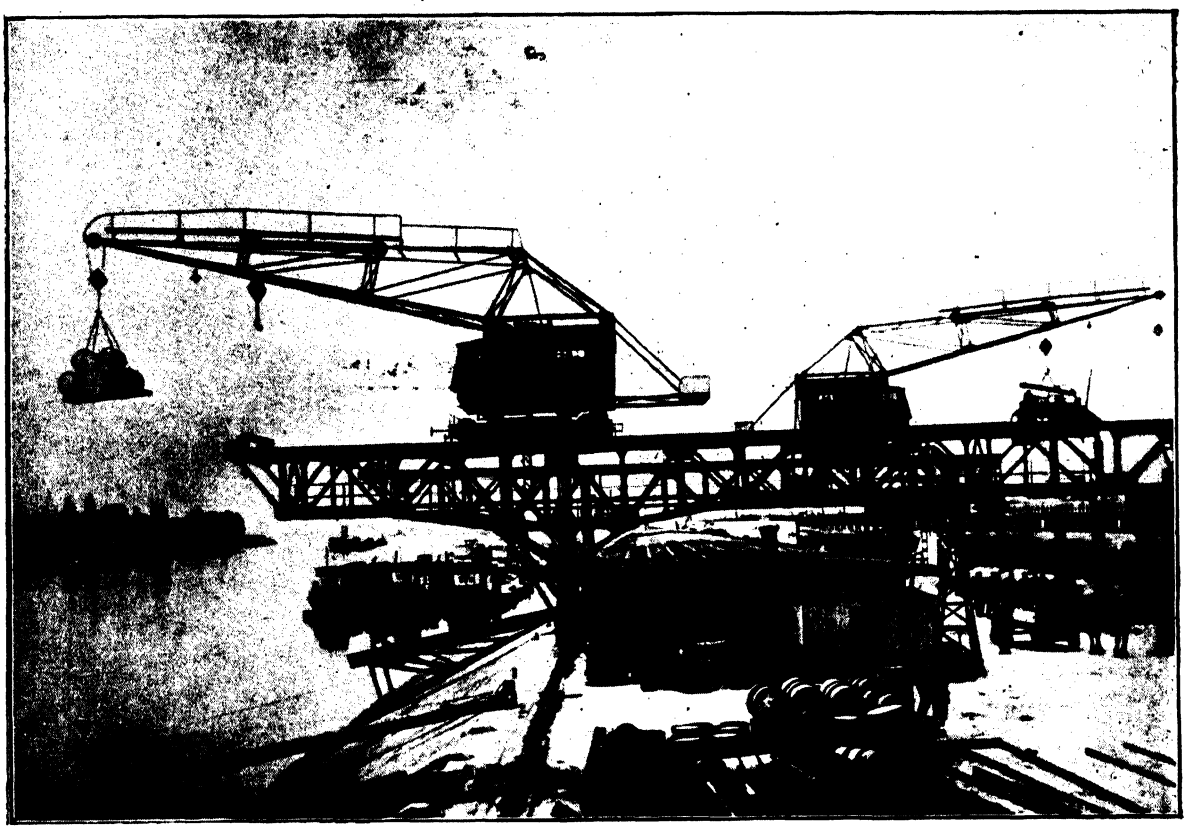
Cooperative Farmers Insurance Society's Building. Budapest.

import when there is not enough to cover what has been already mentioned, for the balance of the trade of Hungary is markedly adverse, a fact which rightly gives much concern to Hungarians, while the financial balance, owing to the dependance on foreign capital is also materially on the wrong side. So it is that only by a great development alike of agriculture and industry can the economic equilibrium be maintained.

It is only natural, of course, that the balance of trade of Hungary after the war and the troubled times which followed, should have swung over to the wrong side, for during the war, development ceased and equipment deteriorated. For this reason we need not be surprised to find that the excess of imports in 1920 was 293 millions, while in 1921 it was 309 millions and in 1922 243 million pengős. The trend of imports shows that we have here to do to a large extent with goods necessary to set Hungarian industry on its feet; inasmuch as different raw materials, especially wood machinery, crude oils, ores and raw cotton figure prominently on the list. Undoubtedly, however, together with the slow rise in the standard of life of the people there is an increase in the import of numerous luxury articles, textiles, glass etc. It is true that owing to the rise in exports, due especially to good crop in the years concerned, the debt on the balance of trade fell in 1925 to 52.5 and in 1926 to 81.8 million pengős but in 1927 again, once business had got over the crisis following the confusion of the currency, more or less, imports rose again to 275.9 million pengős, i. e. almost the figures of 1920 and 1921. Even allowing for the fact that as with other countries so with Hungary also, owing to inequalities in the distribution of wealth, her imports include many articles which the people could more or less do without, it is still certain that by far the greater part of our imports are not of this kind. It is also certain that, when account is taken of the financial balance, showing a debt as explained above, every effort will have to be made if the balance of trade is to be swung round till it shows a favourable surplus. In this, of course, a great role will fall to be played by agriculture with increase both in the quantitty and the quality of crops. Nevertheless, we are bound to recognise that industry must also be developed to such an extent that wherever the



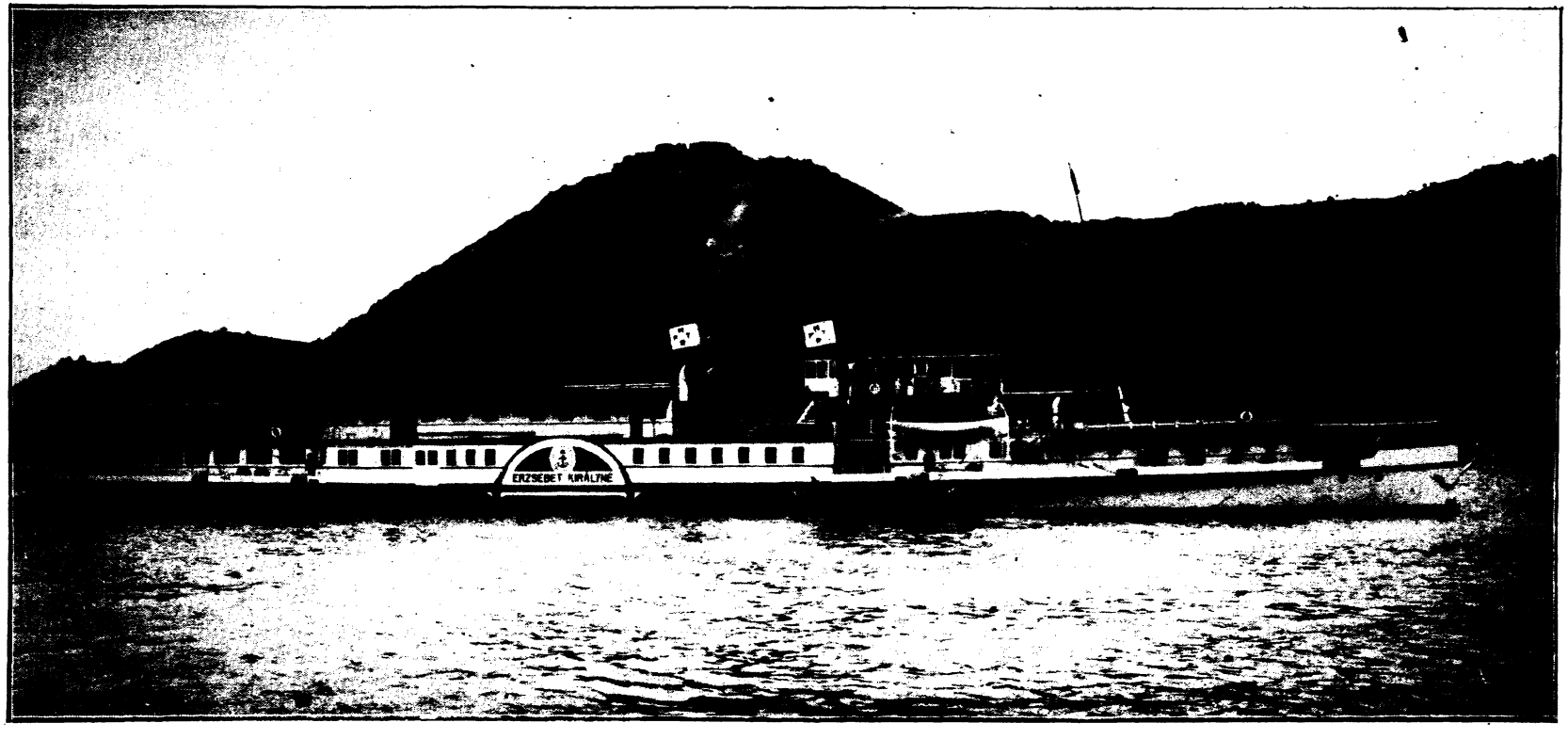
Workers'_Settlement of the Hungarian State Engineering Works (660 Families). Budapest.



Quay on the Danube. Budapest.

conditions of production exist, preparations should be made to exploit them so that at least they should be adequate to meet the country's own needs and along certain lines more favourably placed, be able even to provide a surplus for export. And why on earth should not Hungary set herself to develope further her agricultural industries along rational lines or why should the extension of the manufacture of raw materials found in the country, such as leather, wool, flax and hemp or even articles like paper and cotton which bulk so largely among the imports, be considered to be artificial. We shall see later what success has crowned the efforts which have already been made in certain directions

In the meantime, however, we must show what profound changes have taken place in the agriculture of Hungary during recent years. First of all, the country has undergone an intensive land reform. This was necessary beyond all doubt, for in Hungary, the inequalities in land distribution were extreme. According to statistics for the year 1895, holdings of 100 holds and over comprised almost a fifth (19.5%) of the total arable land while about three times that amount was in possession of 1.5 million „small farmers" i. e. those possessing each anything up to 5 holds. Because of this, even before the war an effort was made to relieve the situation by a more rational distribution and settlement of the land. This land reform became inevitable after the war if only for political reasons. In this there was one great disadvantage, since it was necessary to carry out the reform very quickly. Powers were given for this by the Act XXXVI. of 1920. The government itself lived on this. Out of the 3400 villages in Hungary the land reform affected 3,270. As a result, 1,170.000 holds were transferred to new owners. 690.000 claimants received land and 373.000 „dwarf holdings" were established. To assist the unpropertied to have homes of their own the commission for land reform distributed 270.000 sites. In the interests of cattle bearing 860 common pastures were created. A land reform carried out at such a speed as this one was naturally affected the country's production unfavourably, for the proper equipment of

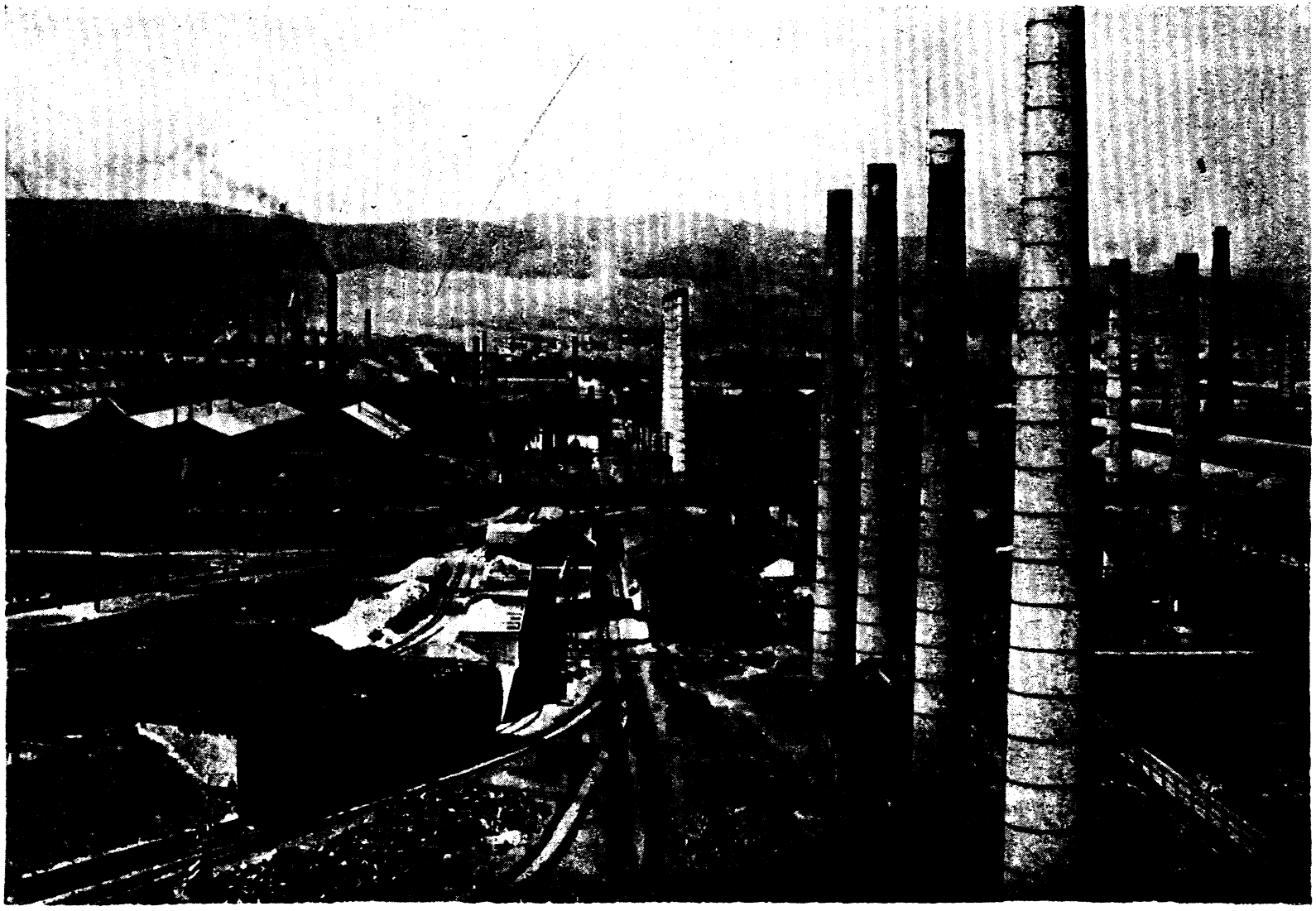


Passenger Steamer on the Danube. Visegrád.

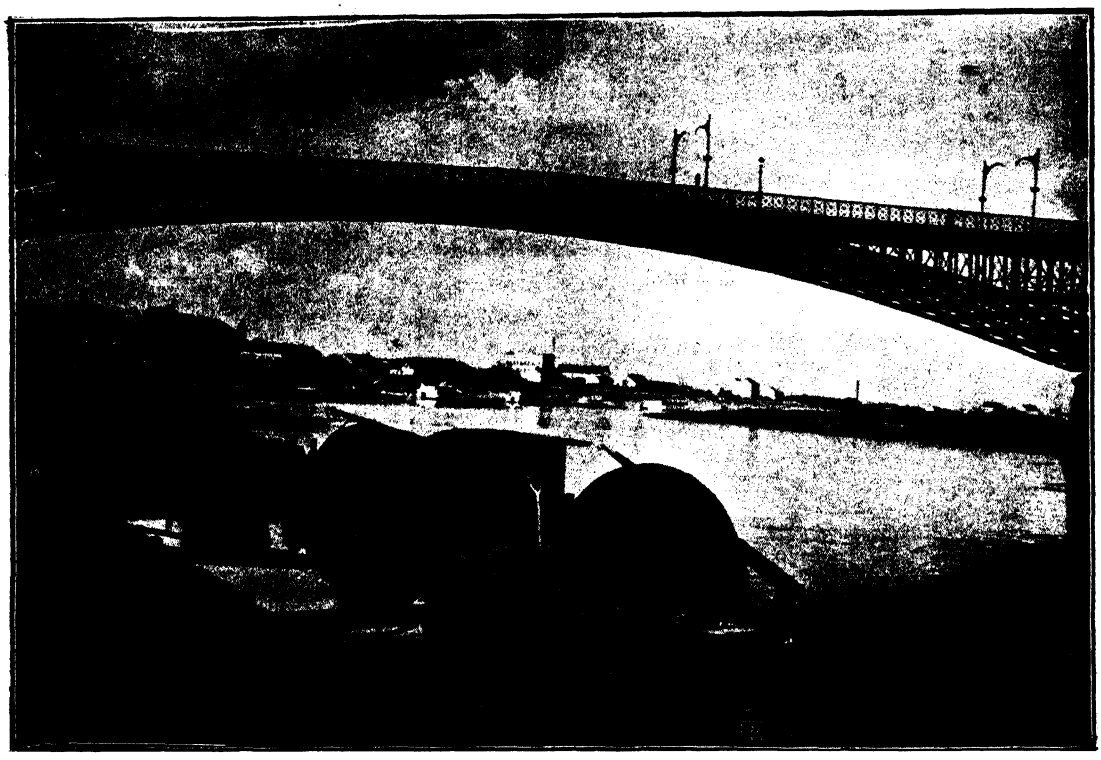
Railway Bridge over the Danube. Ujpest.

the new farms could not keep pace with the formation of the farms themselves. Time is necessary for the new proprietors to settle down properly in their new positions. Thus then the land reform, to begin with, was disadvantageous to the general agricultural production, reducing it rather than increasing it. But the country will overcome this difficulty and then the advantages of the reform will become patent. That Hungarian agriculture can still be more highly developed is shown by the fact that the pre-war average level has scarcely been attained yet, though of course we have to remember that among the lands lost to Hungary were the specially fertile wheat-lands of the south. Again, comparing the stock figures of 1925 with those of 1911, we find that there is a decrease of 220.000 head in horned cattle and almost 700.000 less of pigs. It is to be hoped that when the country is properly set on its feet and the improvements in agriculture at present being introduced completed, the position of agriculture will rise even above the pre-war level.

But to set the economic life of Hungary on an exclusively agricultural basis is not possible, for the climate being of the continental type, the crops are much afflicted by the weather variations. There is another thing also which makes the position of Hungarian agriculture difficult, i. e. the state of the markets which creates great anxiety here. Already the grain prices have been moving disturbingly and the income of the nation is to a large extent determined by he outlook of the world's markets. Certain commodities like wine, for example, have suffered enormously in this respect and the trouble here has been serious since wine is one of Hungary's chief products. In 1920, Hungary produced 2.4, in 1921 3.4, in 1922 4.4 million hectolitres of must. This could have been a splendid contribution to the national wealth if the surplus for export had been able to find a good market. Unfortunately, the countries around were not in such a good economic condition as to be able to afford the importation of much wine. Difficulties have attended the export of live stock also. From 1926 to 1927 the export of animals for food and work fell from 318.097 to 215.082 head, the export of porkfat from 162.87 quintals to 82.666 quintals. To this must be added the drop in the figures for the export of fresh and prepared meat and sausages from 125.393 quintals to 35.131 quintals. Austria's weakened power of consumption in this respect had a bad effect on Hungarian trade, since in general a third of Hungary's exports go to Austria. Another factor adversely affecting the value of Hungarian produce has been the hostility of Czecho-Slovakia owing to which tariffs and other difficulties have been raised against imports from Hungary. In other respects under the influence of the dismemberment of the Kingdom, the character of the crops has changed in some ways. Seed crops have been reduced and instead farmers have been going in for growing hoed plant crops and fodder. There has been a demand for this from the cattle breeders, since so much good maize, meadow and pasture land was taken away from Hungary.



State Iron and Steel Works. Diósgyőr.



Bridge over the Tisza. Szeged.

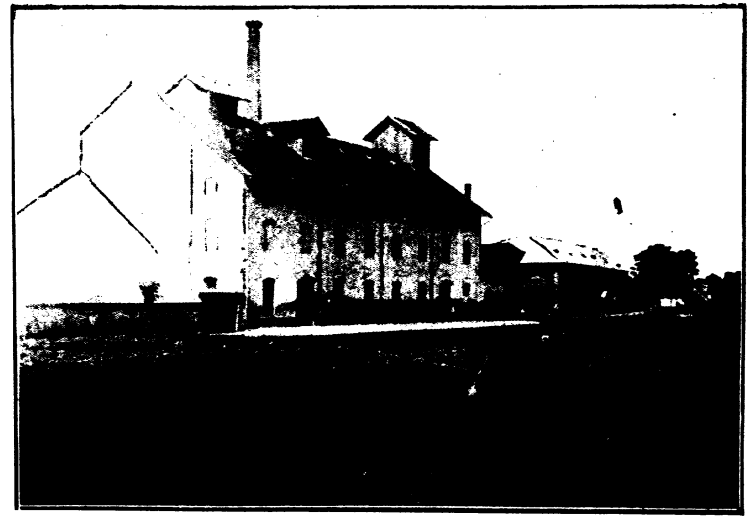
III.

One of the most telling criticisms of the Peace Treaties consists in this, that when the new frontiers were being drawn, it was not considered necessary to ask if the new countries defined by them were capable of carrying on economically or not. In connection with Hungary the question has been raised. The answer is beyond doubt, for although Hungary, as we have seen, lost more than any other country by the war, she still has in her possession resources of power which put her ability to exist beyond all doubt. Considered alone even within the narrow limits determined for her, enough arable land remains to guarantee this much. Then we must consider in addition to this the qualities of the people; for if Hungary is to maintain itself on a level sufficiently above the line penury to approach the general standards of European culture, her people will need to exert every effort of which they are capable.

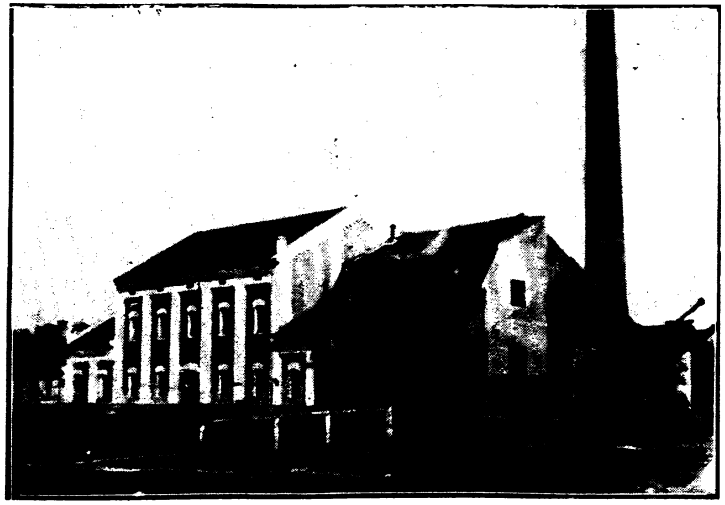
We believe that during the last two years the Hungarian people has given evidence of its capability of maintaining itself on this higher level. We need only refer to some of the things we have already mentioned, the times succeeding the collapse, the Bolshevik régime and the damage done by the occupation with all the losses consequent on the dismemberment of the country or the inflation of the currency. The result of these evils was that the free capital of the country was almost completely destroyed. Taking the amount on deposit on 31 st. December 1913 to be 100, in 1923 the figure had shrunk to 7·6. Naturally with every loss in capital, the economic position of Hungary, none too well off for capital at the best, has suffered.

We must see the first evidence of Hungary's power to maintain itself in the vigour and speed, with which it extricated itself out of the difficulties of the inflation period, just as soon as the international situation made that possible. It is certain that the reasons for the inflation in Hungary were only in part identical with those operating in the case of other countries which had a similar experience. The collapse of the Hungarian finances which brought about inflation was largely due to the damage done by the Bolsheviks and the armies of occupation. The former not

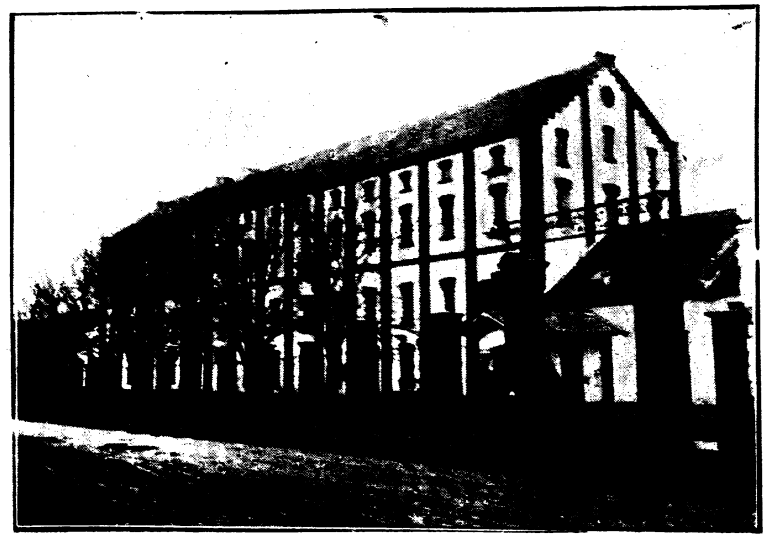
Brick Work. Elek.



Flour-Mill. Elek.



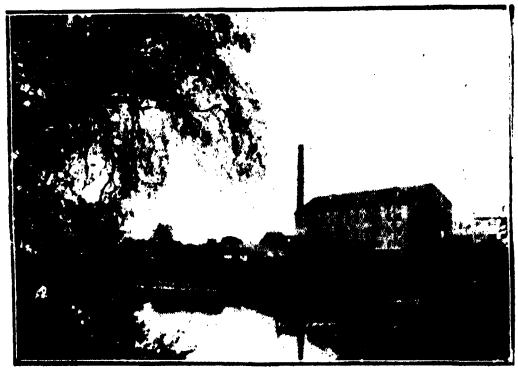
Flour-Mill. Elek.



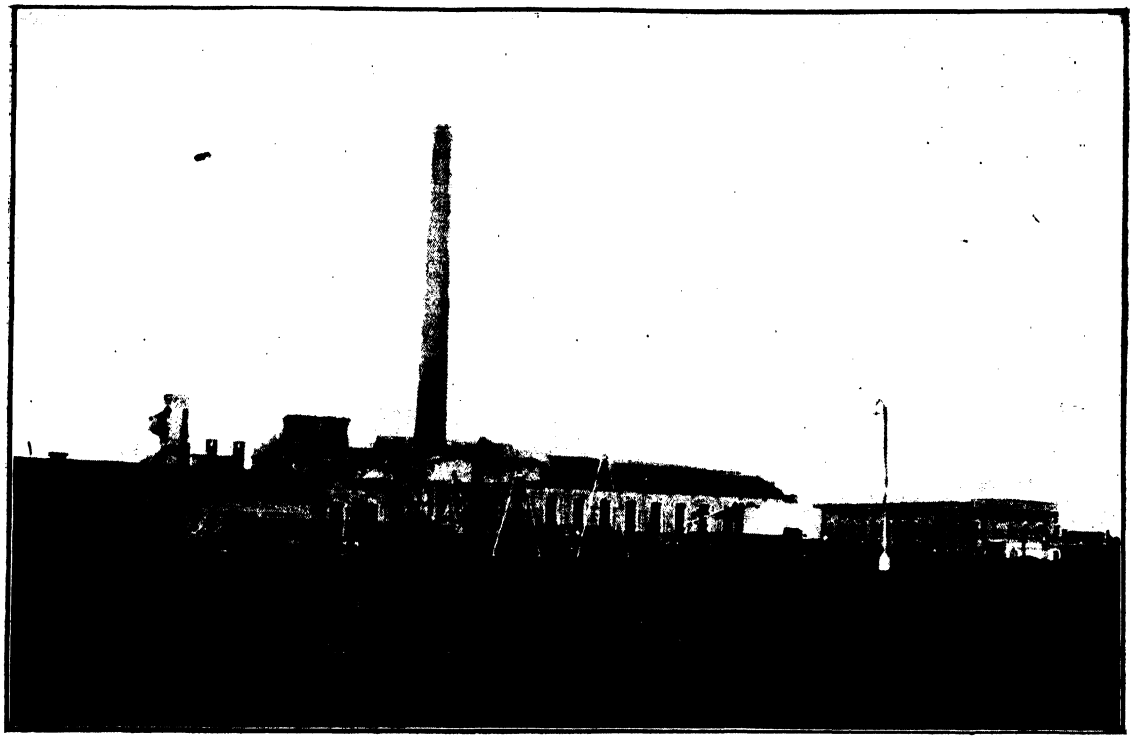
Flour-Mill. Körmend.

D. D. S. G. Colliery. Pécs.

only confused the whole economic life but also completely broke the people off the tax paying habit so that it was some time before the administration of finances could be set in order again and the citizens reaccustomed to paying their taxes. Meantime inflation had taken place and the value of the sums represented in taxes grew steadily less. In spite of this, Hungary found in Lawrence Hegedüs an energetic minister of finance, who wished to put a summary end to inflation by bold measures, cutting down expenditure on one hand and instituting a strong fiscal policy on the other. If this attempt did not succeed, we must look for the reason of its failure in the fact already mentioned that in this period Hungary's was a debtors balance and therefore she had not the economic resources necessary to set the finances of the state in order. But in addition to this, there was another difficulty on which all attempts to save the situation could not escape being wretched, the question of reparations which had to be regularly settled before the stabilisation of the currency could be thought of. This was why it was only in 1924 that in this advanced stadium the need was felt for foreign help to carry out the work of stabilisation. Once the state came to raise a loan, much smaller than that allowed to Austria, and when to this was added a forced loan of 700 million paper crowns levied on the national wealth both for the work of stabilisation, that operation was carried out with incredible celerity. In the summer of 1924 the money raised by the League of Nations loan was handed over and as early as in November of 1924 the Hungarian government was able to pay some of it back, after availing itself of the help it gave to cover the general deficit. And so it was not long before a position was reached



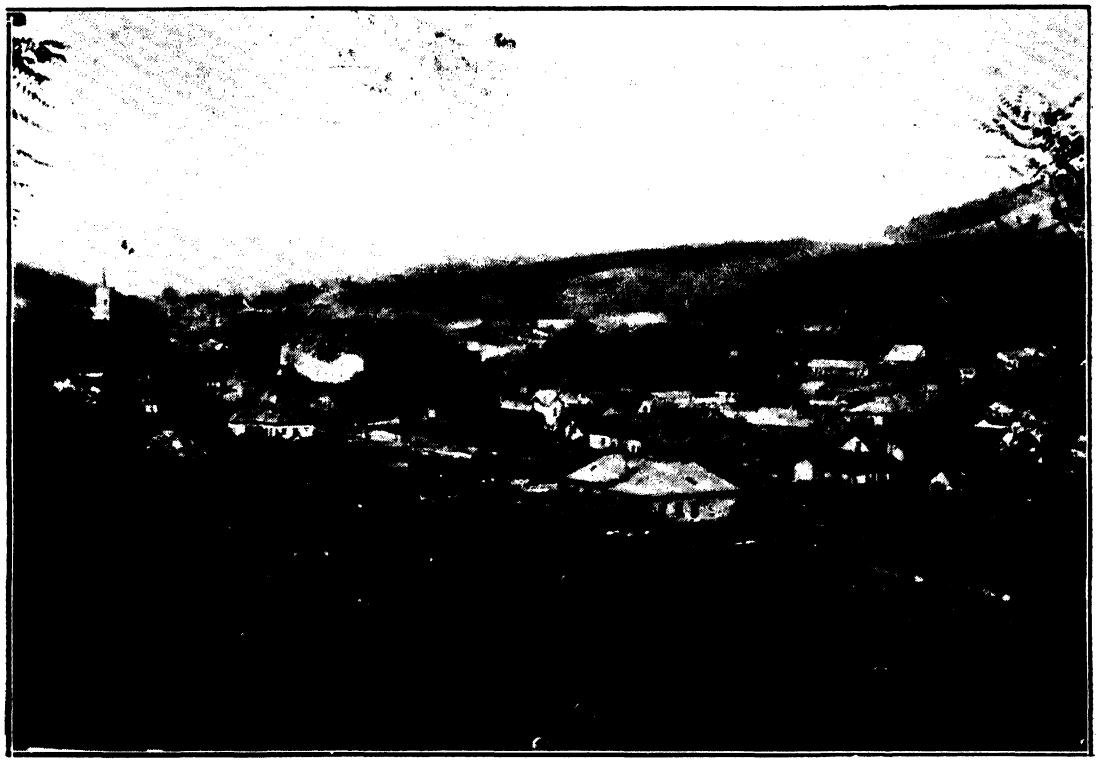
Flour-Mill. Putnok.



Sugar-Refinery. Ercsi.

where the help of the League was no longer necessary in order to bollster up the state finances. The loan had cnly been necessary for the period of transition. Already the budget year 1924—1925, during which 100 million gold crowns were sunk in the stabilisation scheme, ended not with a deficit, but with a surplus of 63 million gold crowns and the Minister of Finance saw to it carefully that the surplus should remain in the future. In fact, the speed at which the economic condition of Hungary recovered is perfectly amazing, for of course without a return of sound economic conditions, the state finances and the currency could never have made the rapid progress they did. The returns of the National Bank supply the evidence of the vigilance with which they stood guard over the currency. Moreover, the efforts made in Hungary to wipe out the traces of the years of war and collapse are indicated also by the fact that from the state bank of issue set up during the inflation period 158 million Hungarian pengős of the state debt fell to the National Bank of which sum only 114'7 millions are outstanding to-day. The policy of the Hungarian government is to do all it can to wipe that out as quickly as possible so, that the gold standard to which the act of 1924 bound it, can be formally restored.

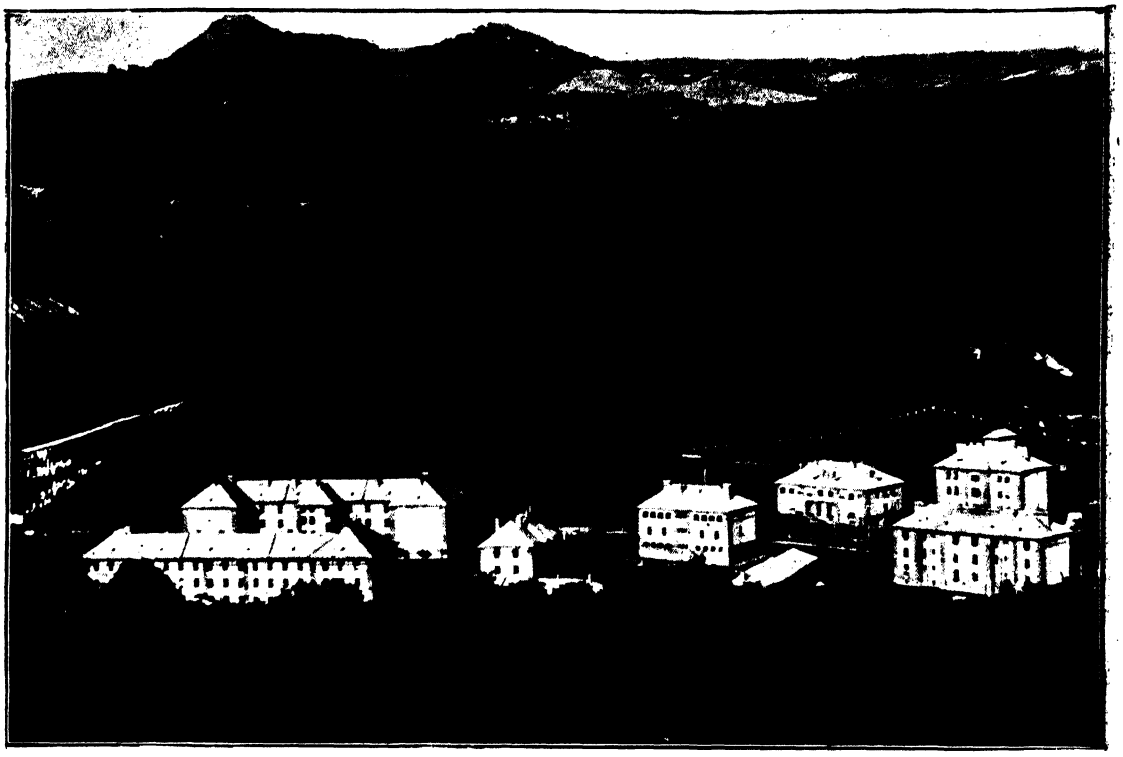
Naturally stabilisation was not won without sacrifices. These were serious and collapses in the spheres both of finance and industry were unavoidable, so that even yet the Budapest stock exchange has not quite recovered. Still even in these years the economic life of Hungary developed considerably. In evidence of this we need only refer to the sugar industry, for instance, which, as we have seen, was left so badly crippled after the debacle. The 1924—1925 season showed even better results than the season of 1913—1914. In recent years also, the reports of the textile industry have been encouraging. In 1921 there were 114 factories in Hungary, while in 1923 the number had risen to 223. Imports of raw cotton in 1923—24 amounted to about 30 million quintals. In 1926 they rose to 54'6 and in 1927 to 76 million quintals. The number of workers employed in textile manufacturers has risen from 13.300 in 1921 to 33.269 and the value of the textile outpout has also risen in the same period from 47'1 million to 223'9 million gold crowns. Even if we allow, that



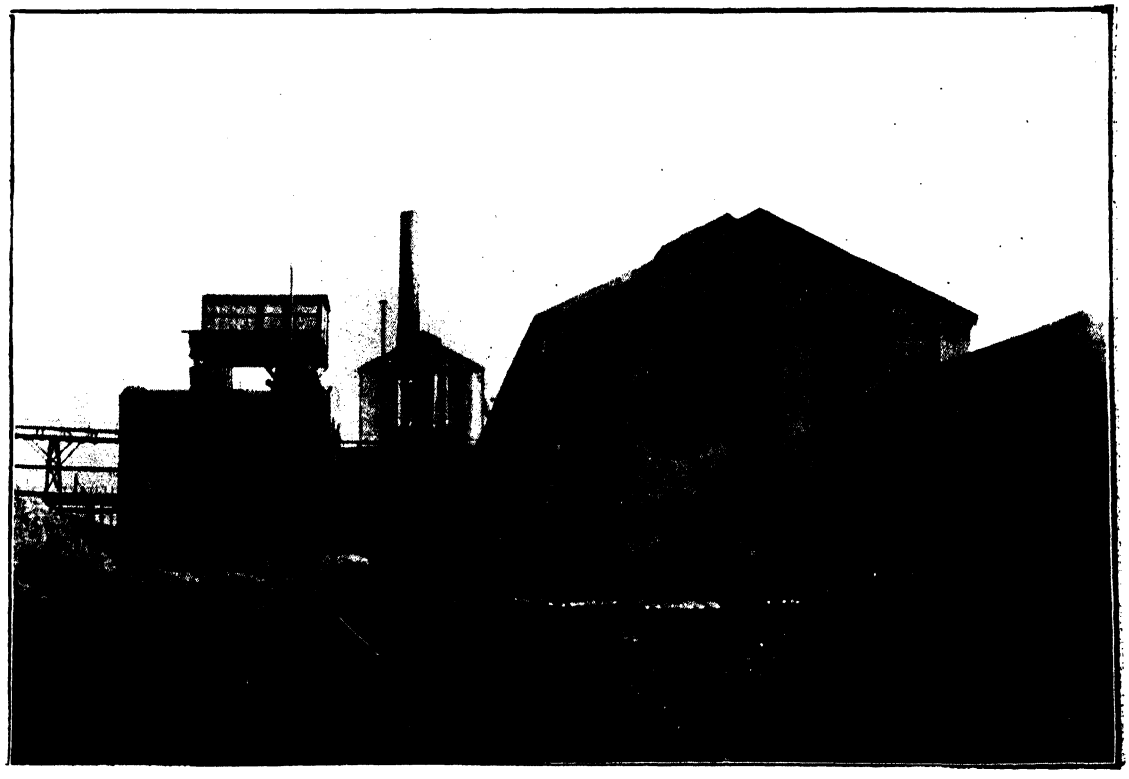
View of Salgótarján.

the restrictions put upon imports and the tariff wall have created a situation specially favourable for home industry in the establishment and development of which the Hungarian government had been hampered by the customs union with Austria, it is still beyond doubt that in this sphere Hungary has made a great advance and done good work for the future. That Hungarian industry has recovered and even developed to a certain extent under the new conditions and as much as was possible is further evidenced by the figures for fuel imports for 1923 amounted to 8·3 millions, for 1926 12·2 millions, for 1927 15·1 millions. Mineral oils for 1923 were 834.798 quintals, for 1926 1,331.487, for 1927 1,658.227 quintals. Of course, this increase in fuel imports is partly accounted for by the expansion which has taken place in agriculture and traffic.

If we consider the development of Hungarian economic policy from 1890, we cannot fail to note the serious efforts made to lay the foundations for the future economic life of the country. Naturally, during the crisis of the stabilisation period, the economic policy was mainly taken up with the questions of credit. Thus, first of all, the Hungarian government devoted itself to the task of giving the necessary support to the Pénzintézeti Központ (Bank Central) and its operations. This institution had been established with great forsight by the government during the war in 1916, as a temporary transitional organisation, so that is should be of service to the general credit system of Hungary in the difficult years of transition from war conditions to the normal conditions of peace. It was quite a special and independent creation of Hungarian economic policy, designed by the state and the banks, to function as a centre, to supply expert aid to Hungarian banking, to take over where necessary the burden of the stabilisation operations and to push on, without using measures of compulsion, the return to rational conditions in finance. Through this institution, in a wider circle, the revision of the banks also took place in Hungary which was greatly extended later in 1920—25, after which an end was put to the temporary constitution and transitional character of the Pénzintézeti Központ, given it by the act of 1918 (XIV). Thus, the



Coal Mine in Salgótarján.



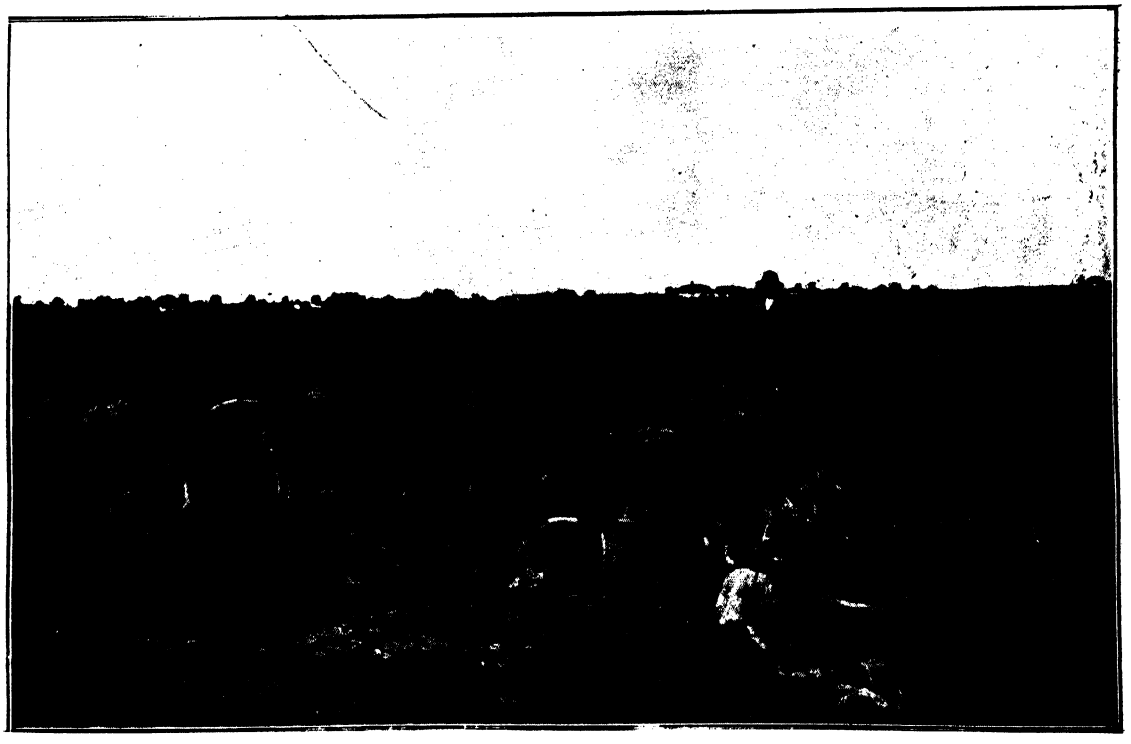
Sugar-Refinery, Sarkad.

Hemp Factory. Sarkad.

Pénzintézeti Központ became a strong pillar and support for Hungarian finance when it had to struggle with the difficulties following upon inflation. But a great role was played by the Hungarian National Bank also which had to take every possible step in the interest of the currency to guard financial business back to normal peace time lines of working. During the inflation period especially, it set itself to fight against high rates of interest and in this respect it succeeded in making things at least endurable within a year or two. Of course, rates of interest are still high in Hungary to the great detriment of production. Still everything is being done to get rid of this great nuisance.

Besides all this the government had to give much thought to the framing of legislation in the interest of sound finance. Laws had to be passed regulating mortgages and the redemption of debentures, so that foreign capital should be again encouraged to seek the Hungarian market. Thanks to these measures, help from foreign capital was not denied to our country which indeed is closely bound to it. In the meantime the Minister of Finance in conjunction with the National Bank, was endeavouring to secure, that when once by the aid of short time credits the economic life of Hungary should be set on its feet, credits for longer periods should be available for Hungarian business. In this respect, though an understanding arrived at with the Powers of the League of Nations, a League loan was secured for Hungary and with it the Hungarian government set itself to make the investments most necessary to stimulate production. Along this time plenty of opportunities offered themselves. The intensification of agriculture, the exploitation of natural gas, the development of industry, municipal works etc. all offered lots of scope for investment. It was only natural, however, that both the government and the banks should feel that Hungary ought to strive to make capital for itself and this process as a matter of fact, once the economic conditions were somewhat bettered, began to take place of itself. Deposits by the end of 1927 already equalled more than half of the amounts deposited in 1913; to be exact they represented 56.3% of 1913's deposits and so the fair hopes entertained of a steady increase in savings seem to be justified.

Silk Factory. Szentgotthárd.



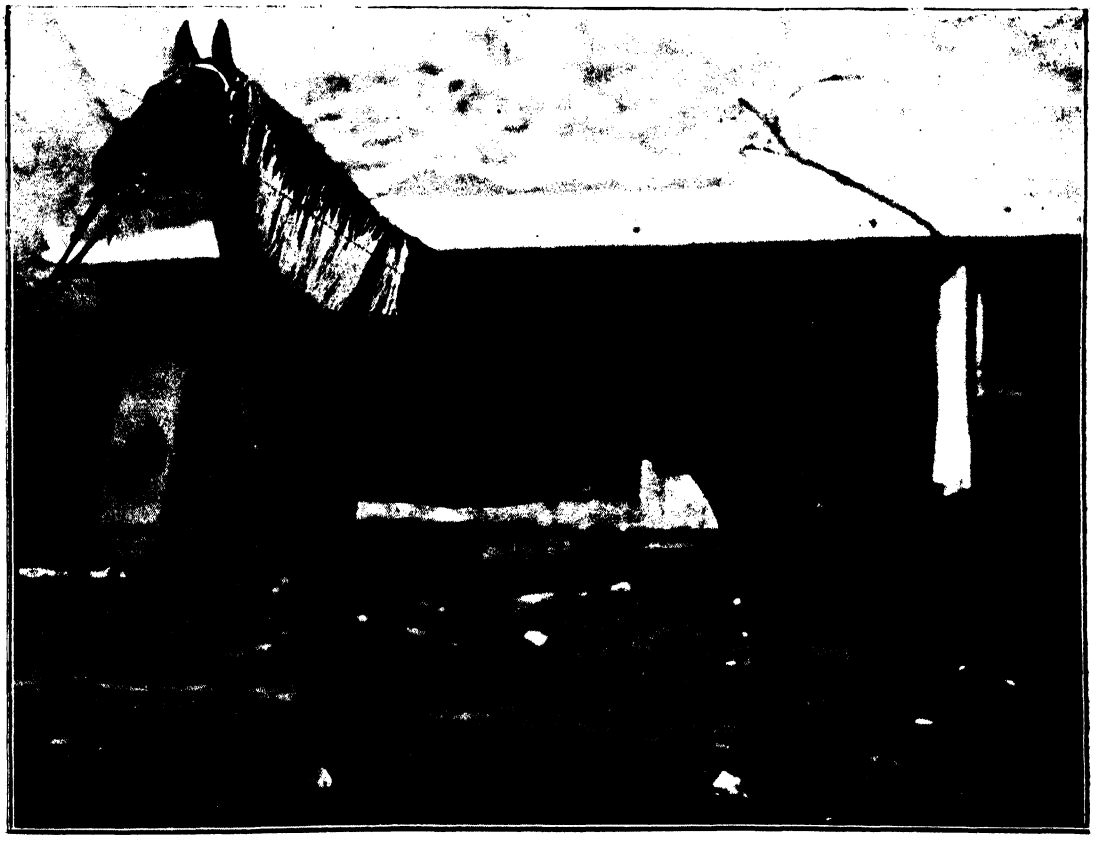
Sheepfarm. Kiskunhalas.

State Stud Farm with cattle grazing. Mezőhegyes.

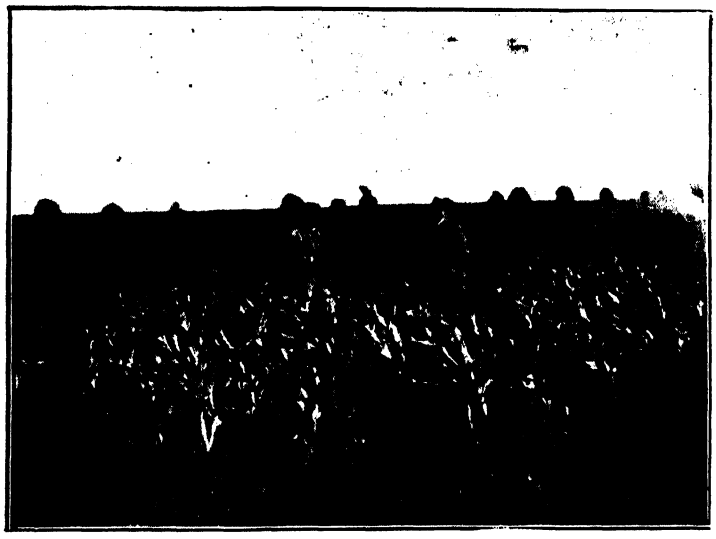
The purposefulnes of the policy adopted to improve the productivity of the country is shown by the measures adopted in connection with agriculture. It s true that in Hungary the land reform had to be carried out in such haste, for political reasons, that the necessary financial backing could not be found for it and the government had therefore to set itself later to solve the financial problems which arose out of it. So far as increased production and a more intensive agriculture are concerned, a most important step was taken, when in 1923 the Tisza-Danube Valley's Society was constituted to handle the agricultural land drainage problem so as to secure a unified control of the operations involved. Than as early as 1921 Chambers of Agriculture had been set up together with an economic superintendence service whose duty was to support Hungarian agriculture by placing specialised knowledge at its disposal and effecting adjustments as the need arose for them. Action on a large scale took place in the spring of 1928, in connection with the sodaic land, i. e. land poor in lime, involving about 1.5 million holds. The Hungarian scientific world had long been giving its attention to the problem of improving this territory. Once the best means of dealing with it were determined, steps were taken to put this knowledge into practice and in the meantime the improvement methods are being tried on an area of 500.000 holds. The importance of this step for the development of Hungarian agriculture is beyond all calculation.

In 1923 the reform of the forestry service was carried out and by an Act of Parliament of the same year, steps were taken in the interest of the afforestation of the Alföld (Great Plain). In 1923 also, material improvements were adopted in the scheme for financing the forest estates. To prevent land being used up for superflous vineyards, measures were taken in 1923 to define the conditions under which winegrowing would be permitted, to understand which we must remember that Hungary has a great wine producing industry which, as we have seen, has been struggling ever since the war with serious marketing difficulties. Since the war, the Ministry of Agriculture has been doing all in its power to increase the use of machinery and the distribution of agricultural implements encouraging the farmers to acquire them and helping them to do so by supplying both credit and export advise. To help the animal rearing business, the government encourages the import of blood stock, as far as the limits of the budget allows and in 1923 it passed a law, making the examination of all pedigree sires com-

State Stud Farm with horses grazing. Mezőkövesd.



A Makó Stallion.

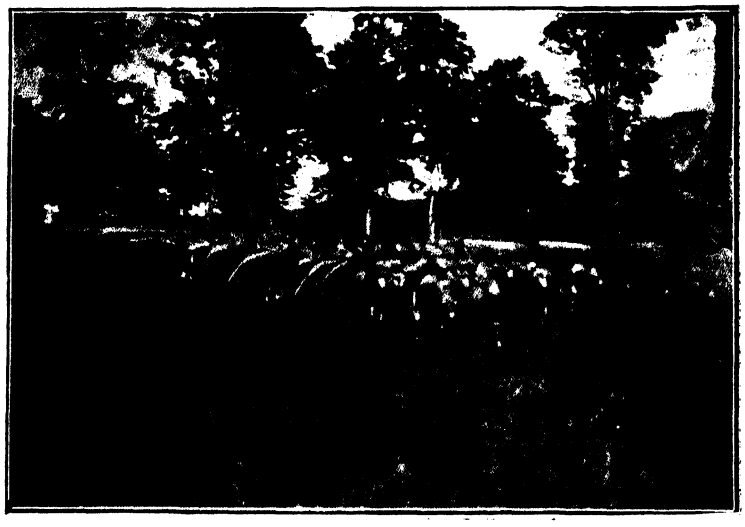


Maze crop. Ujdombovár.

pulsory. And of course the land reform freed certain land for common grazing and this also will help the breeding industry.

Lastly, in the difficult position in which the country finds itself, the government has not forgotten the reform of social conditions. On the one hand, it has expanded and developed sociological institutions already existing. For instance, it has supported a „Save the Children" movement that has been doing good work in Hungary since 1900, but after the war, with the losses then sustained, increased demand for its services necessitated an expansion of its organisation. Similarly the government radically reformed the workmen's insurance system. Even in 1922 attention had been given to the framing up of a sheme for miners' insurance, but in 1927 an act was passed which dealt thoroughly with the whole question. At the present moment, work is being done on an old age insurance scheme. As for the juridical side of insurance, unification has been achieved which is important in the interest of the workmen's claims, for as early as 1921 a special bench for hearing insurance cases was set up. Than the legislature has also further reinforced the regulations governing child employment taking the Washington Convention as their guide in doing so. The employment of women has been dealt with in a similar manner. So also, a new law of 1925 has forbidden the use of phosphorous in the manufacture of matches, though before the war there was also a law in Hungary against this, framed on the basis of the Berne Convention. The shop hours act of 1913 has also been favourably amended.

In numerous directions however, a fresh initiative has been taken. Thus in the first place measures were taken in 1923 to restrict night work and regulations were adopted dealing with the working hours of bakers. But especially, serious anxiety has been caused by the housing question in recent years. The state itself undertook the erection of houses of smaller size but in this, the greater banks were obliged to take a hand also, for the benefit of their officials. Numerous laws were also passed in 1921, 1923, 1925 and 1926 to encourage building by private enterprise. Special care was taken to provide houses for agricultural workers. Indeed in this direction, the first steps were taken as far back as 1917, but now the task of providing smaller houses in the villages has been carried much further.



Sheepfarm. Ujdombovár.

Shooting, Ujdombovár.

In general, much more thought has been given to the position of agricultural workers than was the case in former times. Thus in 1923 support was given to the agricultural workers employment societies and the methods of dealing with disputes arising out of working conditions were regulated. Wages boards were set up to settle wages questions; this being made possible by the request made by the interested parties who composed the chambers of agriculture.

Of course, under the difficult economic conditions the Hungarian working classes have suffered much from the evil of unemployment, even with the relief brought by public work of house-building. Still with the general improvement in the economic situation we may reasonable hope for a relief of this evil. The Hungarian people is well aware that in the future life will be harder than it was in the past. But the will and the power to improve the situation is there and so it confidently faces a future which perhaps may view its struggles with a more sympathetic understanding than did the past.

PUBLIC INSURANCE IN HUNGARY.

The system of public insurance in Hungary which is still being steadily developed in spite of the unexempled territorial and other losses sustained by the country and which has even made specially rapid progress since the dreadful catastrophe which befell the nation has now reached a stage where the achievements of the social policies of many large and fortunate western states are left behind.

The conditions of the Treaty of Trianon were merciless and because of them Hungary was compelled to reassume her earlier character as a predominantly agricultural state. The instinct of self-preservation urged her to this. Nevertheless, she is straining every nerve to extend her existing industrial activities, desiring, as she does, to carry on her bloodless struggle for the recovery of what she has lost with all the

help which healthy economics and a progressive culture can give her.

Only too little was known of Hungary in other parts of the world in the past and that little was largely misunderstood. It was not generally realised that this nation, now so sadly reduced, but once great and powerful, the last stronghold of western culture towards the east, possessed social institutions of its own, worthy of comparison with those existing anywhere else.

We have here to deal with one of these, viz. public insurance. Public insurance in Hungary can now look back upon a past of nearly forty years and even before the war in the days of Greater Hungary the Hungarian scheme compared favourably with those of other countries whether regarded from the point of view of the variety of insurance services it rendered or from that of the unique and sound solutions it had found for problems of insurance organisation.

The workers' insurance law which came into force as long ago as 1907, introduced compulsory insurance against sickness and accident and instituted a single organisation to work it. In all other states insurance laws have created separate institutions each quite independent of the others for the purpose of dealing with the different branches of insurances — and this is the case everywhere to-day — except in Hungary.

The different branches of public insurance, sickness, accident, disablement, old-age and unemployment are intended to make social provision for the employee classes. They are all moreover supported by the same parties, the employers, the employed and the state. Where they are organised, independently of each other, however, not only does this involve greater administrative and other expenditure, but it also prevents them affording each other sufficient mutual support in discharging their several functions. In fact, it often happens that quite unwillingly they run counter to each other in their efforts to serve the end common to them all.

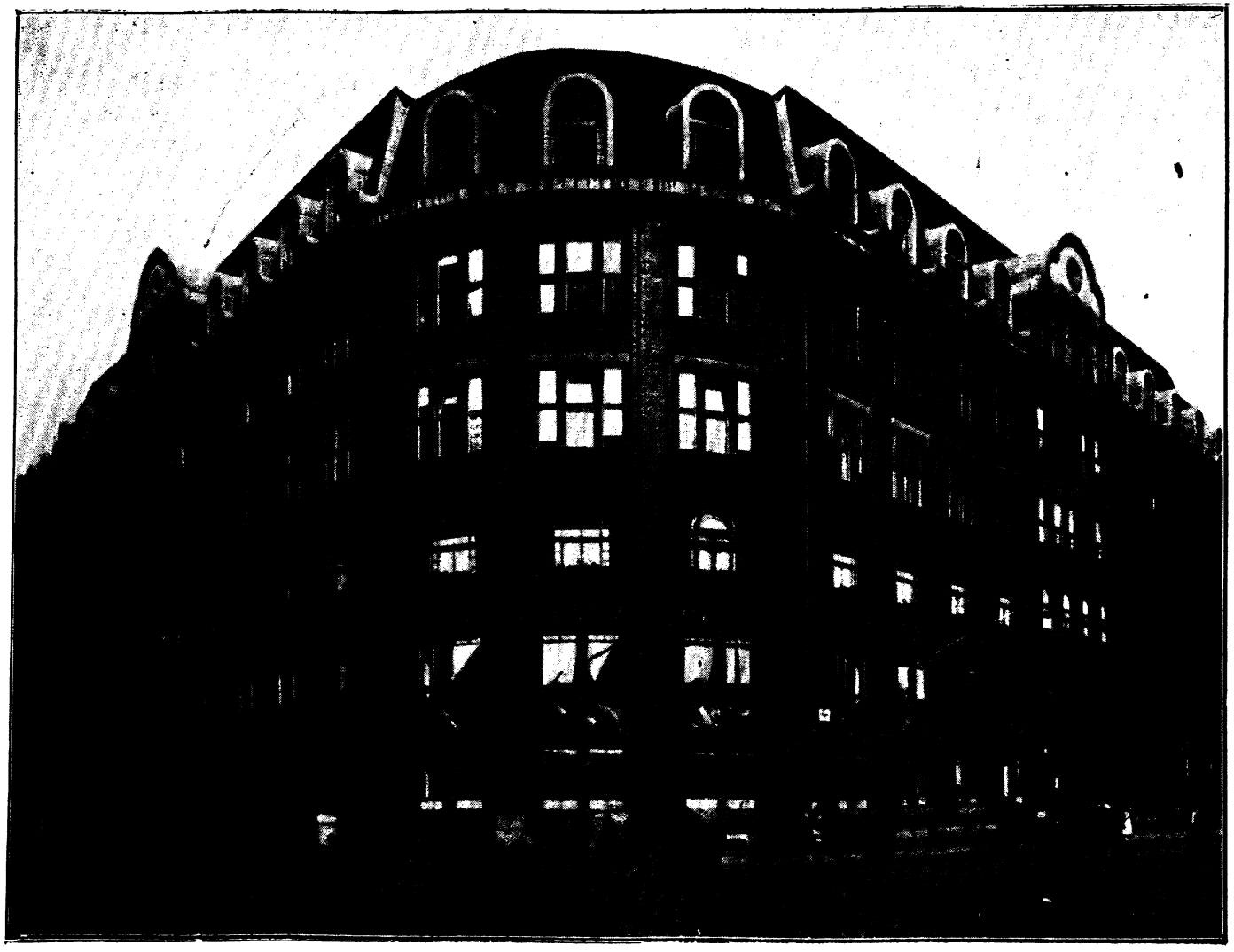
The insurance act of 1907 which we have already mentioned proved that the unification of the two principal branches of public insurance, insurance against sickness and against accident, in providing a central control by a joint administrative staff free from state interference, was the most practically useful measure possible; for in this way, the expenditure for relief, indemnification, medical services and administration being jointly undertaken, the burden was proportionately lightened for the different insurance branches involved. The joint organisation, moreover, made it possible to secure the necessary number of skilled and devoted officials and doctors. It also served to secure the provision and maximum efficiency of institutions which all alike serve the common end of insurance, such as hospitals, sanatoriums, convalescent homes, children's homes, out-patients' departements etc.

It is now quite certain that the efficient working of any scheme of insurance depends in the first place upon the correct solution of the problems of organisation. It is likewise beyond dispute that the Hungarian workers' insurance institution has indubitably demonstrated the soundness of the principle above dealt with.

That this is so, may be gathered from the fact that the so called succession states, Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Yugoslavia, took over along with many other Hungarian institutions hitherto unknown to them the Hungarian workers' insurance scheme also.

It is true that in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia both the wording of the insurance laws and the title of the scheme have undergone some changes. This, however, was only a rather transparent move to conceal their origin. They are in substance the same as the Hungarian laws and practice they have displaced. But in Roumania nothing has been done to change the old Hungarian insurance system, the Roumanians, not being able even to think of a new name for it.

The three succession states who had adopted the Hungarian insurance law, together with the several organisations administering it, were prevented by the chaotic state of affairs in their public life and especially by the serious economic situation they found themselves in from taking any steps towards development. And so, as a matter of fact, the standard of efficiency has dropped considerably below that which prevailed during the Hungarian regime. Unreasoning and exaggerated national bigotry and bitter hatred of Hungary moved the new states to dismiss the specially qualified and efficient Hungarian staff of administrative officials and workers when they took over the workers' insurance organisations.



National Workers' Insurance Institution, Budapest.

This flagrant exhibition of political intolerance had disastrous consequences for the workers' insurance schemes of the countries involved. On the other hand, in the terribly mutilated Hungary, workers' insurance has made distinct progress.

A new law was passed in 1927 by which the details of the system were brought up-to-date in conformity with most modern sociological ideas and at the same time, even more emphatic stress laid upon the unification of organisation. This new law which came into force on the 1-st of January 1928, clearly defined the public insurance scheme as being designed for the service of the public and demanding state control. At the same time, the individual rights of those who had to support it, the employers and the employed, were completely recognised.

In accordance with the provisions of the new law the National Workers' Insurance Institution became the largest public health and sociopolitical institution in the Kingdom.

Increased facilities were given to enable it to prosecute its work in all its branches. Its activities in dealing with sickness, accident and miners' pension insurance, extended over the whole country from the capital to the smallest village.

In the present year several new branches will be taken up by this central insurance institution. Bills are already drawn up to deal with insurance against old age and disablement and it is expected that measures will be taken soon to introduce bills dealing with widows' pensions and compulsory pensions for private employees.

The new law has brought about one and a half million workers into the insurance scheme and when we consider the dependence of those who also are entitled to insurance benefits we find that the Hungarian public insurance system embraces almost half of the entire population of the country, viz. 4 millions.

The figures for last year relating to sickness insurance tell much more plainly than any words could do how important and extensive are the operations of the National Workers' Insurance Institution.

These figures show that 80 per cent. of the contributions made by employers and employed was returned in form of benefit. The income of the contributions for sickness insurance last year amounted to 40 millions pengős. Of this

30.9	per cent.	was paid for	sickness benefit
6.7	"	"	support of institutes
8.3	"	"	medicines
4.1	"	"	sanatoriums
12.6	"	"	hospital nursing
11.7	"	"	doctors' fees

As against these administrative expenses including the salaries of officials and other employees (6 per cent.) and general running expenses (2 per cent.) amounted only to 8 per cent. In spite of the large sums which were paid out for benefit, there still remained a surplus of 8 per cent. which was applied to the different institutes belonging to the National Workers' Insurance Institution viz. hospitals, sanatoriums, clinics and convalescent homes etc.

The number of those insured under this scheme increases from year to year as the economic conditions improve and the total number of workers rises.

The Institution functions locally through 22 chief and 13 sub-branches together with 25 branches installed in factories. These between them discharge all duties connected with sickness and accident insurance and in the near future they will deal with the old age, disablement, widows' pensions, workmen's pensions insurance also. Excellently equipped clinics are provided for every local chief branch and every larger factory branch where the sick insured can have the best medical attention, especially where there is need of a specialist's skill.

Apart from these local clinics there are various public health and workmen's welfare institutes centrally controlled which are supported by the Institution at great expense. At the present time, the following institutes belong to the National Workers' Insurance Institution:

The Central Hospital in Budapest with 400 beds;

a hospital for consumptives near Budapest with 400 beds;

a smaller sanatorium for consumptives near Budapest with 160 beds;

a sanatorium for consumptives in the provinces with 200 beds;

a hospital for nervous disorders near Budapest;

a convalescent home on the Lake Balaton;

a workers' home in Héviz Spa.

National Workers' Insurance Institution's Certral Building, Budapest.

Besides these in Budapest alone and in the immediate neighbourhood the Institution supports 10 excellently equipped clinics.

I have tried in this short outline to give some faint idea of the work done by the Institution as it is to-day. In the near future, however, an ambitious programme will be realised, the bills for which are already prepared and ready for introduction to Parliament and this will mean a great extension of the Institution's work.

The great progress made by public insurance in Hungary even under the markedly unfavourable economic conditions prevailing to-day is a pledge of an even better future awaiting it; testifying, as it does, to the will to live of the Hungarian nation which the unjust and unscrupulous dismemberment it suffered could not destroy and which sees in the honest discharge of social duties the true way of salvation.

HISTORIES OF UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES.

a. THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN PETER PÁZMÁNY UNIVERSITY OF BUDAPEST.
Dr. A. MARGITAI REGISTRAR TO THE UNIVERSITY.

b. THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN JOSEPH TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY OF BUDAPEST.
Prof. K. SZILY D. SC. RECTOR.

c. THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN UNIVERSITY OF ECONOMICS, BUDAPEST.
Prof. C. KARCH D. L. DEAN.

d. THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN FRANCIS JOSEPH UNIVERSITY OF SZEGED.
Prof. J. MOÓR.

e. THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN STEPHEN TISZA UNIVERSITY OF DEBRECEN.
Prof. F. VERZÁR PH. D., RECTOR.

f. THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN ELISABETH UNIVERSITY OF PÉCS.
Prof. F. VASVÁRY.

g. COLLEGES OF LAW.
Dr. Z. MAGYARY.

h. ROYAL HUNGARIAN COLLEGE OF MINING AND FORESTRY, SOPRON.
Dr. J. MIHALOVITS.

i. ROYAL HUNGARIAN VETERINARY COLLEGE.
Dr. R. MANNINGER.

j. SCHOOLS OF ECONOMICS.
R. KÁROLY.

HISTORIES OF UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES.

a. A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN PETER PÁZMÁNY UNIVERSITY, BUDAPEST.

The seat of the Royal Hungarian University which is now in Budapest, was originally in Nagyszombat. It was here that in 1635 Cardinal Peter Pázmány, Primate of Hungary, founded the University, out of his own private fortune, and it was he who entrusted the staffing of the University to the Society of Jesus. On the 18th of October, 1635. Ferdinand II. confirmed the Cardinal's action by a Royal Charter which were allowed to the universities in the hereditary principalities of the German Empire. For the first two decades there were only the faculties of Divinity and Arts, but in 1667, again, by a gift of the Primate, the faculty of Law was established. Later in 1770, Queen Maria Theresa founded the Faculty of Medicine. The wealth of the University, according to the standards prevailing in those days, was considerable. It increased especially through the valuable gifts of land, given it by Maria Theresa. As a result of the Treaty of Trianon, however, a large part of these landed estate being in Czecho-Slovakian territory, they were taken from the University, by force. A suit for the recovery of these estates is at present before the International Court at The Hague.

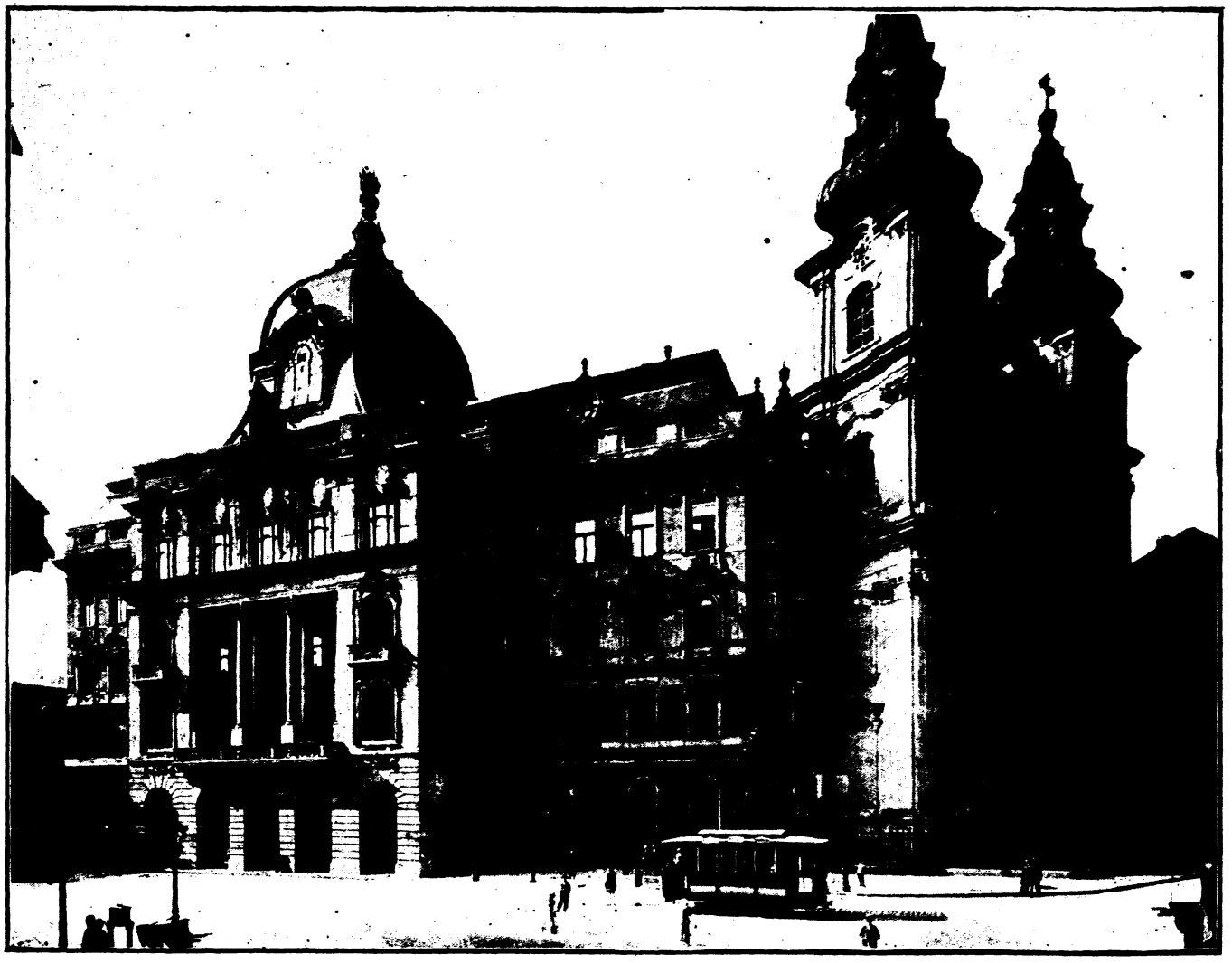
It was Queen Maria Theresa who, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, decreed on the 10th of February, 1777 that the University should be transferred from Nagyszombat to Buda, the heart of the kingdom. Three years later, on the 25th of March, it received the royal Diploma Inaugurale, by this it was granted its coat of arms, and its great seal. Joseph II, Maria Theresa's successor, in 1783 moved the university from Buda to Pest, where it stands to-day.

The constitution of the University is based upon the royal regulations, contained in the so called Ratio Educationis (1777—1806). The relations between it and the Government were laid down by the legislature in the XIX-th Act of 1848, according to which it was placed under the control of the Minister of Public Instruction. This same Act declared its right of open and free instruction.

At the beginning of the academic year 1921—22, with the approval of the Head of the State, the University adopted the name of its famous founder, hence its present title: „The Royal Hungarian Peter Pázmány University of Budapest".

Several points in its present constitution are worth remarking.

There are four faculties of the University: Divinity, Law, Medicine, and Arts. Each faculty is ruled by the Dean. Over the whole University, there is the Senate, or to be more precise, the Rector Magnificus. The Senate is formed by the Rector and the Deans, together with the Prorector and the Pro-deans, i. e. those who held the office of Rector and Deans for the previous year. The Law-officer of the University is always present during the sittings of the Senate and at the same time directs the Rector's office. The professors of each faculty elect the rector-electors, numbering 16, who are all professors. The University itself determines its curricular, authorises the class and degree examinations, the doctor's degrees, appoints the private docents and elects the assistants. The professors' chairs are filled either by invitation or competition. The professors, ordinary, and extraordinary are nominated by the Senate, which nomination is confirmed by the Head of the State. The teaching staff as is shown in the table below, consists of 103 regular professors, 226 privatedocents, 23 senior assistants, and 96 junior assistants.



Central Building of Budapest University. *Photo Erdélyi.*

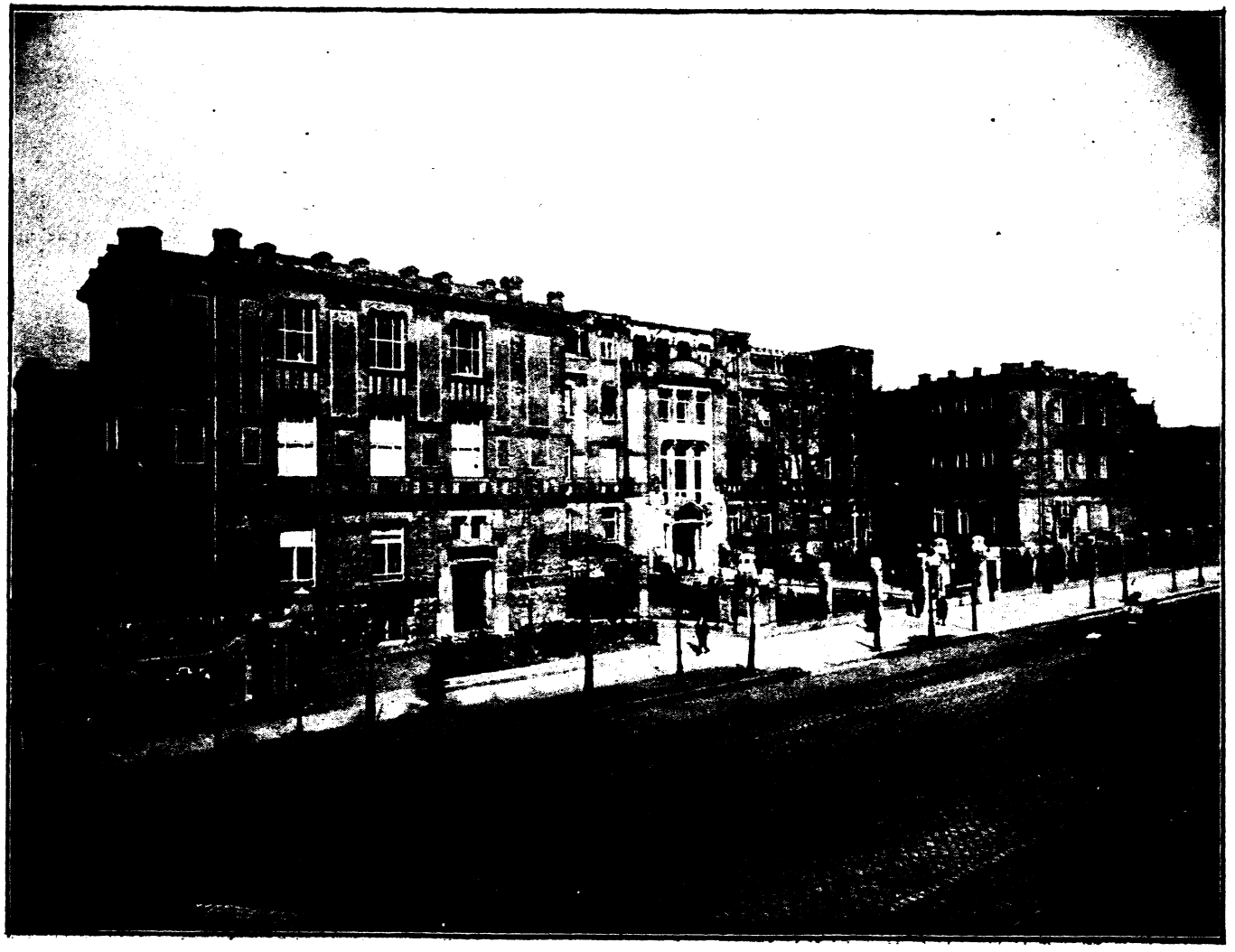
Clinic of Ophtalmology. Budapest.

Faculties	Regular professors	Professors ex'raordinary	Honorary professors	Deputy professors	Private docents	Lecturers	Tutors	Assistants (senior)	Assistants (junior)	Total
Divinity (R. C.)	11	—	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	14
Law	17	—	8	—	33	—	—	—	—	58
Medicine	28	1	35	—	106	4	—	14	74	258
Arts	47	—	12	2	86	6	12	9	22	194
Total . .	103	1	55	2	226	6	12	23	96	524

Besides the professorial chairs there are certain scientific institutions, seminaries, and clinics. To the Medical Faculty there are attached 32 institutions, viz. clinics; 28 institutions are at the Faculty of Arts and 12 at the Faculty of Law.

The University has naturaly a Library, containing 500.000 volumes, about 900 inconabula, 3500 MSS. Lastly of course, an Office of the Administration.

The University of Budapest is one of the largest in the whole of Europe. The number of its students in the first half of the 1927—1928 academic year, was 5972. The students are regular, and irregular. The former are matriculated on the condition that they have a certificate proving the successful passing of the final examinations at the secondary schools, and the latter have to prove only, that they passed their 16th year of age and have a necessary general education. The number of the matriculated students in each of the faculties is limited every year by the Minister of Public Instruction. In 1927—28 the greatest number of students attended the Faculty of Law, where there were matriculated 2473 students; next came the Faculty of Medicine with 1663, then the Faculty of Arts with 1601 and lastly the Faculty of Divinity with 115 students. Since 1895 women have been admitted as regular students of the University, in the Faculty of Medicine (including Pharmacy) and Arts. Since 1926 they have



Clinic of Surgery. Budapest. Photo Erdélyi.

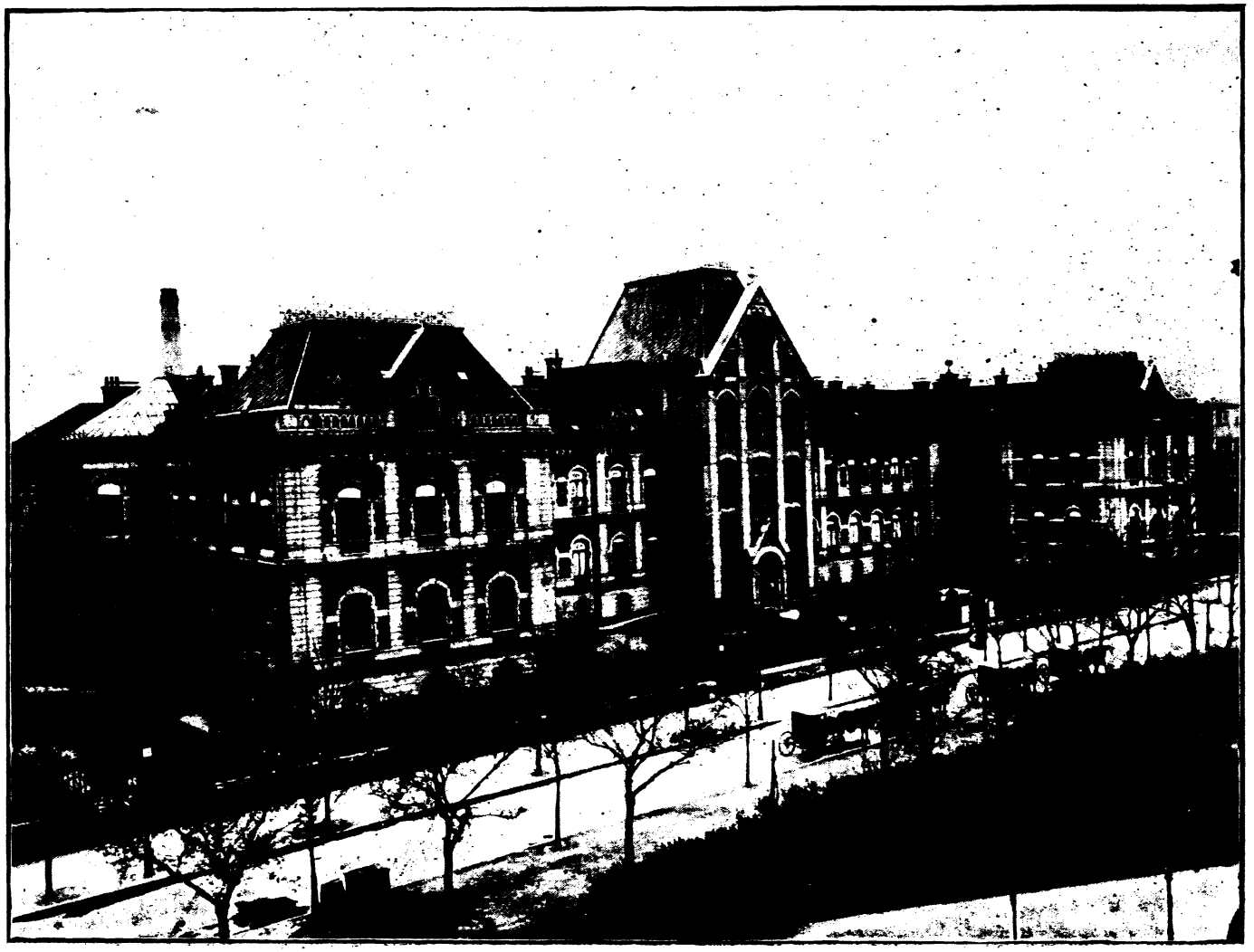
had equal rights with the male students. In the academic year of 1927—28 the University had 912 women students, among whome were 831 regular, and 81 irregular. There were 113 women students in the Faculty of Medicine and 799 in the Faculty of Arts.

The University students, because of the great economical crisis following the war, have still to fight a hard struggle for their material upkeep and for the minimum conveniences of life. To help the students in their great difficulties, there were organised students relief committees in each of the faculties. These committees give material help to the students in many ways. There are several hostels for the students where they lodge at moderate prices. Lunch and supper can be obtained at special buffets known as Mensae Academicae, also at greatly reduced prices. Grants have also been made by the State lately in 1926 to the extent of 800 Pengős (cca 30 Pounds Sterling) per annum, per student, mostly applied to help the children of middle class families who have been specially hardly hit by the post-war crisis. Lastly considerable help is given to poor students who have distinguished themselves in their colloquia (viva voce class exams) in the way of reduced fees, to what extent it may be inferred from the fact that in the first semester of 1927—28 27.5 per cent. of the whole student body received a remission of fees, either in whole or in part. In addition to this 21.43 per cent of the students were granted the concession due to the sons and daughters of public servants.

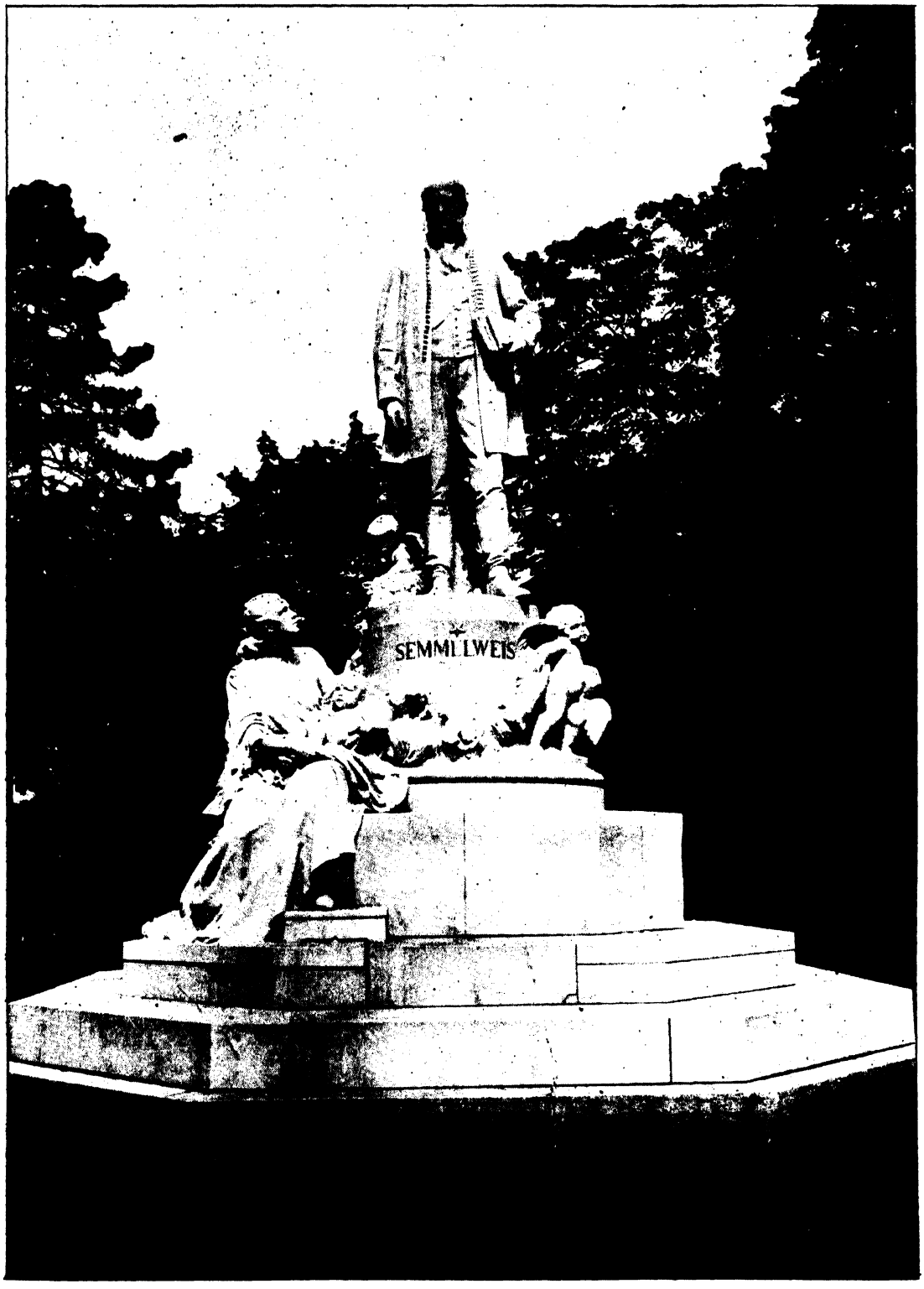
The curricula of the University naturally differ according to the faculty. In Divinity their is a five-years course; in Law 4 years; Medicine 5 years. Students of Pharmacy after their tirocinium must spend two years in the University, taking classes both in Arts and in Medicine. To obtain a doctor degree, students of Divinity must pass four degree examinations; students of Medicine four, and students of Arts one examination. The legal degree is of two kinds. It may be taken in Public Law with two examinations, or in Private Law with three examinations. A doctor's degree is also conferred in Canonical Law, for which two examinations are necessary.

The lectures are delivered normally in Hungarian, but lectures are also delivered in Latin in the Faculty of Divinity, while in the Faculty of Arts in the classes of modern languages (English, French, German, Roumanian, and Slav) the lectures may be in part delivered in the language which is being taught.

As regards material and equipment, Budapest University is worth of a place alongside the other great universities of Western Europe. In the field of scientific research more and more work is done every year, as can be seen from the scientific books and perodicals which appear written in the Hungarian language. In Budapest, as in the rest of Europe, it is recognised that the future development depends less upon the class lecture than upon the practical work done in seminaries, and laboratories, the full use of which until now has been prevented only by the insufficiency of available funds. At present, discussions are going on concerning the proposal of establishing special institutes for the study of the natural sciences. It is hoped that the state will grant the credits necessary for this purpose, the realisation of which would be a worthy cosummation of the intelligent policy of the present Minister of Public Instruction.



Clinic of Obstetrics. Budapest. Photo Erdélyi.



The Statue of Ignatius Semmelweiss, the famous Hungarian Professor of Obstetrics. Budapest.

Photo Erdélyi.

b. THE HUNGARIAN ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF TECHNICAL SCIENCES, BUDAPEST.

On one of the most picturesque sites in Budapest, built at the foot of the Saint Gellert Hill and the right bank of the Danube, stands the only fully equipped technical college in Hungary. The buildings of this technical college were erected in 1909, in what has become since then a completely new quarter of the city. But if the buildings of the technological college are new, the college itself is an old institution and even older is the technical education of Hungary.

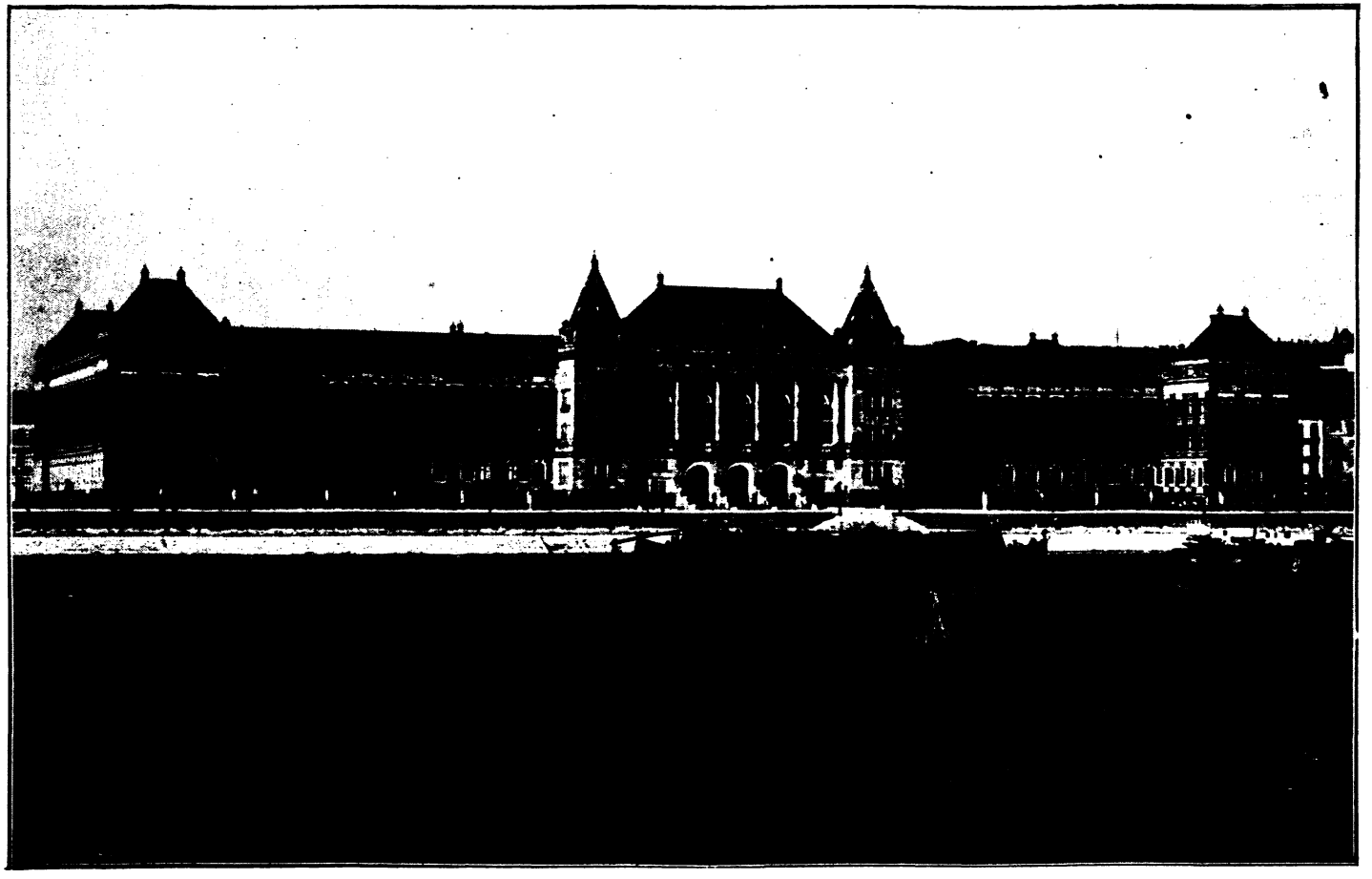
Before dealing with the present, let us take a look at the past and consider the main outlines of the history of the College.

The technical education in Hungary can boast of a really great past. As early as 1763, Queen Maria Theresa founded in the town of Selmec, in upper Hungary, a mining school which was raised to the rank of a college in 1770. For a century and a half, this college carried on its work until 1919, in which year the Czechs occupied Selmec. This occupation was confirmed by the Treaty of Trianon and thus the town of Selmec had to be sacrificed to the new Czecho-Slovakian State. The staff and pupils of the mining college had to leave their building and equipment behind them and seek a new home elsewhere. They found that in a town on the Western border of Hungary, in Sopron. In the XVIIIth century this Selmec mining college had such a great reputation throughout all Europe that, when in 1794 the French convention debated the subject of establishing and equiping the Paris Ecole Polytechnique, Fourguoy proposed to adopt the teaching system of the Selmec College.

By the end of the XVIIIth century it began to be felt that a college was necessary for the training of engineers, especially civil-engineers. It was the Emperor Joseph II, the reforming ruler of Austria-Hungary, who was responsible for the founding in 1782 of the Engineering Institute (Institutum geometricum) of Buda which met the needs of the times. This engineering Institute was not an independent College, but a branch of the Arts and Science Faculty of the Budapest University. And as such, it is interesting as having been the first college in the whole world to be devoted to the training of engineers. The Engineers Institute existed until 1850, and during its existence awarded more than a thousand engineer's diplomas. The second quarter of the XIXth century was the great reforming period of the history of Hungary. During this time, a tremendous effort was made to transform a country, weakened and backward because of so many destructive wars, into a progressive and enlightened state with up-to-date ideas in politics, economics and culture. The greatest constructive statesman of that time was Count Stephen Széchenyi who, with his famous contemporary, Louis Kossuth has been rightly called the greatest of Hungarians.

Széchenyi had studied in England, and he set the English nation and English institutions before his own countrymen as the models which they should follow. Széchenyi took a great deal of interest in the subject of technical education. He recognised that a completely independent college, a Polytechnic would be much more effective in promoting technical education and economic development in the country than the existing Engineer's Institute with its dependence upon the University, was capable of doing. Accordingly, Széchenyi, by word and deed carried on a great campaigne for the establishment of a Hungarian Technical University and in 1836, during the Diet of Pozsony, he brought forward a formal proposal to the King to this effect. The King or rather the Vienna government, who contemplated the too rapid growth of Hungary's strength with unfriendly eyes, did not carry out the wishes of the Diet and instead of establishing a Technical University, set up an industrial school which was opened in Pest in 1846, as the Joseph Industrial Institution. This institution as compared with the Technical University was a primitive affair. There were only 8 chairs and three divisions: the agricultural, the technical and the commercial. It held no degree examinations and awarded no engineering diplomas.

From the beginning of 1846, then, there were two institutions in Budapest for the training of engineers. The Engineers' Institute and the Joseph Industrial School. Since such a division of strength was obviously both harmful and unnecessary, the Engineers' Institute separated itself from the University in 1850 and united with the Joseph Industrial School. In 1857 this united



Central Building of Polytechnik, Budapest. *Photo Erdélyi.*

institution was organised along the lines of the Brünn Technical University and so the present University of Technical Sciences came into being.

During the seven decades which followed, the University underwent many changes and greatly developed. Before coming to be what it is to-day in what follows we shall attempt to give a brief of this development mentioning the most important events and more fully describing its present condition.

In 1872 the technical University was granted the autonomy and raised to the rank of a university. In 1882, on the Pest side of Budapest, in the Museum Körút, four new blocks of buildings were built for its use, the same as now house the Arts Faculty of the Budapest University. Francis Joseph granted in 1901 the university the right to confer the degree of Doctor of Science and later in 1910, it was granted the privilege of conferring the „promotio sub auspiciis regis". During the last two decades of the XIXth century the number of students increased, until the building in Budapest became too small to hold them and it was found to be absolutely necessary that a much larger, final building should be erected. And so the present seat of the University was built in 1909, covering an area of 117.000 squ. m. and consisting of ten distinct buildings. In 1916 Francis Joseph gave his formal approval to the constitution and ordinances of the University as they are to-day.

According to this constitution, there are four divisions in the University: architecture, civil-engineering, mechnical engineering and industrial chemistry. A fifth was added in 1914, the division of economics. To gain the diploma in any of these divisions, a minimum course — four years or eight terms — is necessary. Students must keep strictly to the curricula, prescribed by the Senatus, and at the end of each session class examinations in each subject are obligatory. Apart from these class-examinations three degree-examinations are held. The first in two subjects after four terms have been completed, the second also in two subjects after six terms have been completed, and the third in three subjects at the end of the complete course. Degree-examinations are both written and oral, while there is also a practical examination included in the final. When a student has successfully passed the third degree examination, he obtains the diploma of the University in his subject.

From the above it should be evident that the students have not the same freedom of choice in the curriculum as is enjoyed e. g. by those attending the German technical universities, because the compulsary courses with their class-examinations greatly restrict this freedom. A restriction still further increased by the regulations which make attendance at lectures and the laboratory work compulsory. These restrictions of the student's freedom, however, have been proved by experience to be beneficial in the interests of efficiency.

The Hungarian Technical University also departs from the German model in preserving the general diploma in each of its divisions, and not following the German practice of specialist training. The Hungarian Technical University holds to the old principle of providing a sound, general technical education for its students on the basis of which they may later by practice and further study acquire the knowledge and skill of the specialist. This manysided and strongly theoretical basis of education has long been characteristic of the Budapest Polytechnic. But, of course, the greatest emphasis was, naturally, laid upon the laboratory and practical work, both in the natural science and purely technical courses. Before the World War Hungarian engineers were to be found wherever technical skill was needed, and it became generally accepted that a Hungarian engineer was a good engineer. In short, we may say that, both in number and in quality, the Hungarian engineers are themselves the best tribute we could pay to the Royal Technical University of Budapest.

The custom, prevalent in Germany and America, of compelling students to pass a year doing practical work, before granting them the diploma, has not been adopted in Hungary. The state and the various factories, however, grant opportunities to students of doing practical work during the summer vacations.

For the past ten years or so, the Technical University has striven to give its students an education which will not be onesidedly technical, but will also include a certain knowledge of law and economics generally. And so it has made attendance at lectures in these subjects compulsory for senior students. Of late, however, the possibility also has been provided them of

acquiring a thourough and varied knowledge of economics. In 1914 a special economics division was added to the technical divisions in order „that those students who have already completed four years of study in a technical division, may take a fifth year in which they shall attend regular lectures in economics and law, doing the prescribed seminary work and sitting the necessary examinations". The purpose of this extension course is to furnish those men who propose to enter some of the technical departments of the civil service with the training necessary for their special task. It is worth of note that the Budapest Technical University was the first in Europe to bring technical and economic education together in this way. And up to the present, experience has shown that the practical demand of life are adequately met by this united education.

Out of the world war, Hungary came out worst of all. The Treaty of Trianon not only deprived her of two thirds of her territory and population, it also cut her of from most of those centres of energy she possessed in her factories, raw materials and water power and those which remained were left to struggle with the greatest difficulties. The Budapest Polytechnic, like all other institutions, shared in the general misfortune. The state, through its poverty, was not able to maintain the standard of equipment which is set to a modern technical university. Nevertheless, it strives with all its powers to do its work, for it knows, that in the great task of the regeneration of Hungary, an important role will be played by Hungarian engineers.

c. A SHORT HISTORY OF THE BUDAPEST UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF ECONOMICS.

The Royal Hungarian University College of Economics in Budapest began its work in 1920. Thus realising the plans and aspirations of nearly twenty years.

The aim of this college is first of all to inculcate and propagate a general scientific knowlege of economics and to attract the youth of the country to productive occupations for which it provides them with an excellent preliminary training.

The Faculty of Economics, after giving long and careful consideration to the work done in this subject abroad, has devised an organisation and curriculum by which it seeks to meet the important demands made by modern industrial, commercial, agricultural and economic education. In our times the social and economic interests are dominant, and no branches of science can show a more rapid development than those having bearing upon these interests. Recognising this, an Economic Faculty was established which, in addition to the education avalable in law and engineering, should provide another in economics. And it is hoped that in course of time this may be developed into a complete university in itself, which would deal with all those subjects involved in the study of modern economics.

As a new institution it could not be built in a day. Two purposes are kept in view. On the one hand, it seeks to provide a practical education by means of which men who intend to take up commercial and industrial careers will be satisfactorily equipped. On the other, it has in view the needs of those who propose to be teachers and lectures in economic subjects in the higher schools. It is thus that the purpose of the faculty is described in its charter.

The law prescribes that the courses of the Faculty shall be open and free. These courses fall into four divisions, economic, agricultural, commercial, consular.

The Faculty is autonomous, having the right to nominate its professors, order its curriculum and determine the conditions of examinations. It has also the right, in virtue of its autonomy, to award the degree of Doctor of Economy, hence this Doctor's degree is not a qualification for any public office, its value is purely scientific.

The importance of the Faculty of Economy may be deduced from the fact that although it only began its work in 1920, there were as many as 3000 students enrolled in 1922. Since then, the number of student has been noticeably decreased. For this the serious financial situation of the country brought about by the loss sustained during the Roumanian occupation and the serious damage

done to the country's economic position by the Trianon Treaty, was partly responsible. Another reason, however, is to be found in the vindictive attitude shown by the authorities of Succession States towards the parents of those Hungarian youths who attended Hungarian universities; often passports were denied these young people and many other ruthless regulations were devised to make it difficult for them to enter Hungary. Inspite of the serious state of affairs, the number of student is now about 1500.

The Trianon Treaty was not only disastrous to the moral of the country, but also to the finances of the state. Thus it was impossible for sufficient public grants to be made for scientific research as would have permitted the building of the necessary laboratories and their equipment.

For the lack of capital it has been impossible to enlarge the buildings, and we have not been able as yet to have a hostel for the students or a Mensa Academica. All these difficulties not only hinder the work of science, but proved to be serious handicaps to diligent students in the days of their youth.

d. THE HISTORY OF THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN FRANCIS JOSEPH UNIVERSITY, SZEGED.

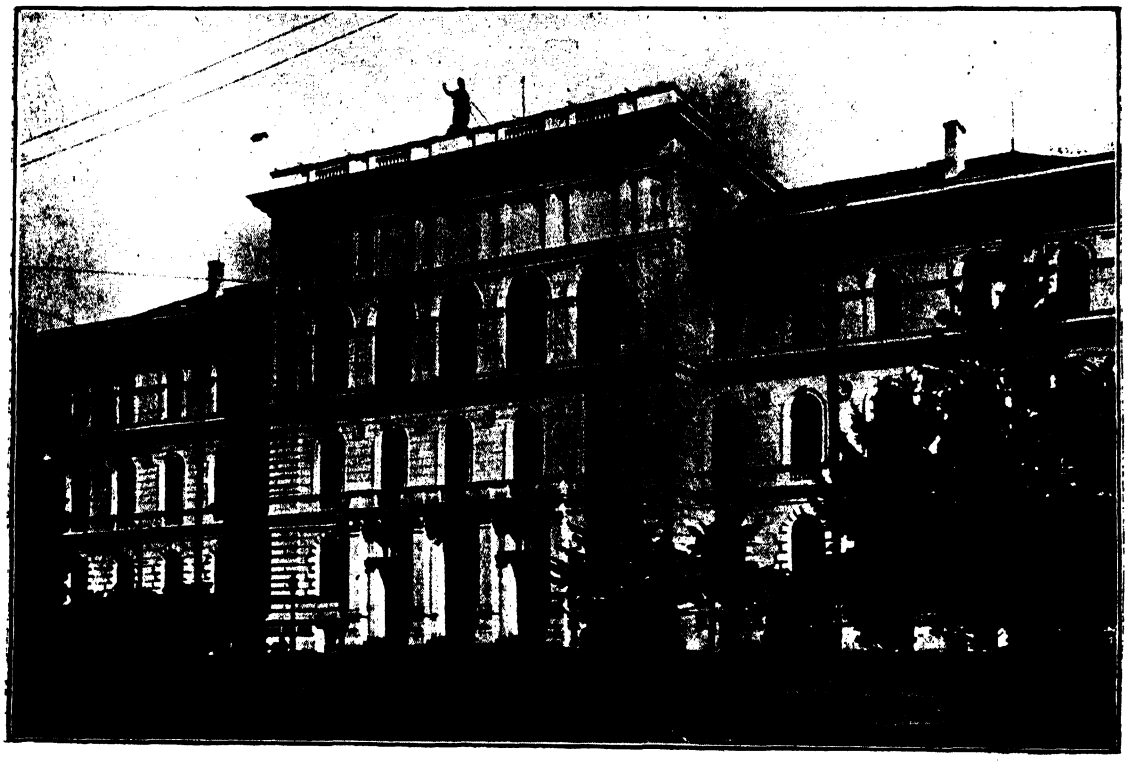
In 1872 the Royal Hungarian Francis Joseph University was founded in Kolozsvár, the capital of Transylvania by an Act of the Hungarian Parliament (XIX. 1872).

This University, however, was only the successor of the older Hungarian colleges which had been founded during the previous three centuries in Transylvania, the classic home of religious liberty, by both Catholics and Protestants, and in which even during the centuries of bloodshed and confusion the interests of the higher culture and its propagation had been faithfully and selfsacrificingly served.

As a consequence of the dreadful disaster of Mohács where in 1526 the Hungarian army was routed by Turks and their king slain, the Kingdom of Hungary in the course of the XVIth century became divided into three parts. Roughly speaking the largest part which was the central, fell under Turkish rule, the West and the North were claimed and held by the Habsburgs, while the eastern parts were organised as the independent principality of Transylvania. Thus the Transylvanian principality had to maintain its independence as against two world powers. And yet even when the armies of the Turks and the German emperors were devastating their country, the independent Hungarians of Transylvania never forgot the claims of higher education. Even the first Prince of Transylvania, *John Sigismund*, wanted to establish a university in Gyulafehérvár, in his capital, and had the ambition of prevailing upon *Pierre de la Ramée*, the famous Sorbonne professor, to help him to organise it. But unfortunately the prince died before he could give effect to his plans.

However, John Sigismund's successor, *Stephen Báthory*, succeeded in realising his ambition to found a university. Stephen Báthory was one of the greatest princes of Transylvania. He was also one of the greatest Kings of Poland. It was in a charter granted in Vilna in 12th of May, 1581 that he founded the Catholic University of *Kolozsvár* on the pattern of other Christian universities, and entrusted the control of it to the Jesuits. Among the finest students to attend this university was Peter Pázmány, later that Cardinal-primate of Hungary who in 1633 founded the Nagyszombat University which after the expulsion of the Turks was transferred to Buda and then to Pest and exists to-day as the Peter Pázmány University of Budapest.

The Báthory University of Kolozsvár had a chequered career. It was closed for a long time during the XVIIth century. In 1698 it was reopened and on entering upon possession after a while of large and well equipped buildings, it carried on its work with great success until 1773, the year in which Pope Clement XIV abolished the Jesuit Order. After this the Jesuits ceased to work in Kolozsvár University. They had worked there for nearly 200 years and despite much interruption and opposition 744 Jesuit professors had led 20.487 young men in the pursuit of science. When they went, they left behind them a library of 8000 volumes, together with a printing



Central Building of Szeged University.

press and a paper mill. Among their professors there were more than one famous men, e. g. *Maximilian Hell,* the famous astronomer.

After the departure of the Jesuits Queen Maria Theresa in 1773 appointed new professors and thus not only maintained the Theological and Arts faculties of the Báthory University, but even enlarged the foundation in 1775 by the addition with Faculties of Law and Medicine. In her time there were about 400 students attending the classes. Her successor Joseph II, however, deprived the institution of its university character.

Inspite of this, the Faculties of Divinity, Law, Arts which had been united in this university continued to maintain themselves in separate colleges. The Faculty of *Divinity* was carried on as the Roman Catholic Seminary of Gyulafehérvár. The Faculty of *Arts* was merged into the Kolozsvár Lyceum, but after the failure of the War of Liberty in 1848—49, it ceased to exist even this way. In 1863, however, it was resurrected as the *Royal Kolozsvár Academy of Law.* This Law Academy in 1872 was included in the University which was founded in that year. The Medical Faculty of the old Báthory University was formed into the *Institutum Chirurgicum* in 1817 and it likewise became part of the newly established university in 1872.

The Catholic Báthory University of Kolozsvár, however, was not the only Transylvanian college which can be regarded as the predecessor of the Francis Joseph University, established in 1872. During the time when Transylvania was still an independent principality, another great prince of Transylvania, worthy to be ranked with *Stephen Báthory, Gabriel Bethlen,* with the help of foreign scholars, Opitz, Bisterfield, Alstead, Piscator, founded in 1622 or rather 1629 a Reformed College with 3 faculties in his capital, Gyulafehérvár. This institution likewise suffered many vicissitudes. After the Tartars and the Wallachians ravaged the country in 1658, Prince Apaffy moved it to *Nagyenyed* in 1662. Here, however, it was destroyed by the imperial armies in 1674. This event in which several professors, well known in England, were killed aroused a lively sympathy in that country, and a movement was set afoot there to collect money in aid of the ruined college. A considerable sum of money was gathered

which was invested in land, and continued to yield a yearly income, until lately when the Roumanians, not content with confiscating the estates which the Nagyenyed College inherited from the Transylvanian princes, laid their hands on the property, bought by this English subsidy also.

Apart from Theology and Arts, lectures were delivered in Law also at this college continously, till the end of the Academic year 1868—69. These Law lectures became unnecessary, consequent upon the founding of Kolozsvár University in 1872 This ancient institution still exists as the Nagyenyed (Presbyterian) College, and in 1922 celebrated its 300th anniversary.

It was likewise during the time of Transylvanian independence as a principality that the *Reformed* (Presbyterian) *College of Marosvásárhely* was founded. After 1790 law classes were also held in this college which continued until 1848, though for a short time they were renewed later.

Similar legal classes were also held in the *Reformed* (Presbyterian) *Colleges of Székelyudvarhely and Kolozsvár.* It was in the Kolozsvár College that the famous law professor, Andrew Huszti, worked from 1733—1742. In 1870, however, the law classes of both colleges were closed.

II.

In 1872 Kolozsvár University was established on a basis involving the principal of free education. It had no Theological Faculty. Though by splitting the Faculty of Arts into two as the Faculties of Humanitarian and Natural Sciences, it could still claim to have 4 faculties. These were the Faculties of Law, of Medicine, of Arts (Philosophy, Philology and History) and of Science.

The lectures began in 1872, November when the University had 40 professors and 269 students, 91 subjects taught in 325 classes.

To begin with, the University had to face many difficulties. The different faculties and scientific institutions were housed in buildings which were unsuitable for their purpose. The equipment of the Faculty of Science was very inadequate. The library in the main consisted of the 30.000 volumes which the Hungarian Transylvanian Museum Society, formed in 1859, had placed at the disposal of the University for 50 years. The legislature displayed a terrible niggardliness towards the new institution. It may be said that it set it up but would not keep it up; for its initial equipment it did not grant more than the Budapest University required for a single year. Indeed, we can say that it was left to the professors to create a university out of nothing. The enthusiasm, the selfsacrificing energy and consciousness of these men is beyond all praise.

The first ten years was a struggle during which foundations were laid and a university spirit developed. After this better times came, and the University was able to turn to the task of building itself a more worthy home. Between 1882 and 1892 new scientific institutions, beautiful new clinics which by themselves almost formed a district in the city, and finally splendid new central building were built. This was the golden age for the development of Kolozsvár University. The number of students at that time exceeded 1500. But the development did not stop there. In 1909 the beautiful new buildings of the University Library and the Biological Department were opened. Not much later the new building of the Mensa Academica, with rooms for 42 students and dining accomodation for 300, was also opened. Before this students boarded in the Roman Caholic St. Joseph Seminary with rooms for 120, the Reformed Theological College accomodating 80, and the Hunyadi House for teachers where 120 university students were lodged. In 1913 the Medical and Chemistry Institution were built, together with the Pasteur Hospital. The University Pharmacientical Department, the Stomatological Clinic procured new buildings, while the University also bought ground which they used for Botanic Gardens. The number of the university students which for the first 40 years approximated altogether to about 40.000 rosed to more than 2.400 in the academic year 1911—1912. The enthusiasm and patience of the professors, their knowledge of the subjects and their high reputation, together with the increasing generosity of the Hungarian government, not only strengthened a university which had been founded under very unfavourable conditions, but made it strong support of Hungarian and general culture, giving the lead to the whole province of Transylvania. Apart from those who are still occupying their chairs, a considerable number of the professors of Kolozsvár University have

had or still have an excellent reputation abroad, e. g. Samuel Brassai, the famous savant, Geyza Entz, Coloman Buday, Stephen Apáthy, the natural scientists, Louis Farkas, Alexander Plósz, Felix Somló, the jurists, Charles Böhm, Ákos Pauler the philosophers, Hugo Meitzl, the philologist, Leopold Fejér and Louis Schlesing, now of Giessen, the mathematicians, and others.

Then came the World War and an end to development. The number of students decreased to about 400, and from among those on the University's Roll of Honour more than 200 lost their lives.

Then came the end of the war. The number of students in the academic year 1918—1919 rose over 2000 (2226 in the first and 2510 in the second semester). But this did not mean the return of peaceful conditions. As a matter of fact the real hard days of the University arrived only then and these were worse than the worst times of the war. Transylvania was occupied by Roumanian troops and it was governed by a revolutionary committee of Transylvanian Roumanians, called *Consiliu Dirigent*. They sent an order to the University on the 10th of May, 1919, calling upon the professors of the University to swear allegiance to Ferdinand I, the King of Roumania. The professors declairing that the peace conference had not yet decided the fate of Hungary, and that therefore the request of the Consiliu Dirigent was a contravention both of the II. Act of the Hungarian Parliament 1889, and also of the 43, 45, and 56 articles of the IV. Convention of The Hague, 1907, refused unanimously to swear allegiance, their one Roumanian colleague, Gregor Moldovan, the professor of Roumanian literature, joining with them in their action. Then on the 12th of May a company of Roumanian soldiers surrounded the central building of the University. The commander of the soldiers laid his hand upon the shoulder of the aged Rector Magnificus, Stephen Schneller when he protested against the use of force, but the commander, supported by a committee which had arrived in the company of the soldiers, declared the University to be the property of the Roumanian state. The president of this Consiliu Dirigent, Julius Maniu, together with several of its members had formerly been students of this University. Did these graduates of the Francis Joseph University who thus laid violent hands upon their *Alma Mater* and acted as accomplices of those who drove out the professors, ever think of the oath they took at their graduation by which they swore to defend the rights and preveledges of this University and to maintain an attitude of respect towards its authorities?

The one Roumanian among the professors of this University, Gregor Moldovan, above mentioned, had been promoted to be Rector, still under the Hungarian régime, and one of the Roumanian students, Julius Pordea, had gained in 1905 the greatest distinction attainable by a student i. e. promotio sub auspiciis regis which meant the presentation of a diamond ring from the King on the occasion of the graduation, and that very privatdocent Nicholas Draganu who was one of those who confiscated the University, had been educated at the expense of the Hungarian state.

Single-minded in the cause of culture, the University of Kolozsvár had remained faithful to its calling for 47 years, during which time the number of its professors had risen from 40 to 51, the lecturer staff from 43 to 135, the number of lectures per semester from 91 to 250, the teaching hours per week from 325 to about 800, and the number of students from 269 to 2570. While apart altogether from the libraries of the different scientific institutions and seminaries, the number of volumes in the university library itself had increased to about 500.000.

III.

With the Roumanian confiscation of the buildings and equipment of the University in May of 1919, the Senate, headed by Valentin Kolozsváry, the Rector, who had been lawfully elected for the year 1919/20 before the act of confiscation, found itself confronted by new and extraordinary problems. Starting from the conception that a University, properly speaking, does not consist of buildings and equipment, but is constituted by its teaching personal, and being convinced that a Hungarian university was necessary to the Hungarians of Transylvania, the expelled Senate, though the most elementary conditions of carrying on were lacking, exerted themselves manfully to secure such conditions for themselves anew. The most practical course appeared to be that the university should continue its work as an interdeno-

minational Hungarian University. The Hungarians of Transylvania with exemplary selfsacrifice supported this idea, and so there happened that event almost unique in history in which five denominations, the Roman Catholic, the Presbyterian, the Lutheran, the Unitarian and the Jewish, united to found an interdenominational Hungarian university.

The Treaty of Trianon, concluded on the 4th of June 1920, guaranteed on paper the right of the minorities to found their own schools, and so on the 21th of June, 1920 the three Hungarian bishops notified the Roumanian Minister of Education that they desired to reopen in Kolozsvár on the 1st of October 1920 as a single interdenominational Hungarian university the university colleges of the various Hungarian autonomous churches. These colleges which had been closed in 1872, were, as the bishops pointed out, ancient foundations whose right to exist had been guaranteed by the Peace of Linz, 1645, and again of Münster 1648, and recognised by the practice of several centuries. Had this design succeeded, the Francis Joseph University whose predecessor had been the colleges of the various denominations, would once more have drawn upon the strength of the denominations to continue its work as an interdenominational university. The Roumanian government, however, would not allow the plea, and indeed went on to expel the majority of the former professors of the Francis Joseph University from the country.

In the meantime the Presbyterian Church of Transylvania organised a training school for secondary school teachers in addition to their Kolozsvár Theological Faculty. This was necessary in as much as the closing of the university created a scarcety of teachers with the necessary diplomas. Those professors of the Francis Joseph University who still remained in Transylvania received positions in this college where in the year 1920/21 there were 198 students and 36 professors. After existing for one year, however, with excellent results, the Roumanian Government closed this college down in September of 1921 and so the last Hungarian college which sprang from the old University of Kolozsvár came to an end.

Those professors of the Francis Joseph University who had been expelled from Transylvania by the Roumanians, and forced to take refuge in Hungary were gathered together by the Hungarian government in Budapest. Since the plan to found the interdenominational university in Kolozsvár had come to nothing, and the number of expulsions were steadily increasing, it came about that by the end of 1920 most of the members of the old Senate found themselves in Budapest. As early as February of that year the Hungarian government had passed an order enjoining those of the Kolozsvár professors who were in Budapest together with their brother-professors of the Pozsony University who were in a like case — they had been expelled by the Czechs — to occupy certain buildings, placed at their disposal in Budapest and carry on their teaching work temporarily in them. These auxiliary courses, held in 1920, were attended by about 250 students, most of them refugees from Transylvania, and many of them former students of the Kolozsvár University. The purpose of the new establishment was to maintain continuity, to keep the faculties together and prevent the dispersal of the student body, until permanent provision could be made for them.

Two plans were put forward for the permanent reestablishment of Francis Joseph University. One favoured settling it in Szeged, the other in Debrecen. The free royal city of Szeged had already in May of 1919, when the Roumanians had confiscated the Kolozsvár buildings, invited the university council and the professorial body to accept the hospitality of Szeged and carry on their work within its walls. This invitation had been several times repeated Moreover, at great material sacrifice, Szeged promised to erect a worthy home for the University. On the other hand, after the forced ratification of the Trianon Treaty in November of 1920, the council of the Debrecen University offered accomodation to the homeless University of Kolozsvár, inviting them to join forces with themselves and carrying on the university work.

The Hungarian government decided for Szeged. During 1920—21, while the faculties were still carrying on their temporary work in Buda, the preparations were made for transferring them to Szeged. The decision of the government was confirmed in the Act. XXV. of 1921 which declared „that the Royal Hungarian Francis Joseph University of Kolozsvár, founded by the

Act XIX. of 1872, having lost its seat as a consequence of the Trianon Treaty, should for the time being be established in Szeged."

And so in October of 1921 the University began its work in Szeged where it found a peaceful home after passing through such troubled waters. It was almost a superhuman task which confronted it. Clinics, laboratories, institutions and seminaries had all to be newly erected and equipped for, of course, the University's own equipment and the great scientific treasures had all been left behind in Kolozsvár. The Szeged foundation, so to speak, had to be created out of nothing. The vanquished Hungarian state, even in its poverty, did not shrink from the task before it. It was only by great sacrifice in the cause of culture on its part and on the part of the city of Szeged which made it possible for the losses sustained in the scientific collections and equipment to be made good. Within six short years the university library had gathered together 100.000 volumes, not counting the 62.000 in the libraries of the various university institutions and seminaries. The zoological collection at the present time number 54.225 different pieces, the botanical 4922 and the mineralogical and geological 4407.

Building was begun on the banks of the Tisza and in a short time the new clinics and scientific institutes will be completed and furnished with a most modern equipment. Of these fine buildings within a year and a half the children's hospital, the surgical and gynaecological clinics have been built, while the clinics for internal and skin deseases are in course of construction. A students' hostel is being built to accomodate 400 students, and already there are 300 men and 70 women students boarded in various hostels. The Mensa Academica can provide 300 students of cheap meals. In 1921/22 at the opening of the University in Szeged 1000 students were enrolled which number has since increased to 1300. The university clinics in their temporary quarters have already treated 16.000 cases.

The Francis Joseph University can look back with justifiable pride on the work which has been done in Szeged during the last two or three years, and also with gratitude for those whose generosity and support gave the University a new home. Among these we cannot omit to mention the Trustees of the Rockefeller Foundation to whose liberality the medical institutions especially owe so much.

The Hungarian nation is not one of those who have been fortunate enough in general to have been able to develop their culture without serious hindrance. The predecessor of the Francis Joseph University, the Báthory University of Kolozsvár was razed to the ground in 1603, Gabriel Bethlen's college of Gyulafehérvár, Nagyenyed was destroyed by the Tartars and Wallachians 1658, later plundered by the Austrian Imperial Armies in 1704 and finally sacked and burned by the Transylvanian Roumanians in 1849. Hungarian enthusiasm, endurance, skill and energy from a modest beginning and inspite of repeated hardships succeeded in developing a flourishing home of learning in Kolozsvár within the space of 47 years. Then in 1919 the Roumanians deprived them of all the fruits of their labour. In their new home, in Szeged, everything had to be begun afresh. But it is just this past of glorious struggle which justifies the hope that Hungarian enthusiasm, endurance, skill and energy can do again what they have done before and restore the Francis Joseph University to the eminence formerly enjoyed.

IV.

Not long ago a book was published entitled „The Ethnical Minorities of Transylvania", Geneva 1927. Its author was M. Sylvius Dragomir, the professor of history in the Roumanian University of Kolozsvár. Among other things this representative of a new school of history writes as follows: „any impartial observer of the work done by the University of Cluj would speedily be convinced that the result of our activity during the past eight years has produced far more results than the effors of the Hungarian University in that city for over half a century."

In support of this assertion M. Dragomir mentions that the Roumanians instead of leaving things as they found them, added one or two new chairs and institutions to the University. This, however, does not seem much to boast about, and the writer apparently forgets besides that the Hungarians left them a university of which he himself writes as being equipped with rich collections, libraries and laboratories, and where they hed simply to take their seats.

He further justifies his statement by re-

ferring to 14 different „periodical publications and reviews issued by the University". He forgets that as against this—as he might have learned from the Year-books of the Hungarian University — that during 47 years when Hungarian professors taught there, many thousands of books and other publications appeared both in Hungarian and other languages. And further even in Szeged when the University having lost everything was struggling with the difficulties attendant upon settling in its new home, its professors had yet time and energy to publish between 1922—27, 1428 works, both large and small, 155 of which were in foreign tongues, and besides a whole series of periodicals.

M. Dragomir, a master of the objective historical writing as the Roumanians understand it, shuts his eyes to the imposing literary and scientific work of the old Hungarian professors. And this, inspite of the fact, that he lives among those „rich collections, libraries and laboratories" which they created. On the very same page, indeed, he alleges against these professors, that „the energies of the professors and lecturers were directed not to the creation of scientific values, but to the denationalisation of the non-Hungarian elements of the province". When we consider that on the very same page he also states that only small section of the student body was composed of non-Magyar, i. e. Roumanian elements, it is difficult to read his statement without laughing and it is quite impossible to understand it.

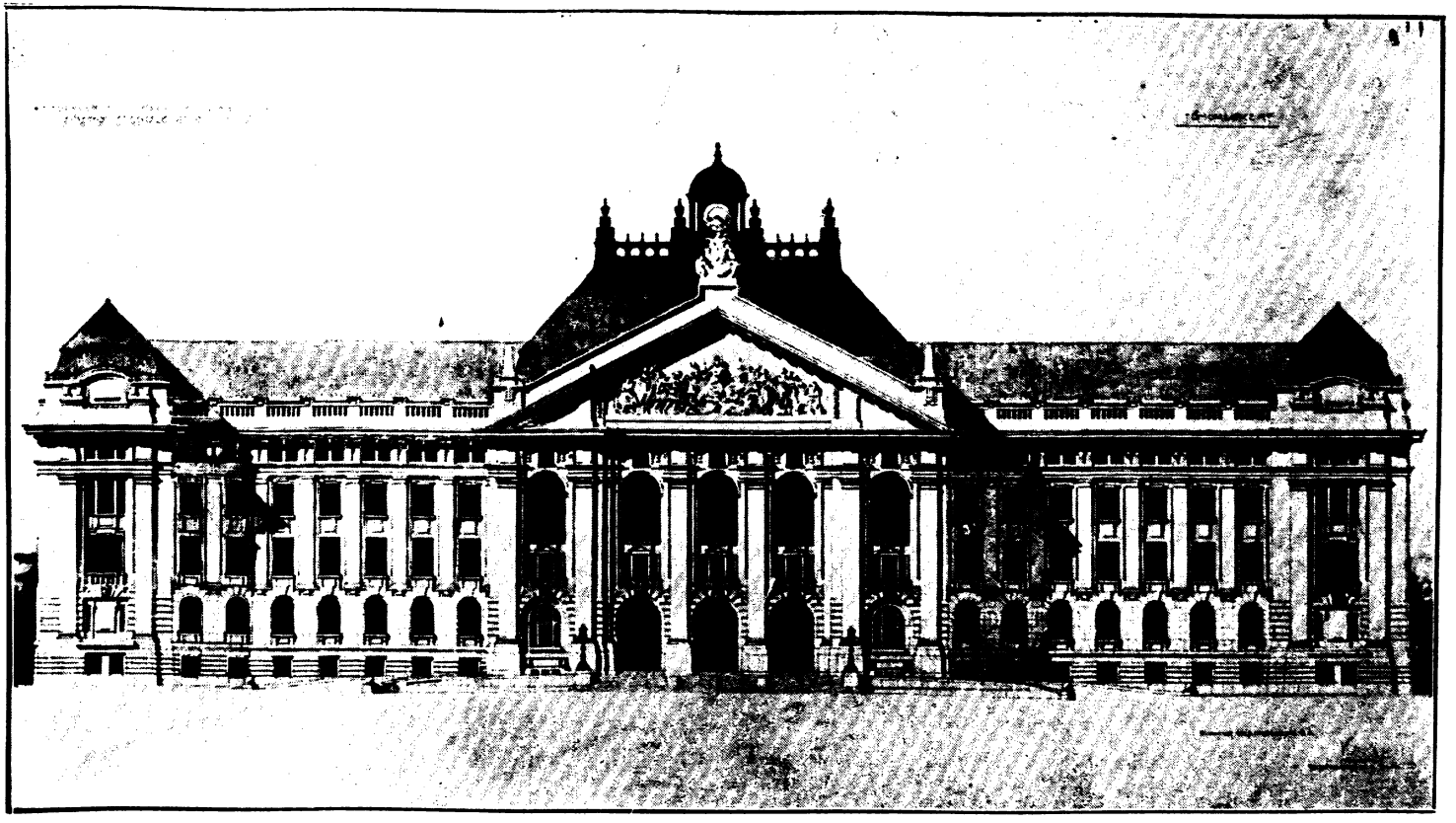
We had evidence of the „new spirit" which according to Mr. Dragomir has been infused into the life of the University by the Roumanians, when in December of 1927 the Roumanian Students' Congresses in Nagyvárad, Kolozsvár and other places provided the world with a scandalous spectacle of rioting and violence on the part of the students.

The Francis Joseph University in Szeged can contemplate the liberalism of the Roumanian institution at „Cluj", together with „the enormous advance" it has made in the last eight years and M. Dragomir's peculiar conception of history, with its withers unwrung.

e. A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN STEPHEN TISZA UNIVERSITY OF DEBRECEN.

Althoug the Royal Hungarian Stephen Tisza University of Debrecen can only look back upon twelve years of its existence, it has, neveretheless, already secured for itself a place of preeminence among the more ancient educational institutions which have a long tradition of learning behind them. The University is really founded upon the Reformed College of Debrecen which, in itself, has a past of 500 years.

We can place the date of the foundation of the Reformed College in the year 1550 when John Török de Enying, a landowner, made over the school of the former Franciscan Monastery to the newly constituted Reformed Church. In this school, of course, there were no classes corresponding to those in the present high school, but from 1588 it developed as an Academy after the pattern of the University of Wittenberg. Besides a rector, who filled the only regular chair, there were other teachers known as collaborators and seniors. Development was, of course, slow, as we can well understand when we remember the difiicult circumstances of the time. The second chair, properly so called, was founded by Prince George Rákóczi I, in 1636. In 1660, the third chair was founded, when the school of Nagyvárad fled before the Turks to Debrecen and amalgamated with the Debrecen institution. The foundation of the fourth chair was made by the city in 1704. Of the four chairs, two were theological, one of Dogmatics and the other of New Testament. In the college every type of school, existing at that time, was represented from the elementary school upwards. And the good reputation it enjoyed is narrated by the fact that the number of students, enrolled in the XVIIth century, was more than 3000. The Academy gradually grew larger. The city founded a chair of philosophy in 1798. Then the first chair of Law was established in 1800. From this date onwards, the development of the three different faculties of



Front of the Central Building of Debrecen University.

Royal Hungarian Stephen Tisza University. Children's clinic. Debrecen.

were material changes made. The special law academy was established in 1853 with four professors, the cost being met by public subscription. For a time, the Faculties of Arts and Theology remained united. In 1857, however, after the death of Bishop Szoboszlay, who had been the heart and soul of the whole institution, the Academy of Law was closed. But it was reopened in 1861 and from 1874 onwards it carried on its work with six regular professors. The Arts professors, with the exception of the professor of Philosophy who occupied the chair until 1798, went over to the „gymnasium".

The status of the Academy was raised to that of a State University with 6 chairs in Theology, 8 in Law and 10 in Arts. Be-

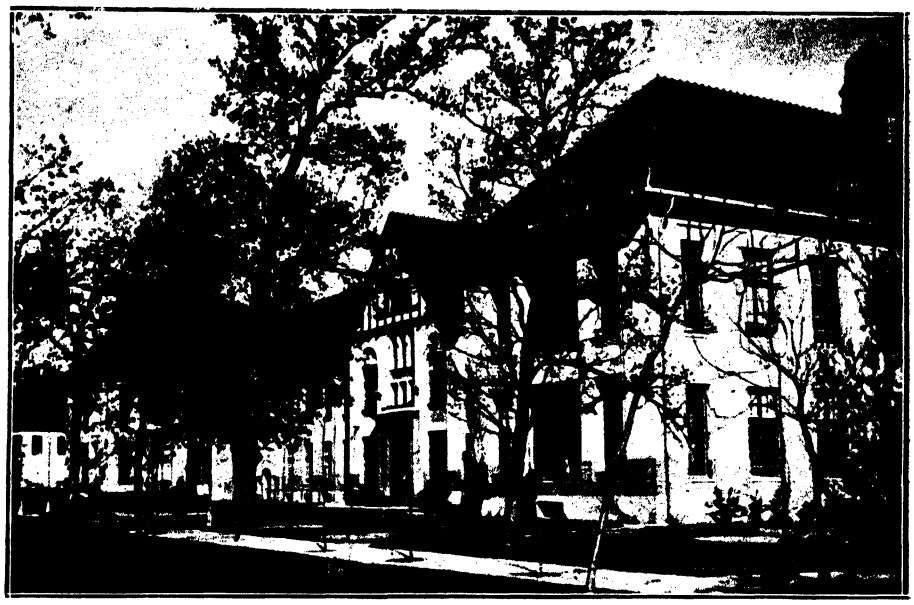
Science, Law and Philosophy, proceded under a unified control. In the secondary departement the education given was conducted by the classical tutors under the direction of the Academic professors. Gradually the number of chairs rose to twelwe, divided among thee three faculties of Theology, Law and Arts.

In 1850 a new scheme of education was forced upon the country by the absolutist government of Vienna. This *Organitations-Entwurf* required, that there should be 12 chairs or departments in the gymnasium (high school) and a special headmaster. In 1911 the „gymnasium" moved out of the buildings of the old college into an imposing new building of its own.

In the Academy also, there

Royal Hungarian Stephen Tisza University. Clinic of Internal Diseases. Debrecen.

sides the professors occupying these chairs there were several private docents attached.

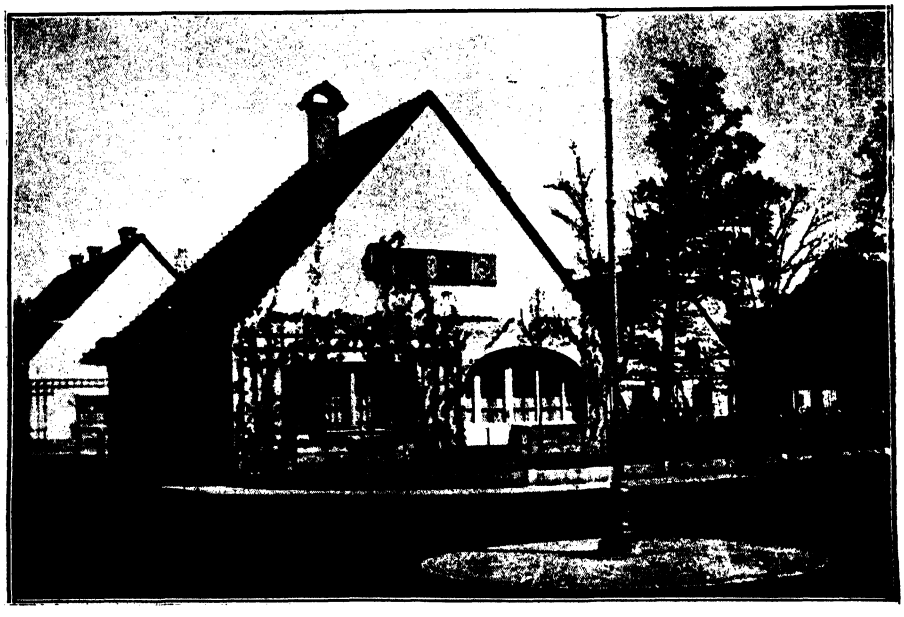


Royal Hungarian Stephen Tisza University Clinic of Surgery. Debrecen.

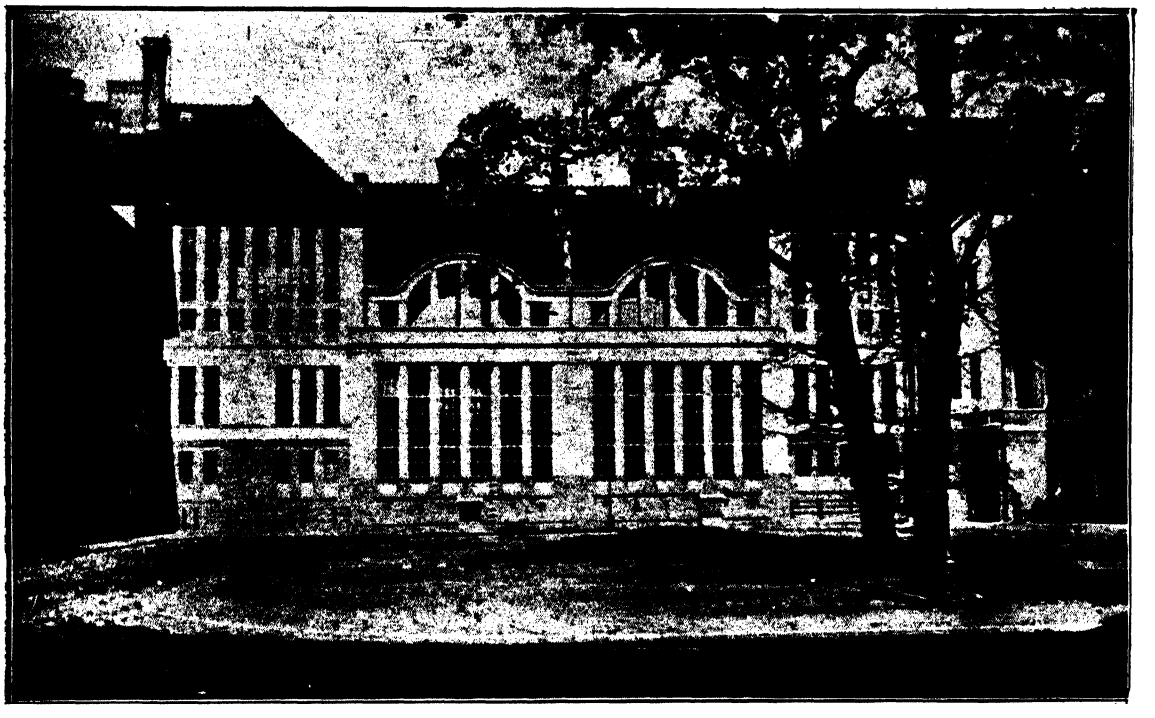
The oldest building dated from 1564. This, however, was destroyed by fire along with the great church on the 11th of June 1802. The new building was begun at 1803 and finished in 1816, the money for it being found by public subscription. This building now forms the frontage of the present University and in it are the college offices, the library which contains about 300.000 volumes and the college chaple. The other three blocks sorrounding the quadrangle which now house the three faculties of Theology, Law and Arts, were built between 1870—1873. There is an Aula or great hall, which also serves as the Synod Hall of the Transtibiscan District of the Reformed Church. Behind the university building there is a two-storied hostel built to accomodate about 180 students.

II.

The story of how the Academy of Debrecen came to be a University is rather interesting. In the seventies of the last century, there were two universities in Hungary, one in Budapest and the other in Kolozsvár. It came to be felt that a third was necessary and thereupon this ensued a keen competition between several cities for the honour of being the third University city in the country. The governement, unable to decide between the claims of Pozsony and Debrecen, compromised by creating two universities one in each of these cities.



Royal Hungarian Stephen Tisza University. Servant's Houses. Debrecen,



Royal Hungarian Stephen Tisza University. Institute of Anatomy. Debrecen.

Royal Hungarian Stephen Tisza University. Central Kitchen. Debrecen.

Kolozsvár. It came to be felt that a third was necessary and thereupon this ensued a keen competition between several cities for the honour of being the third University city in the country. The governement, unable to decide between the claims of Pozsony and Debrecen, compromised by creating two universities one in each of these cities.

For Debrecen the claim made was founded, on the one hand, on its geographical situation, as the Eastern Centre of the Great Hungarian Plain and on the other, on its ethnological character as the centre of a pure Hungarian district. Besides, it could boast of a great past as a home of both scientific learning and literature, since it had played a notable role in the cultural history of the nation. Even in 1874 the idea of creating a Protestant University in Debrecen had been entertained, for which design more than a million crowns ($ 200.000) had already been gathered. From that time, both the church and the City — more nearly concerned — were occupied with plans for realising this idea, but when the project of a state University began to be talked about in 1906, the earlier design was abandoned. In that year, the magistracy of the City of Debrecen formed the City University Committee. This committe was empowered to champion the claim of Debrecen to have a University. After long and bitter contention between several Hungarian cities for this honour the claims of Debrecen were finally recognised and in 1912 by an Act of Parliament the third Hungarian University was set up in Debrecen. The greatest sacrifices were made on the one hand, by the citizens of Debrecen itself, and on the other hand, by the Transtibiscan District of the Reformed Church to endow the new institution. The city made over a 150 acres of its land in the Nagy Erdő (Great Forest) to endow the University and its clinics and besides it voted 8 million gold crowns ($ 1,600.000) to defray the cost of building. At the same time it handed over its Midwifery Training School. The Church on its part as the governing body of the Reformed College transferred the three faculties of its Academy to the University and at the same time made a grant of 70.000 gold crowns ($ 14.000) per annum to defray the cost of the Faculty of Theology. It further made over the sum of 60.000 crowns ($ 12.000) annually for the first 3 years to meet the University expenses and pending the completion of the new buildings, it provided for the accomodation of the University three faculties in the old college.

Royal Hungarian Stephen Tisza University. Faculty of Medicine. Debrecen.

In 1914, owing to abstacles arising out of the War, only three out of the five faculties designed for the University came

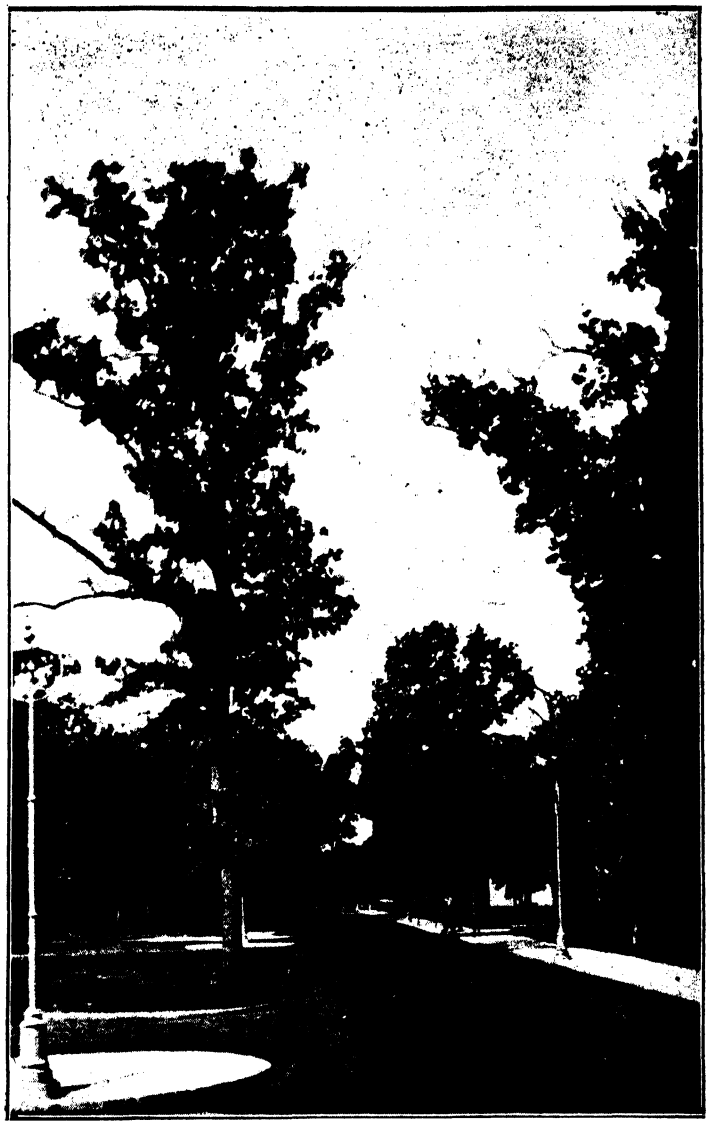
Royal Hungarian Stephen Tisza University. Clinic of Surgery. Debrecen.

Royal Hungarian Stephen Tisza University. Pavilion of Quarantine. Debrecen.

into being, viz. Theology (Calvinistic) Law and Arts. The establishment of the other two faculties, those of Medicine and of Science had to be deferred. The economic conditions, brought about by the war and by the great drain on public funds, made it very difficult even for the three faculties to carry on.

Lack of accomodation and deficiency of equipment made teaching very difficult. Even those buildings which did exist, were in part commandeered for war purposes to serve as hospitals etc. When the war was over, the times of the revolution and the Roumanian occupation added difficulty to difficulty, but when the storms had finally passed in the spring of 1920, the educational work went ahead with greater intensity than ever and steps were taken to build the necessary premises for the faculty of medicine which had been formally constituted in February 1919.

The half-finished buildings were ordered to be completed by the government. The clinics for Medicine and Surgery began their work in the building of the Augusta Sanatorium where room was made over to them temporarily.



Royal Hungarian Stephan Tisza University. Part of the Park. Debrecen.

The Stephen Tisza Scientific Society was formed in 1920 for the purposes, among others, of fostering national literature and art and scientific activity.

The Stephen Tisza Hostel was opened in 1920 to accomodate 60—80 students.

In 1921, the memory of Stephen Tisza, the great prime minister who had died as a martyr during the revolution, was perpetuated in the name of the University whose title from that time has been: The Royal Hungarian Stephen Tisza University of Debrecen.

The Faculty of Medicine which began its work in the academic year 1920/21, was strengthened in 1922/23 by the addition of Institutes of Physics and of Chemistry

In 1915/16 a Teachers' Examining Body was constituted, attached to the Faculty of Arts and after the war a Teachers' Training College was also formed. In 1925/26 the final steps were taken to complete the Faculty of Science by the addition of departments for the study of mathematics, chemistry, physics, zoology, botany, mineralogy.

In the meantime building was being carried on briskly and at last in 1927 the faculties were all properly housed in their own buildings.

The following statistics give some idea of the University: Numbers of ordinary and extraordinary professors are: Theology 8,

Law 13, Medicine and Surgery 14, Arts 12; in addition private docents: in Theology 2, Law 1, Medicine and Surgery 7, Arts 11. Four tutors are appointed for the teaching of the following languages: German, English, French, Italian, Croatian and Turkish. Assistants in Medicine number to 131, in Arts 5. For the first half of the year of 1927—1928 the number of students enrolled, were: in Divinity (Reformed or Presbyterian) 107, Law 487, Medicine 273, Arts 181; a sum of 1048.

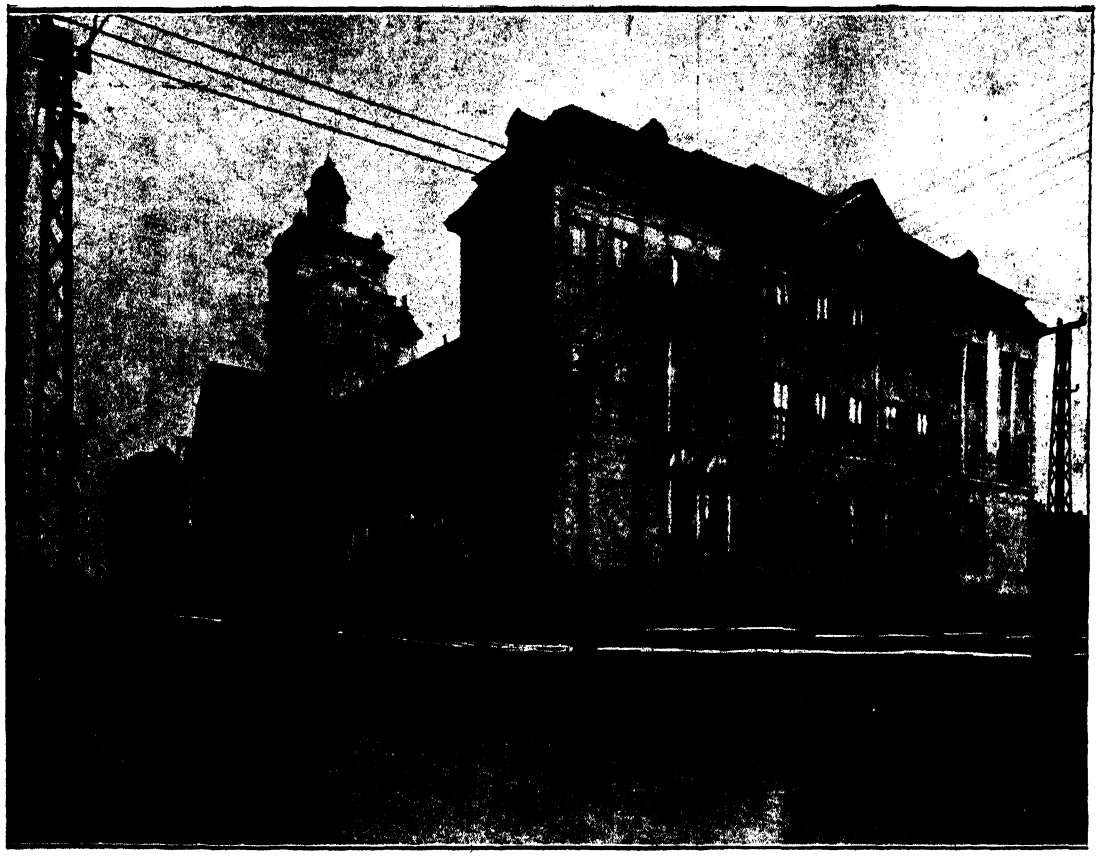
There are 7 clinics and 11 institutes attached to the Medical Faculty, 10 seminaries and 3 institutes to the Faculty of Arts. The Library, containing 300.000 volumes, is for the use of the whole University.

f. THE ELISABETH UNIVERSITY OF PÉCS.

The project of establishing a third University in Hungary was first mooted in 1776, but it was not until 1902 that Count John Zichy and Prof. Eugene Balogh introduced the bill of foundation into Parliament and succeeded in getting it passed.

After considerable discussion the City of Pozsony was selected for the honour of housing the new university which may be said to have come into existence with the appointment of three professors in the Faculty of Medicine on the 19th January. 1914. The new university was named after the beloved and unfortunate Queen Elisabeth, the wife of Francis Joseph.

The outbreak of the war held up the natural development of the new university, but in the academic year 1918—1919 it began its work with three complete faculties of Law, Medicine and Arts. Then came the „deluge" when the Czechs, on the night of the 31st of December, 1918, occupied



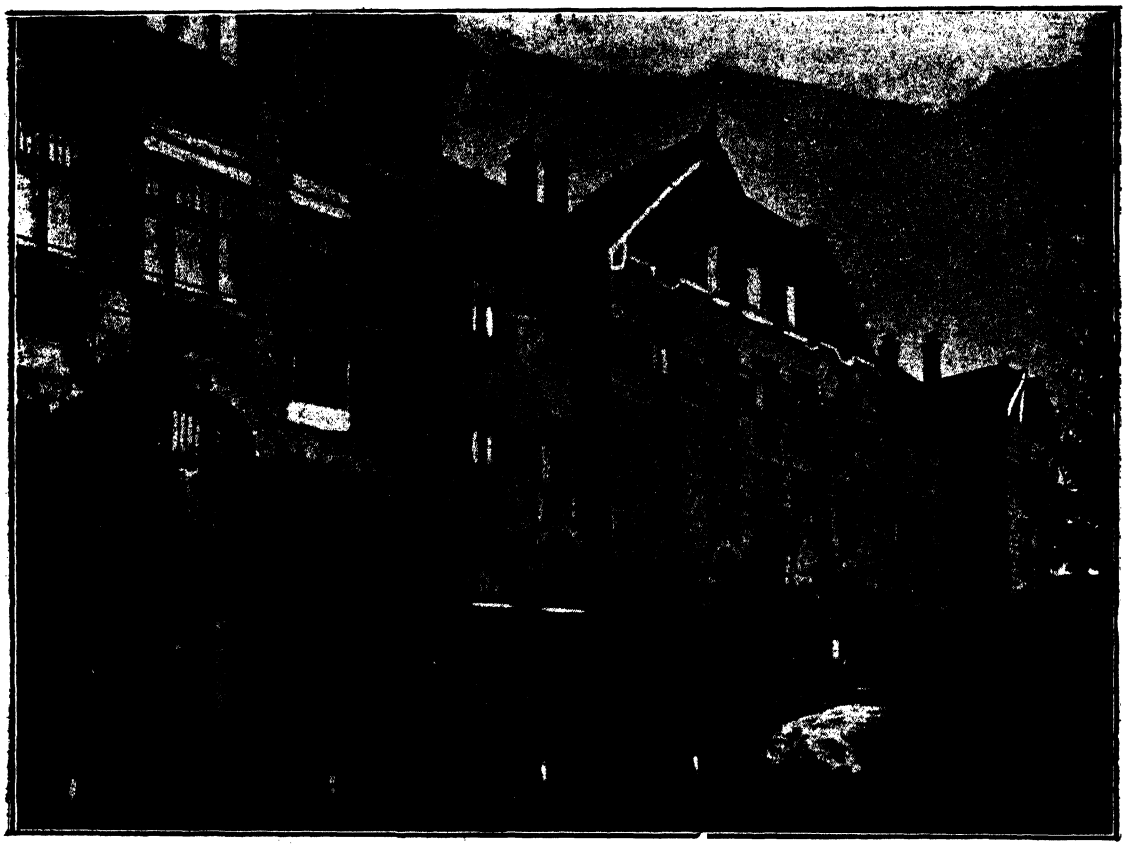
Central Building of Pécs University.

the city of Pozsony. The university was cut off then from all support by the Hungarian government, but for some time it essayed of itself to carry on its work and to preserve its Hungarian character. On the 6th of January, 1919 the Senatus was informed by the Czeh authorities that their government had taken over the charge of the city and had placed the University under the control and supervision of its commissioner. Thereafter difficulties increased and with the beginning of the new academic year in 1919 the University found itself forced to shut its doors. It is true that the law classes were able to carry on until those students already enrolled had finished their course, i. e. until 1922; but the other faculties were forced to remove to Budapest where a temporary home was found for them, pending definite arrangements for their future.

The Senatus was unanimously of the opinion that some town other then Budapest should be selected as the permanent domicile of their university and it was agreed that it would be best to settle it somewhere in Pannonia. At this time, the town of Pécs was occupied by the Serbians, nevertheless, the Town Council and citizens hastened to invite the exiled university to make its home with them. This proposal met with a favourable reception in Parliament and when the Serbs left Pécs, in August of 1921, steps were taken to effect the removal of the University to its new quarters at that town. With the induction of the Senatus into their new quarter work was began in all the classes of Law and Arts and in the first two „years" of medicine. At the beginning it was apparent that the premises available were hardly sufficient for the 2000 students and the problem of accomodation became more acute when the professors and students of „third year" medicine moved in. The difficulty was accentuated by the yearly increase in the numbers attending classes in the faculties of Law and Arts, although there was a decrease in the number of medical students. Coincidentally with the removal of the University to Pécs, a tripartite agreement was made between the University, the Government and the Lutheran Church to institute a Faculty of Theology with Lutheran standards and eventually this was done and the Faculty instituted,

Central Building of Pécs University.

The Library of the University. Pécs.



Clinic of Obstetrics. Pécs.

not, however, in Pécs, but in Sopron on the 11th of November, 1923.

In the University, as finally established, there were, therefore, four faculties: Law, with 13 chairs, the Faculty of Theology (Lutheran) with 8 chairs, Medicine, with 12 chairs and the Faculty of Arts with 12 chairs.

The numbers of students enrolled since the academic year 1923—24 are as follows:

1923/24	2.775
1924/25	2.330
1925/26	2.113
1926/27	2.091
1927/28	2.319

g. LAW ACADEMIES.

Before the increase in the number of universities the law academies played a more important role in the higher education of Hungary than they do now. They once numbered more than ten, but their number has now materially decreased, partly because the newer universities absorbed some of them, while others, viz. those of Kassa, Nagyvárad, were lost to Hungary after the Treaty of Trianon, and partly because the state was compelled to withdraw the grants of aid formerly made to the various denominational schools of law and so only remain three to-day: the Roman Catholic Academy at Eger, the Reformed Academy at Kecskemét and the Lutheran at Miskolc, whither it fled after being forced to leave Eperjes by the Czechs.

The educational policy of Maria Theresa, promulgated in the Ratio Educationis of 1777, created Royal Academies of Law, each complete with faculties of Arts and Law. Students were required to take a two-years course in both faculties, the Arts course being obligatory as a preiminary

Clinic of Dermatology. Pécs.

qualification for studies in Law. In 1806 the Ratio Educationis wished to extend the curriculum to three years, but this wish was not then realised.

The three-years course came into being with the Thun reforms of 1850—55, when the Arts course was embodied into the last two years of the „gymnasium" curriculum.

The constitutional Hungarian government of 1867 gave further support to the law academies and revised their curriculum. In 1874 an Act of Parliament extended the period of study to four years and gave the law academies a constitutional resembling to those of the universities, although they were not accorded the right of conferring degrees.

Notes on the history of the various Academies:

1. *Eger,* The Eger Archiepiscopal Law Academy was founded by George *Foglár,* Vicar and Canon of Eger Cathedral, in 1740. Since then it has continued to exist through many vicissitudes, being supported by the Archbishop himself, when state aid was withdrawn from it so that it is the only Roman Catholic Academy of Law existing in Hungary.

2. *Győr.* This institution was founded by Maria Theresa in 1774, removed to Pécs 1785, to return again in Győr 1802. It ceased functioning in 1892.

3. *Kassa.* Another of Maria Theresa's foundations. Closed in 1918.

4. *Kolozsvár.* The Law Academy was established in 1863, the successor of several other short-lived educational institutions, but in 1872 it was assimilated by the new university.

5. *Nagyvárad.* Founded by Maria Theresa in 1780, and enlarged by Joseph II. It still continued its work for a time even under the Roumanians.

6. *Pozsony.* Established originally in Nagyszombat in 1777 and later removed to Pozsony, where it was later incorporated in the Erzsébet University as its Faculty of Law.

7. *Debrecen.* See the article on Debrecen University.

8. *Kecskemét.* Law was taught in the Reformed School in this town since 1831.

In 1875 the Law Academy was completely constituted with a four-years course and still exists to-day as the only Reformed Law School of Hungary.

9. *Mármarossziget.* Law was first taught in the Reformed School of Máramarossziget in 1837. Out of this arose the Academy in 1869 with a two-years course. It was completely constituted with a four-years course in 1875. When the Roumanians occupied Máramarossziget, the Academy was ulitimately forced to remove to Hódmezővásárhely. There the difficulties increased, and eventually in 1924 it had to close down.

10. *Sárospatak.* Law was taught first of all here in the Reformed High School in 1708. From this beginning a law school was gradually developed which ended by being in 1875 a regular College of Law with a four-years curriculum. This institution ceased to exist in 1918.

11. *Eperjes.* Teaching of Law began in the Lutheran college in 1861 only. The four-years course was installed in 1878. The Eperjes Academy of Law was forced to leave Eperjes by the Czechs in 1918 and is now in Miskolc.

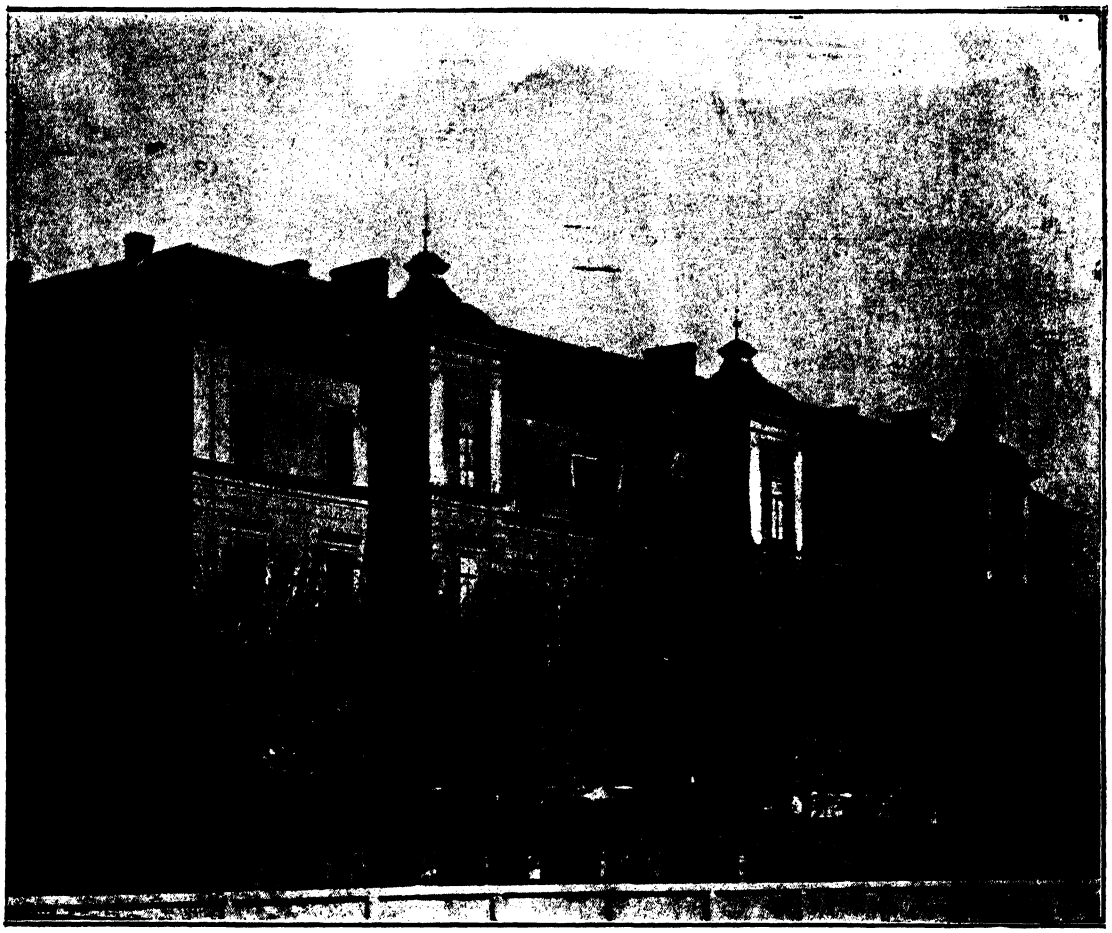
The three Academies of Law still existing in Eger, Kecskemét and Miskolc each have eight chairs and the numbers of students in the academic year 1925—26 enrolled were as follows: Eger 180, Kecskemét 534, Miskolc 369.

The importance of these academies is diminishing with the development of the newly founded universities. Their upkeep is mostly justified because of the interest of the various denominations. They do not receive any aid from the state.

h. A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SOPRON MINING ENGINEERING AND FORESTRY COLLEGE.

The aim of the college is the provision of the theoretical and practical training for engineers engaged in mining, metallurgical and forestry work, together with the systematic development of research in the sciences dealt with.

Of all the institutions of this kind in Europe, the first was the „École des ponts et chaussés" established in France in 1747, which served Maria Theresa as a model for the college which she founded in Selmecbánya in 1763. But even before this time we find that regular instruction in mining was provided in Hungary as early as 1735, for those engaded in working the valuable mines of the country. It was in this year that a court order appointed one Samuel Mikovényi, a member of the Berlin Academy and a distinguished hydraulic, road and bridge engineer, to undertake the direction of a school in Selmecbánya. According to the prospectus, Mikovényi alone had to teach mathematics, while four officials employed in the mines were appointed to supplement his lectures in practical mining subjects by demonstrations. The course extended over two years at the end of which pupils had to pass examinations in theory and in practice. Similar technical schools were founded by the government in 1747 in Szomolnok and in the Bánság. In these institutions theory occupied a decidedly secondary place. Their object was simply to provide the staff of the mines with an intelligent understanding of mining processes. The Selmec institution, established as already mentioned in 1763, grew according to the practical demands made upon it. In 1763 chairs were founded for the teaching of mineralogy, chemistry and metallurgy. In 1765 a chair of mathematics was added, and in 1770 a chair of mining. The reputation of the college was secured by the personalities of the first three professors. One of them Nicolaus Jaquin, who occupied the chair of metallurgy, was a renowned chemist; he later became a professor in Vienna University, and was made a baron in recognition of his achievments in science. — Equally renowned was the professor of mathematics, Nicolaus Boda, a Jesuit, who had previously been the superintendent of the Phisics Museum in Graz and was well known as a mathematician. Cristopher Delius Traugott was the professor of mining and the foremost authority in the subject in the Dual Monarchy. His textbook on mining which reveals a sound knowledge of his subject, must even be considered a



Clinic of Nervous and Mental Diseases. Pécs.

classic to-day. This book which was the first systematic work of its kind, with the concurrence of the Scientific Academy of Paris appeared also in a French translation.

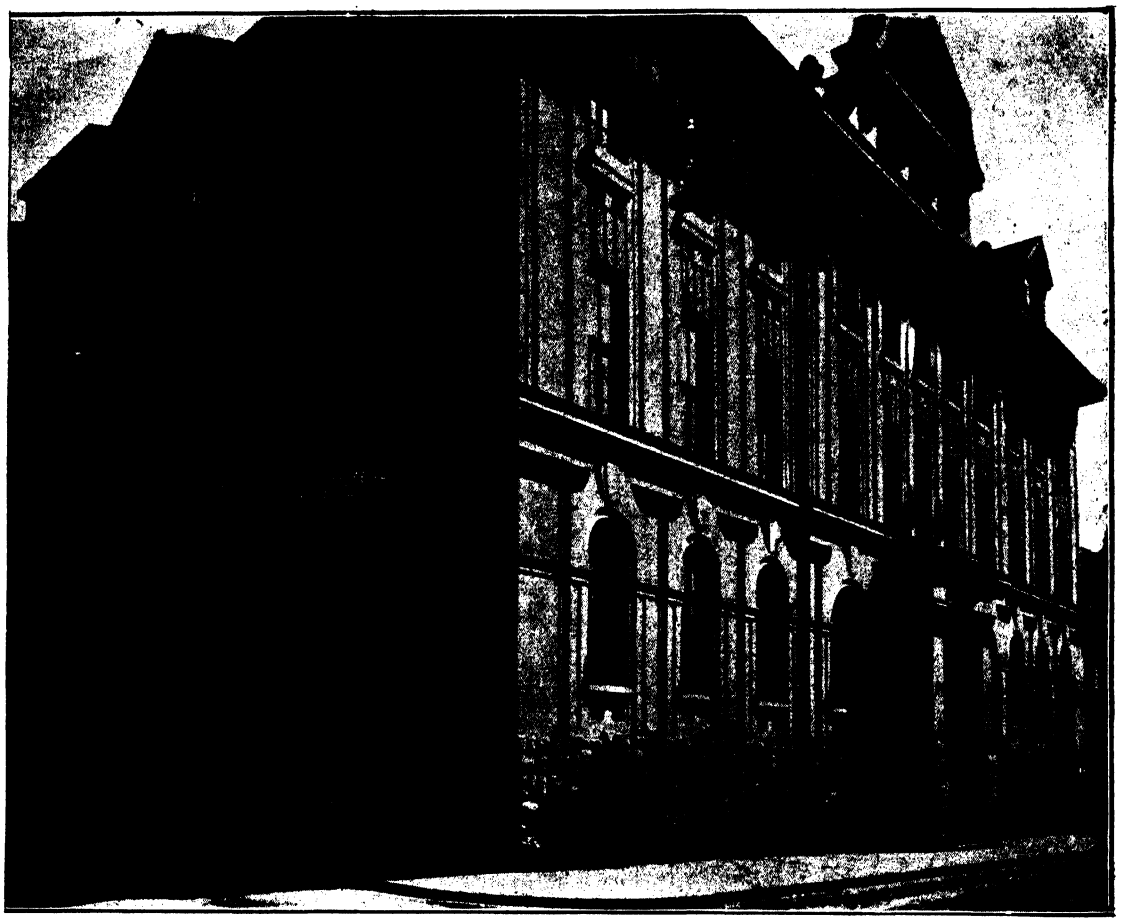
The curriculum extended over three years. In the first year subjects studied were mathematics and physics. In the second mineralogy, chemistry and metallurgy. In the third year mining in all its branches. The academic year lasted from the 1-st of January to December 31. It was only in 1834 that a vacation was granted for the months of September and October.

Because of its excellent laboratory achivements, the college won renown for its teaching method. So much so that every cultured nation in Europe was represented in its student body and, when the French state founded the Paris Polytechnique in 1794, it took the method of the Selmec college for its model.

2.

The years 1808 and 1809 are important dates in the history of the Selmec college for it was then, that the forestry department was opened and began its work.

Towards the end of XVIIIth century, with improvement of communications and the development of wood industries, the forest wealth of the country began to be appreciated as it had never been before. The care of the forests was not only considered to be important from the point of view of mining industry, but also from that of the state as a whole, and it demanded the establishment of special centres of instruction in the art. Modern ideas of forest culture and protection were given expression in legislative measures, taken by the Hungarian Diet in 1790. (Act. LVI. and LVII) and in 1807 (Acts XVII. XX. and XXI.). It was as a consequence of these Acts that



Clinic of Surgery Pécs.

the forestry department was formed in the Selmec College.

Originally the course of study extended over two years, but from 1811 a third year was added. The mining students were also obliged to attend certain forestry classes for four hours a week during two years.

In 1838 the forestry institute was amalgamated with the mining academy and from that year the institution was known as Mining and Forestry Academy.

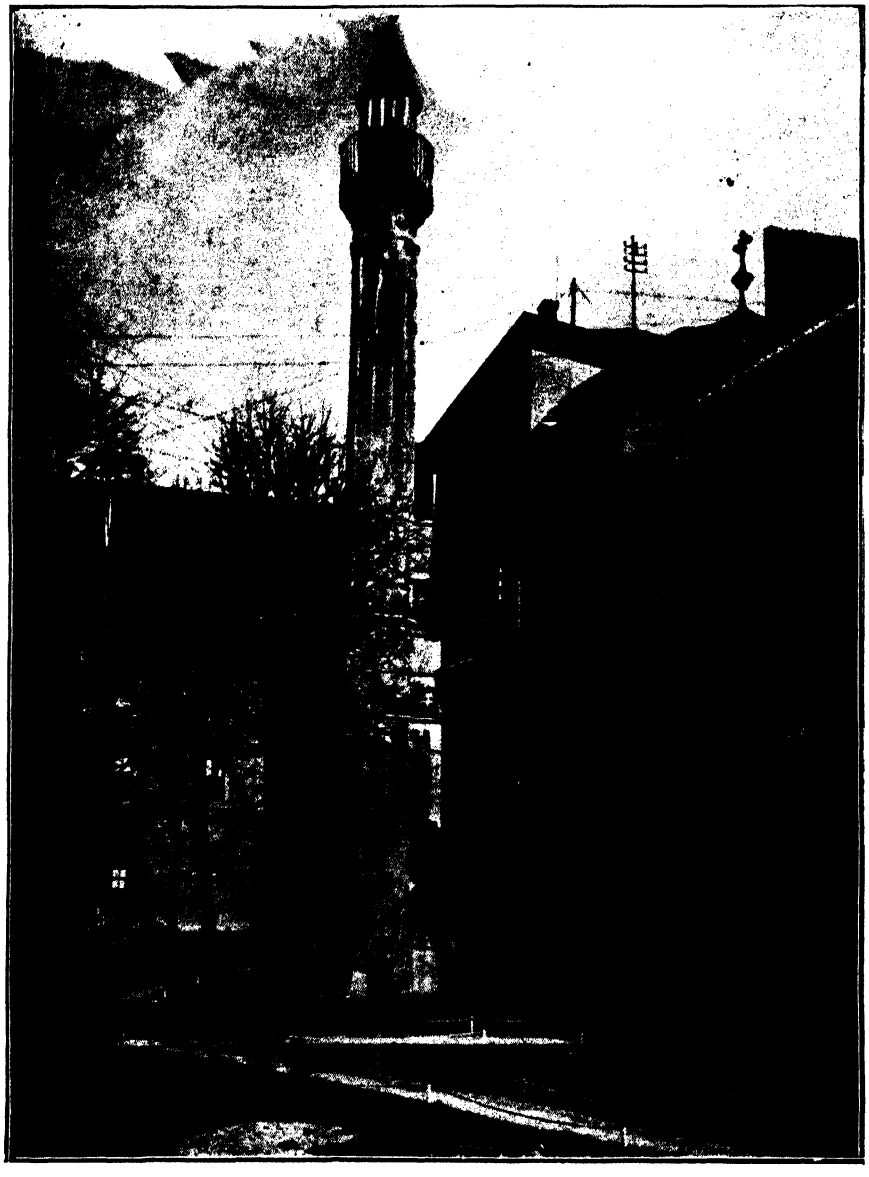
In 1846 the united institution adopted a new system of organisation with the approval of the higher authorities. The Senatus at this time included the principal and six ordinary professors. The Senatus and its activities were controlled directly by the Emperor himself. In the mining department the curriculum was spread over four years and, to avoid the danger of overburdening the students, it was ordained that in any one semester no student should take more than two classes besides the class in engineering drawing. The mining and forestry students studied together for the first year in lower and higher mathematics, geometry, physics, mechanics. The mining students took the classes of chemistry, mineralogy and architecture in their second year. In the third year they attended classes in geology palaeontology, practical mining, mining law, civil law, mechanical engineering; in their final year they took classes in mining surveying mining equipment, metallurgy, marketing, minting, book-keeping. The forestry students in their second year took classes in chemistry, geology, architecture, in their third year they attended the classes of botany, zoology, practical forestry management and forest surveying. To all these classes practical training was attached.

The new system, however, hardly been begun when the work of the school was rudly interrupted by the outbreak of the war for Hungarian freedom in 1848. The

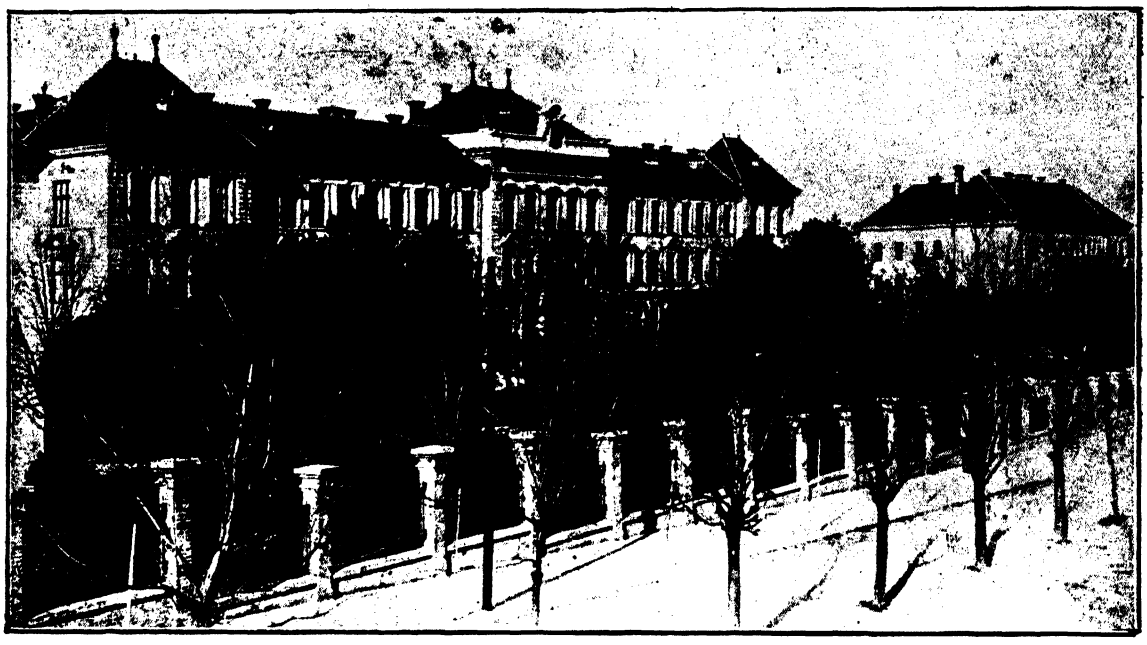
students fired with patriotic zeal, rallied in a body to the standard of Kossuth.

And then on the 16th of March 1849, the Vienna Camarilla closed the doors of the college as a punishment. The foreign students severed their connection with the Selmec college for good, while the Hungarians were obliged to finish their studies in the colleges of Vordenberg, Leoben and Pribram, respectively. When the college was reopened in 1850, it resumed its work on the basis of its 1846 organisation. But the order of study during the absolutism underwent certain changes in order to keep pace with the wider development of the mining and metallurgical industries. Special advance was made in the teaching of mechanical engineering and metallurgy.

Since the amalgamation several distinguished men taught in the college. Joseph Schittko wrote a standard work on Hydraulic Engineering, and was the inventor of the rotary hydraulic engine. Joseph Russegger, an Imperial privy councillor, won European reputation by his works on the treatment of ores; he also made seve-



The Yard of the Clinic, of Ophtalmology and Internal Diseases with and old Minaret. Pécs.



Central Buildings of Sopron Mining Engineering and Forestry College.

ral scientific journeys in Asia and Africa and published the results in several books; in recognition of this he was made a member of numerous scientific societies. Gabriel Svatcser was an inventor of some distinction.

3.

When the Hungarian institution in 1867 was restored, the college entered a new area of its existence. It had been hitherto a school designed to serve the technical needs of the Dual Monarchy, but now it became exlusively a Hungarian state institution. The Ministry of Finance had full responsibility for its supervision and instead of the German language which had been before the official language, the Hungarian language was adopted, both of administration and instruction. The work of reorganisation was directed by Stephen Farbaky between 1872—76, and from this time the college was devided into five departments; 1. Mining, 2. General Metallurgy; 3. Iron Mining and Metallurgy; 4. Mechanics and Architecture and 5. Forestry. After attending three years, students in Forestry, aspiring to the title of forest engineers, had to take an extra year studying technical subjects.

The college became autonomous. Its principal, as well as the vice-principal, and the heads of each department, were elected by the Senatus out of their own number. These elections were confirmed by the King himself.

The year 1904 was an important date in the history of this college; for it was then that a thorough reorganisation took place, and the whole institution brought into line with modern universities. The college was governed by a Senatus with the principal, elected every second year, at its head. It was under the control of the Ministries of Finance and Agriculture. Four departments were formed, Mining, General Metallurgy, Iron Mining and Metallurgy, Forestry, the heads of which were ex officio members of the Senatus.

The curriculum extended over four years, term examinations were compulsory and the Engineering Diploma was only awarded when a student had done satisfactory practical work for two years after passing out of the college. This Diploma was held to be of equal value with that of the Budapest University of Technical Sciences.

4.

Then in 1914 the storm of war broke upon the college just when it had reached its ter-jubilee. The students for the most part were called to colours, and the most

Building of Research Laboratories. Sopron.

that could be done for them was to allow them leave at intervals to put in a few weeks study and attend some lectures. In this way they were prevented from getting out of touch completely with their work. These were trying times, but worse were to come. It was peace which brought the worst upon the college. Selmecbánya fell to a foreign power and the college, as a Hungarian institution, had to seek a home elsewhere within the boundaries of mutilated Hungary.

It was the town of Sopron which received the honour of providing accomodation for the Mining and Forestry College. At first the Károlyi barracks were placed at the disposal of the professors and students, but eventually they entered into permament possession of buildings which had formerly been the premises of a military academy.

The whole, professors assistants and students, left Selmecbánya in a body as refugees.

The loss was enormous. The college at Selmec had been liberally endowed with all that was necessary for a first class institution of its kind. Besides the costly equipment of its laboratories, it possessed, for instance, an experimental forest of its own, extending over about 20.000 acres in which was to be found every kind of appliance, employed in the art of forestry. Everything had to be left behind. The loss was felt all the more, because the aim of the college was deliberatedly to fill out the theoretical instruction of engineers with practical training. Deprived as it was of the means necessary for scientific research and instruction, and inspite of the rule of terror set up by the Bolsheviks and the fresh threat of eviction during the time when Hungary's right to Sopron was even disputed, the work of the college, nevertheless, never ceased.

The Budapest Technical University and other bodies came to the rescue, and with brotherly generosity made over to the college their duplicates of those instruments which are indispensible to a scientific institution. The state allowed it a credit of several millions of gold crowns for purposes of equipment and reorganisation. The town of Sopron granted a lease on the most favourable terms, and besides presented it with about 4000 acres of wood-

land for experimental purposes, and certain rights over other 8000 acres. The Hungarian mining and smelting companies, together with the greater forest proprietors, made liberal grants of money, machinery and equipment which to some extent helped to make good the losses which the college had sustained. It is to this enthusiastic support, that our thanks are due for the success which we have been able to win in carrying on our task of instructing our youth.

5.

With the other changes there were also several changes made in the conditions of governing the granting of diplomas. Instead of the state final examination which the student had formerly to pass after he had attended four years of lectures and done two years practical work in addition, the diploma of the college was now ordained to be granted to those who should successfully pass two examinations, one held at the end of the second year of study and the other at the end of the fourth year.

The two years of practical training which had before a necessary precondition of taking the diploma, were now abolished.

In their place the students have now been required to take their practical training during the long vacations of the academic year. By this reform the Mining and Forestry College has been brought into line as to the practice prevailing with the Budapest Technical University and other similar bodies.

i. THE ROYAL HUNGARIAN VETERINARY COLLEGE.

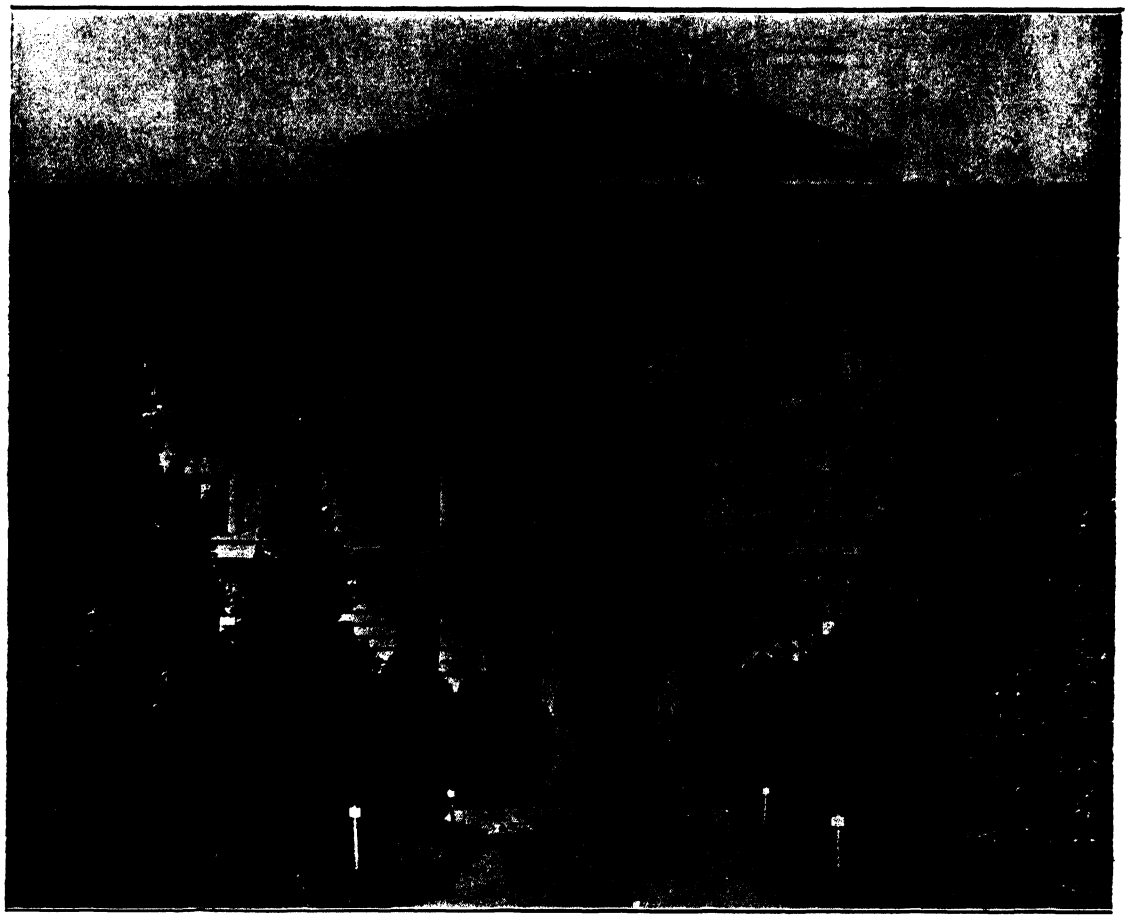
This college exists under the supreme direction of the Ministry of Agriculture as a University College to provide scientific and technical instruction in veterinary science. It has the privilege of conferring degrees on its students, it offers facilities for research work in every department of veterinary surgery and medicine, while its professors are frequently consulted as experts in cases of legal dispute.

History. The first veterinary college was established in the XVIIIth century in France with a view to find some way to check the ravages made by epidemics, especially by the „Eastern cattle fever" among the cattle. Joseph II in 1782 with the same end in view, decided to establish a chair of veterinary medicine in the Faculty of Medicine in Budapest University. And so Alex. *Tolnay* began to lecture on this subject in 1787. At first, the instruction given was purely theoretical, but later, from 1790 onwards, practical work was added. In 1799 a special institute was built for the prosecution of veterinary surgecy and medicine as a special study. It was a very primitive affair with a body of very mixed students, some of them with nothing more than an elementary education, young blacksmiths e. g. who wanted to spend 8 months in a year learning the rudiments of the veterinary art. While the veterinary college, however, was regarded as attached to the Faculty of Medicine, it was unable to make the progress, desirable and necessary. And so in 1851, due largerly to the energies of William *Zlamál*, a final separation was made from the University Faculty of Medicine.

After that the status of the college raised, so that by 1859 it could demand of its students that they should have finished the fourth year in a secondary school, before being eligible for entrance, while the shortest curriculum which could be taken in the college was one of two years.

From that point this institution never looked back. In 1880 it moved into new premises specially built for it in Rottenbiller Street; the standard of entrance was raised, the curriculum was lenghtened and finally reached the point of being recognised as a university college in 1899, when Francis Joseph appointed Dr. Francis Hutyra as its Rector. Since that time the preliminary qualification of a Higher School Leaving Certificate has been made obligatory on all students and the normal curriculum extended to spread over 8 terms with an additional 9-th term of practical work since 1924.

Organisation. At the head of the College, stands the Rector, elected for a period of two years by the professional body. The members of the Senatus are all the ordinary professors and half as many of the



A Group of the Central Building. Sopron.

Agricultural Academy, Debrecen.

extraordinary professors. Both ordinary and extraordinary professors are appointed by the state on the nomination of the Senatus. Other members of the College staff are appointed by the University of Agriculture.

Course of Studies. The full course extends over 9 terms. During the first four terms, the students must attend classes, dealing with such natural scientific and judical subjects as form a basis for the special study of veterinary medicine and surgery.

From the 5th to the 8th term the student is engaged in specialised study, both theoretical and practical, of veterinary science. Thereafter he must pass his final qualifying examinations and then spend a term doing practical work at some abbattoir or one of the state farms. Only after he has completed this post-graduate practical training, does he receive his diploma.

The doctor's degree is conferred upon such graduates of the college as have conducted some special research work in veterinary science or medicine or some related subject, to the complete satisfaction of the Senatus and after passing a set examination.

The Staff of the College consists of 9 ordinary professors, holding the chairs of

1. Animal Epidemics and Forensic Veterinary Medicine; 2. Pharmacy; 3. Internal diseases; 4. Bacteriology; 5. Anatomy; 6. Animal Rearing; 7. Chemistry; 8. Veterinary Surgery and Ophtalmology; 9. Pathology. There are four extraordinary professors, holding the chairs of 1. Dairy Hygiene; 2. Immunification; 3. Veterinary Obstetrics; 4. Physics. Lectures are also given by private docents and assistants.

The Institutes of the College. These are all grouped together on the Rottenbiller Street site.

The institutes include those of Anatomy, Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Pharmacy, Pathology, Farriery, Epidemics, Bacteriology.

There are medical and surgical clinics. In the former 31 horses, 8 oxen, 50 dogs, 5 cats and 20 birds can be accomodated. Besides this, there are isolation stables and loose-boxes for infectious diseases. The surgical clinic has room for 28 larger and for 20 smaller animals.

j. AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

The oldest and for a long time only institutions devoted to agricultural education were the agricultural colleges, now known as Agricultural Academies. Besides these, certain experimental research stations were set up in which a living touch was kept with the progress made in the scientific treatment of the art of agriculture.

Of these institutions the first place must be given to the Magyaróvár College which is the oldest and which, until 1906, was the only one to rank as an Academy: i. e. the only one for entrance to which a Higher School Leaving Certificate was necessary.

The history of this college extends over four well defined periods. It existed 1. as a private institution from 1818 to 1848; 2. as a Royal and Imperial State School, from 1850 to 1860; 3. as a Royal Hungarian Agricultural College from 1869—1874 and finally, 4. as Royal Hungarian Agricultural Academy from 1874. The college was founded by the Archduke Albert Casimir, the son-in-law of Maria Theresa, in 1818. According to his own statement, this foundation was meant to be a testimony of the goodwill and attention which the prince bore to the Hungarians, among whom he had spent the happiest years of his life as the Viceregent of the King. The new college was erected at the Archduke's own expense and intended by him to be a gift to the nation and to the county of Moson in particular. In the beginning the chief aim of the college was to furnish a supply of trained stewards for the Archduke's extensive estates. At the same time, entry into the college was always free to everyone and, as a matter of fact, its students were drawn not only from Hungary, but from other countries as well. To start with, Latin and German were the two languages used in the classes. The events of 1848 put an end to the work of this institution in its original form.

After the tumults of the Liberty War the Imperial-Royal Government of that time decided to establish an agricultural

school. The goud reputation of the Magyaróvár College and the advanced state of agriculture in the neighbourhood of the town decided them to select Magyaróvár as the site of the new school. Heinrich Wilhelm Pabst, rector of the Hohenheim Agricultural Academy, was appointed to take charge of the new institution. He served as Head for eighty years and was succeeded by Anthony Masch, one of his professors. After the „Ausgleich" the Hungarian government took over the school and in 1874 it was raised to the status of a Royal Hungarian Agricultural Academy. At that time and until 1884 both Hungarian and German were used in the lectures, parallel classes being formed to admit of this. After 1884 the German courses of lectures ceased; the Academy was thoroughly magyarized and the Higher School Leaving Certificate was categorically demanded from every candidate for entrance. The task of making a purely Hungarian institution of this Academy and of developing the instruction given in it was entrusted to Árpád *Balás*, who had been rector of the Keszthely Agricultural College. Balás remained as the Head of the Magyaróvár Agricultural Academy till 1898 in which year he was appointed superintendent of the new Agricultural Museum in Budapest.

Agricultural Academy, Magyaróvár. The Old Castle.

It was in this Magyaróvár School, that scientific research work in agriculture was first done in Hungary. Experimental laboratories were attached to the various chairs, viz.: the Agricultural Chemistry Experimental Station, the Seed Testing Station, Agricultural Machinery Experimentary Station, three Botanical Experimental Stations, a Dairy Research Station.

The story of Keszthely Agricultural College falls into two divisions or three, if we count the agricultural school which existed prior to the founding of the present College. There were, 1st: the „Georgicon" Agricultural School from 1797 to 1848, 2nd: The Royal Hungarian Agriculture College from 1864 to 1906 and 3d: The Royal Hungarian Agricultural Academy from 1906. The „Georgicon" Institution was founded by Count George Festetich in 1797, five years earlier, that is to say, than the foundation at Celle of the first Agricultural School in Germany by Albrecht Thaer. The purpose of this school was again to supply scientifically trained stewards for the magnate's great estates. The college, however, developed so much, that in 1808 it comprised eight different kinds of schools. It numbered several distinguished scientists among its professors, 97 of whom served on its staff during the fifty years of its existence. The number of students

Agricultur Academy, Magyaróvár. Old Castle Gate, now the Entrance of the Academy.

enrolled during that time also was 1444 from every part of the country. The „Georgicon" came to an end in 1848 when, on the 24 of May, its students in a body marched off to join the Hungarian Army in the Liberty War. It was not until 1864 that the Keszthely Agricultural College was reconstructed in consequence of the demand for an agricultural college where the teaching would be given in Hungarian, to supplement the work of the Magyaróvár institution, where German alone was employed. Both the respect for the past and the selfsacrificing zeal of the Count Taszilo Festetich, a descendant of the founder of the „Georgicon", and of several organisations, moved the government to establish the new college in Keszthely.

The new institution was in danger more than once of being detached from its original purpose of agricultural education, but the scientific work of its professors, their success in various appointments as well as local circumstance secured its position and it eventually took its place in the ranks of Hungarian agricultural academies.

Of all these agricultural academies the youngest is Debrecen. It was established in 1866, in which year the town council donated the income from 400 jochs of land in perpetuity together with the lease of another 200 jochs for the purpose of the establishing a College of Agriculture and Forestry in which instruction should be conveyed in Hungarian language. The history of this school falls into 4 divisions. 1. From 1868—1876 it was, to begin with, an agricultural school with a two-years course, requiring a preparatory „gymnasium" training from its students. 2. From 1876 to 1906, it was a Royal Hungarian Agricultural College with a three-years course. The first year was spent in practical work and during it the students lived on the college farm outside the town. The next two years were devoted to theoretical studies, pursued in the college itself in Debrecen. In 1901 the whole college moved out to its farm lands on the Pallag Puszta, where new buildings had been erected to its accomodation. 3. From 1906 it was existed as a Royal Hungarian Agricultural Academy with a three-years course. During the war, since most of its professors and students went to the Army, its work was interrupted and its building used as a military hospital. In 1921, ho-

Girls' College of Agriculture, Putnok.

wever, it resumed its natural function once more.

The total numbers of students enrolled in the various colleges since the war are as follows:

	Magyaróvár	Keszthely	Debrecen	Total
1920/21	456	337	310	1104
1921/22	416	413	378	1197
1922/23	385	392	490	1167
1923/24	329	329	502	1161
1924/25	322	282	492	1096
1925/26	282	224	400	906

Organisation. At the head of each college, there is a rector, who is appointed by the government. He is assisted by ordinary professors and assistants. The Ministry of Agriculture is responsible for the general supervision. The affairs of the colleges themselves are directed by a Senatus, composed of the professors with the rector at their head.

Curriculum. Students desiring to enter these colleges must first posses a Higher School Leaving Certificate. The curriculum consists of three years or six terms. In the first year, attention is principally given to practical work, so some instruction in agricultural theory must also be taken.

Time Table.

	Year					
	1		2		3	
	Semester					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Chemistry	3	3	—	—	—	—
Physics	2	2	—	—	—	—
Agricultural Botany	4	4	—	—	—	—
Agrogeology	2	2	—	—	—	—
Vet. Anatomy	2	2	—	—	—	—
Biology	2	2	—	—	—	—
Practical Horti- & Viticulture	3*	3*	—	—	—	—
Practical Agriculture	—	—	6	6	—	—
Animal-breeding	—	—	6	6	—	—
Dairy-farming	—	—	1	1	—	—
Agr. Mechanics	—	—	3	3	—	—
Surveying	—	—	1	1	—	—
Agr. Zoology	—	—	2	2	—	—
Botanic Pathology	—	—	1	1	—	—
Economics & Marketing	—	—	—	—	11	11
Law and Administration	—	—	—	—	4	4
Veterinary Science	—	—	—	—	6	6

Note: The figures refer to hours, except those marked * means-half-a-day.

Colloquiums and qualifying examinations are held in regular intervals. The first by the various professors, the second by a special examination committee of which the rector is the president. Certificates are marked: „Excellent", „Good",

„Satisfactory" and „Not satisfactory" and when the student has completed his curriculum successfully, he is awarded a diploma.

Buildings et equipment. The Magyaróvár Academy was first of all housed in the old castle, standing on the outskirts of the town. When the three years course was introduced, however, the premises proved to be too small, and so a new building was constructed in 1910 near the old castle. In addition a new farm was built half-an-hour's distance from the town. The various experimental laboratories and stations were fitted up in a modern way with everything necessary for the efficient discharge of their functions. In addition there is an excellent library, containing 18.598 volumes.

In Keszthely the Agricultural Academy stands in the middle of the town. The lands of its experimental farm lie outside the town, but the steading is separated from the town only by the breadth of a street. This college is also well appointed with stock and land, experimental vineyards and gardens etc. A special department is devoted to silk worm culture. In all there are 36 permanent buildings. The library contains 14.953 volumes.

The buildings of the Debrecen College are grouped to form a little colony in the middle of the college's estate on the Pallag Puszta, 7 miles from Debrecen. This institution is also excellently equipped with 32 separate large buildings and extensive lands, on which all kinds of practical demonstrations are possible and including a small wood for special forestry studies. There is, moreover, a library which contains 11.521 volumes. Here also the state conducts its experiments with its tobacco. A meteorological station, one of the official observatories of the Meteorological Office, is also worked in connection with the College.

HUNGARIAN ARCHITECTURE.

BY

PROFESSOR **CH. CSÁNYI**
DIRECTOR OF THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS MUSEUM,
BUDAPEST.

REMAINS OF ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN HUNGARY.

Before the dismemberment of our country it was rich in remains of historical interest and artistic value. These were especially numerous in Northern and Eastern Hungary, or Transylvania. The rest of Hungary, more or less the present territory of Hungary, but especially the Great Hungarian Plain had to endure the Turkish dominion for 150 years. During that time not only many fine buildings, but also many communities were destroyed. Traces of these can be found in the district surrounding Debrecen, as Louis Oltay, the curator of the Debrecen Museum, has recently shown.

After the advent of Christianity, i. e. from the time of St. Stephen, ca. 1000 A. D. until the end of the Árpád dynasty, there was much architectorial activity in the country. Monasteries were built in which to settle the monks, (e. g. Pannonhalma, Tihany, Jaák, Lébény etc.) cathedrals were built in the different dioceses (e. g. Székesfehérvár, Esztergom, Győr, Pécs, Nagyvárad, Gyulafehérvár, Kalocsa etc.). Remains in the Gothic style were numerous (e. g. Pozsony, Kassa, Brassó etc.).

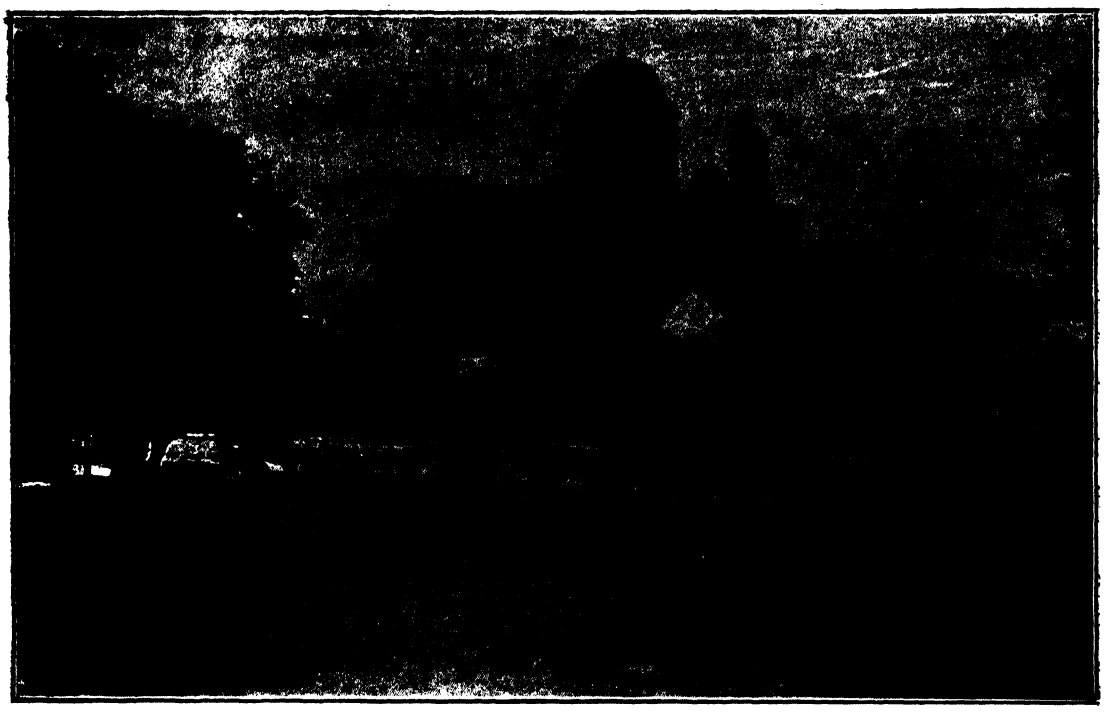
Owing to constant relations with Italy, the effects of Italian Renaissance were first felt in Hungary. We know that King Matthias gave commission to Italian artists, not only in Italy, but also in Hungary e. g. Benedetto da Majano, Giovanni Dalmata etc. The beautiful royal palace in Buda, begun by King Sigismund in Gothic style and finished in Renaissance style by King Matthias, was destroyed in the last struggle with the Turks when the Turks were driven out from Buda in 1686. The Turkish occupation dates from 1526, the date of the Mohács disaster, and lasted for 150 years. This arrested the national development. The nation lost heart. The capital of the Habsburg Kings being outside of Hungary, there was no further royal support forthcoming for Hungarian architecture. The aristocracy and the higher clergy took their place as patrons of building in the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. This is specially true of the XVIIIth century and after the expulsion of the Turks, when both architecture and kindred arts had a notable expansion (e. g. the buildings of Count Charles Eszterházy and of the Bishop of Eger, the cathedrals of Nagyvárad, Győr, Szombathely, the churches of Pápa, Sümeg, Tihany, Miskolc and Győr, and the chateaux of Kismarton, Eszterháza and Pápa).

The XIXth century is not so rich in notable architectural remains as the preceding. It is only in the second half of the century, especially in the seventies, that we see a welcome improvement. Excellent representatives of every department of architecture made their appearance. Budapest, the heart of the country, at that time began to look what it was, one of the great cities of the world.

In what follows, considerations of space compel me to give what is only a short sketch of the more important sights and remains. The sketch makes no claim to completeness.

I. ROMAN REMAINS.

Aquincum, on the site of the present Óbuda. This was a Roman military station. The name is of Celtic origin (ak-ink means abundant water). This was the land of the Eraviscus tribe. The Romans recognising the military importance of the place, occupied it during the reign of Domitian (81—96. A. D.). First of all they built a simple *castrum*, and round this merchants and others settled in tents and huts *(canabae)*. Under Hadrian (117—138. A. D.) it became a *municipium*, under Septimius Severus (192—211) a colony (Colonia Septimia Acquincum). It was the headquarter



Esztergom Cathedral.

of the second legion. It was connected by a bridge with Transacquincum which stood on the opposite bank of the Danube. It was here that in 375 the legions acclaimed Valentinian II. as Emperor. In those days the town stretched as far as Ujlak to the south and up to the hill on the west, while towards the east included the present Shipyard Island. Óbuda was built on the ruins of the Roman town. Its population was possibly as large as 60.000. Ultimately the troops were withdrawn for the defence of Italy (400. A. D.) and the civil population dispersed.

But the Huns and Avars plundered it; nevertheless, a large part of the ruined town was still standing when the Hungarians arrived. And in the XIth century when Óbuda was built on the site, the ruins supplied the builders with their building material. Excavations were attempted as early as the end of the XVIIIth century and the beginning of the XIXth century. But systematic digging only began in 1878, on the initiative of Alexander Havas de Gömör (1879—82). Charles Torma excavated the amphiteatre between 1882—88. Latterly excavations were directed by dr. Kuzsinszky.

Principal features:

a) *Aquaeduct.* Outside of Óbuda towards the Roman Baths, the bases of the pillars still visible.

b) *Amphiteatre.* Elliptical groundplan. The longer axis 86 metres, the shorter 75. Two entrences lead to the arena, which was surrounded by a tier of the auditorium. It had a tiled roof; there were five *carceres* for the wild beasts. A shrine, sacred to the goddess Nemesis, was built at a later date at the west gate.

c) *The town.* Entering the town from the north gate, the palaestra lay on the right hand. On the opposite side of the street there was the public bath and further on to the south the *market place,* surrounded by small booths or shops *(tabernae).* Further on were the *citizens' houses.* To the east of these was a *second public bath.* In the bathroom of a neighbouring house there was a *mosaic,* representing athletes wrestling.

Lasthly there is a *Mithras shrine.* Mithras was an ancient Persian god, the personification of the sun, worshipped as the patron and protector of all good. As such he became widely known over the whole east until at last the Romans adopted the cult. Under the emperors the Graeco-Ro-

man religion steadily lost ground and people readily turned to new gods. Thus the Persian Mithras became popular. The element of mystery in the cult together with its kinship with Christianity in idea helped it to become a vogue especially among soldiers. Mithras was worshipped in caves especially and so the Romans wherever possible gave his temples the character of caves.

Trajan in A. D. 99—100 constructed the road through the Kazán Pass in the Lower Danube country. Over this the Romans pushed into Dacia. They built an excellent bridge between Turn Severin and Kladowa and in 106—107 completely subjugated the country. In commemoration of this they built out of the spoil the great Trajan column in Rome, on which the events of the Dacian campaign are illustrated by a series of reliefs. Remains of Roman architecture are to be found in Transylvania at Várhely, the old Sarmisegetusa and at Gyulafehérvár, the Apulum of the Romans.

II. EARLY CHRISTIAN TIMES.

Christianity reached Hungary in the third century. Celebrated remains of the Early Christian period are to be met with in Trans-Danubia at Pécs, the most important early Christian remains indeed this side of the Alps. The cathedral square was an ancient Christian cemetery and there has been discovered a burial chamber (Cubiculum) 3.22 metres long, 2.82 m. broad and 2.21 m. high. It has a vaulted roof and is adorned with wall paintings representing Jonah and the whale, in the style of the catacombs in Rome.

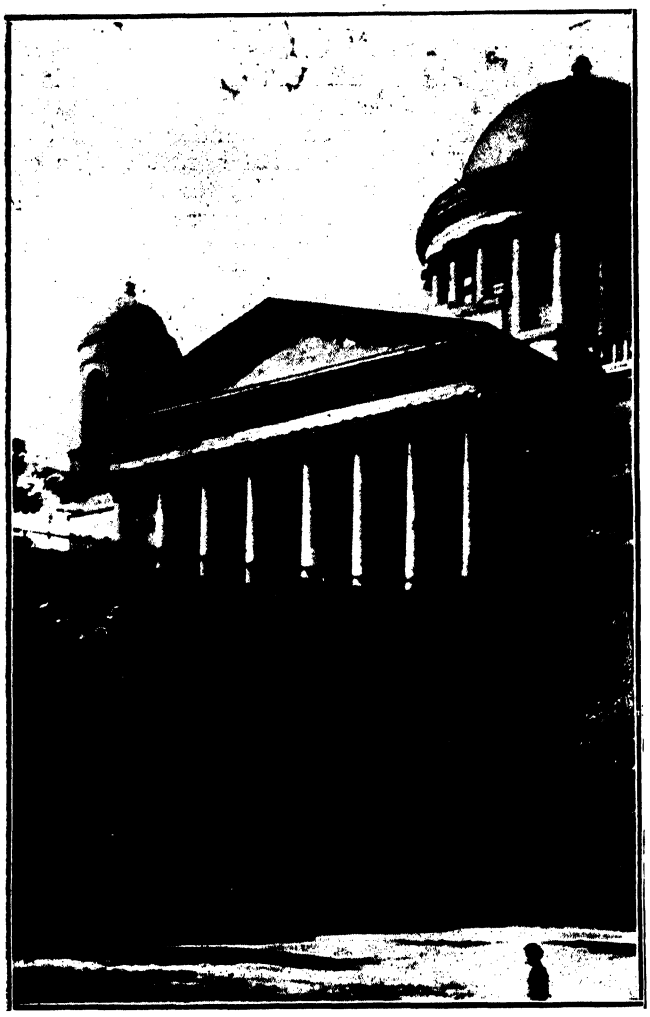
After this came the barbarian invasions, a time of great confusion, until in the IXth century the Hungarians occupied the land and under St. Stephen, their King, took their destined place among the Christian nations of Europe.

III. THE ROMAN PERIOD.

Hungarian architecture and Hungarian Christianity are contemporary. Wherever the Hungarians found a Roman city to be habitable, there they settled. This determines the point of departure for Hungarian architecture, once they adopted Christianity. The pagan Hungarians sacrificed in the woods or by springs in the open, that is to say, and preferred to live in camps. The Christian religion, on the other hand, demanded churches and monasteries for the monks who came to settle in Hungary. Then cathedrals were built in the episcopal cities. St. Stephen even began the work of church organisation. Among the church built in his time we know most about the Coronation Cathedral Church of Székesfehérvár, but besides this, important cathedrals were built at Esztergom and Kalocsa. Smaller churches were often built of wood. St. Stephen ordered a church to be built for every ten villages. Pannonha'ma was the first monastery which was built. It was begun by Géza between 996—1001. The Benedictines were the first order to enter the Kingdom. Thus e. g. Astrich came from Meserits and at the foot of Mecsek Hill he founded Pécsvárad (998—999). The King founded churches but it was Queen Gizella who equipped them (e. g. the Coronation robe 1031). It was from the Bakony abbacy that St. Gellért (of Italian origin) was called to be bishop of Marosvár.

A) The Cathedrals.

Székesfehérvár This was the new capital. According to the chronicle, St. Stephen had gained a great victory over the Bulgarian prince Keán in 1028 and much booty fell into his hands after it. But he had founded the royal church before this. Bishop Hartwik, during King Kálmán's reign, wrote of this church in terms of the highest praise. It was of the Roman Early Christian type and preserved its original character till the time of Béla III. Under Louis the Great it underwent a thoroughgoing renovation and collapsed in 1601. From the excavations of last century we know what were the original features. In 1862 Henszlman made a systematic excavation of the southern section and in 1864 published the results. In 1874 he excavated another section falling within the courtyard of the bishop's palace and here he brought the apse and the northern part



The Cathedral with the „Dark Gate", Esztergom.

of the old church to light. It was a 3 naved pillar basilica with a semicircular apse on the east side. The church had a level wooden ceiling. Something still remains of its mosaics. St. Stephen was buried here in 1038.

Esztergom.

St. Stephen built the original church in honour of the Blessed Virgin and St. Adalbert. After Székesfehérvár we may consider this to have been the most beautiful structure of the time. It perished by fire between 1188—1198 and in its place Archbishop Job built a new church circa 1200, with a marble triumphal arch in the Italian style and supporting pillars whose pediments are certified to have been carved in the form of lions. One George Széles an XVIIIth century priest, described the building in detail and in the same century Menyhért Klimó, a canon, painted the gate. Its last remaining ruins were blown up in 1823 to make way for the houses of the canons which stand to-day.

According to tradition, it was in one of the houses of the citadel, which stood on the site of the present *Chapel of St. Stephen*, that St. Stephen was born. This chapel is built on a rectangular ground plan with a central pillar and groined arches. It is possibly of XIIth century origin.

Pécs.

Pécs cathedral rose under Roman-Italian influences. Tradition ascribes the building of the first church to King Peter, who wished to perpetuate his memory by imposing building edificies. The cathedral was 66 metres long and 22 broad so that in dimension alone it was a structure of some consequence. Fire destroyed it in 1064. The sanctuary ended in 3 semicircular apses. A crypt projects under the sanctuary, 26 m. long. Towers rise at the 4 corners as in a Roman fort, typical examples of the Hungarian 4 tower arrangement. The 3 naves of the church are divided by 6 pairs of pillars. Several fragments have remained from the XIth century church.

On the arcaded frieze we can see head shaped consoles such as are to be found in Italy and France. The metal work of the altar which stood in front of the sanctuary may date back to the XIIth century. So may its groined roof. The lion figures worked into the scheme of decoration bear witness to the influence of Italian art. The crypt staircase is unique in Hungary, with its reliefs illustrating the sories of Adam and Eve and Samson from the Old Testament and the birth of Jesus, the Three Kings, the Massacre of the Innocents, the Flight into Egypt, from the New. Here also we find a dependence on North Italian art, for on the facade of the cathedral of Modena there are XIIth century reliefs by Willigelmus with similar themes. It is probable that both craftsmen worked from si-

milar patterns and ivory carvings at that time generally popular.

Pécs cathedral has undergone several restorations. In style of plan it is purely Roman. The ceiling was originally flat. In 1303 it was burned down and when it was restored in 1335 it was vaulted with Gothic roof, which nearly proved to be a fatal blunder. The lateral pressure of the vaulting was such that two rows of chapel had to be built in order to take it.

During the Turkish occupation of the XVIth and XVIIth century, according to Szilágyi, it was first a hay store, then a stable and lastly a school. At the beginning of the XVIIIth century it was burned down in the Rákóczy wars. Michaeel Pollák, who built the National Museum, restored it at the beginning of the XIXth century.

Between 1882—1891 the cathedral was rebuilt to the plans of the Viennese Frederick Schmidt.

Győr.

Nothing remains of the church built by St. Stephen. The Roman parts of the cathedral date from the best period of the style. Such are the apse and the nothern side. Bishop Omodé restored it, 1254—1267. On the eastern side there were three semicircular apses. In Turkish times they strengthened it as part of the citadel's defence and under the rule of the Sultans it was used as a stable.

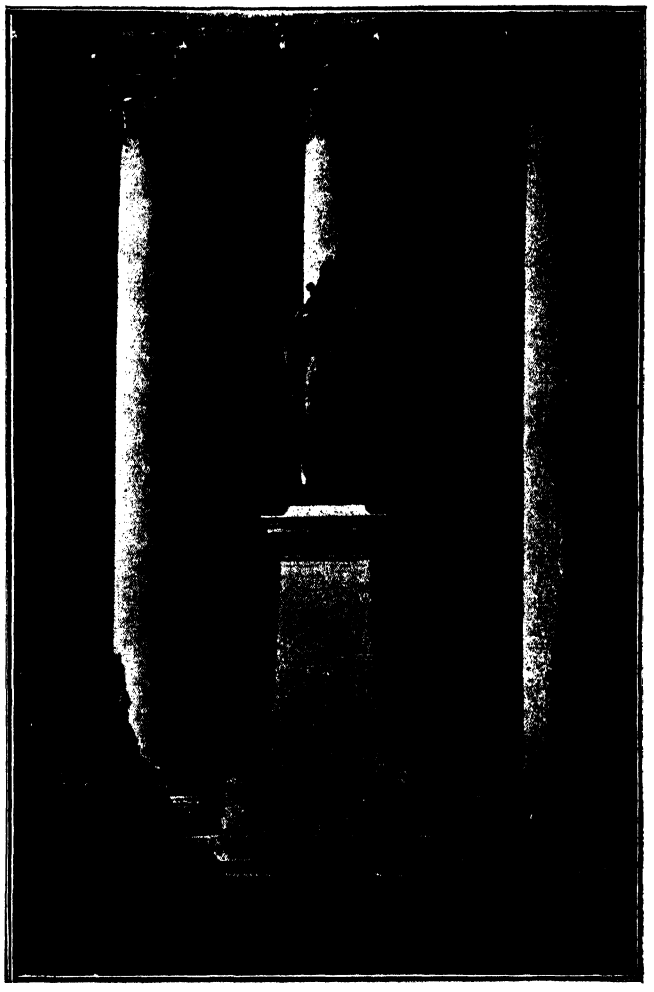
At the end of the XVth century it was furnished with Gothic arches. In the XVIIth century it was rebuilt, and at that time the existence of the Roman chapel was threatened. During the second half of the XVIIIth century the interior was richly ornamented by Bishop Zichy.

Veszprém.

Remains of the Roman cathedral came to light during the last restoration but they were again built into the walls of the new building.

Gizella chapel. Built in the transition style and so we may place its building in the XIIIth century, for some of the arches are pointed. Tradition says that Gizella, St. Stephen's Queen founded it but there is nothing to support this claim. The present chapel is the lower part of a double chapel. In it the wall painting are worthy of special attention, the figures of the apostles adorn the side wall. Unfortunately they were painted over in 1772, but two of them, Peter and John, remain in fairly good state of preservation.

Keystones with agnus dei and other ornamentations brighten up the roof. Some capitals from the upper chapel can be seen on the party-wall of the adjoining canons' house.

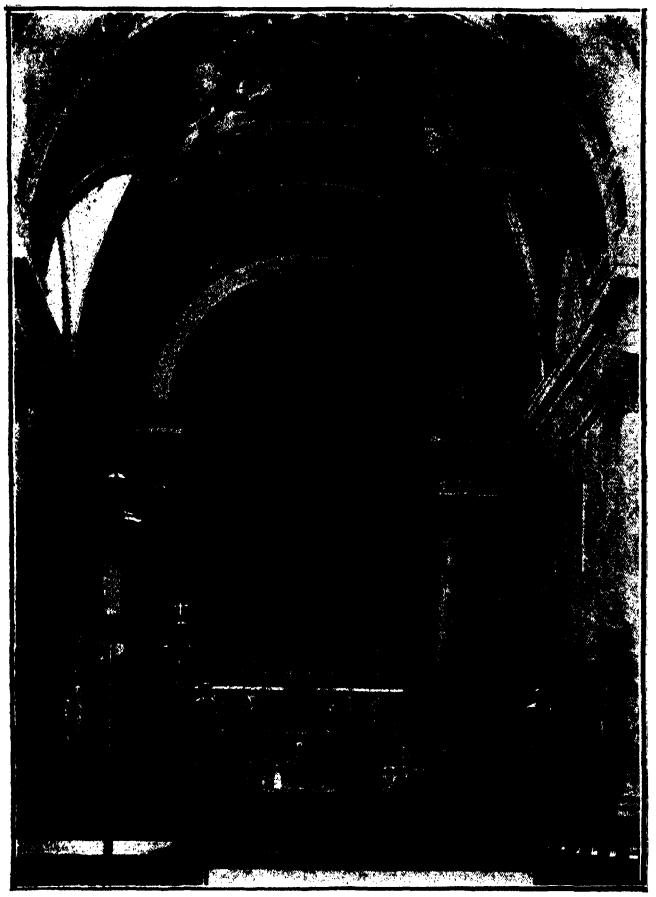


The Statue of Patrona Hungaria before the Cathedral. Esztergom.

Gyulafehérvár.

The cathedral, though on the whole in the Roman style, still shows traces of several periods. Into the side wall Roman stones are built also.

This is the largest of the medieval



The High Altar of Esztergom Cathedral.
(The picture is by Antonio Grigoletti after the original of Titian.)

churches left standing in Hungary. As early as the XIth century there was a Christian church built on the site as the semicircular, XIth century relief above the south door on the inside, proves. (Figures of Christ and two angels.)

Gyulafehérvár was once the capital of the Transylvanian principality. According to tradition it was the chief Gyula who rebuilt the old Roman town chapel which the Goths had destroyed. The ancient cathedral which had an eventful history rose at the north eastern corner of the rectangular citadel.

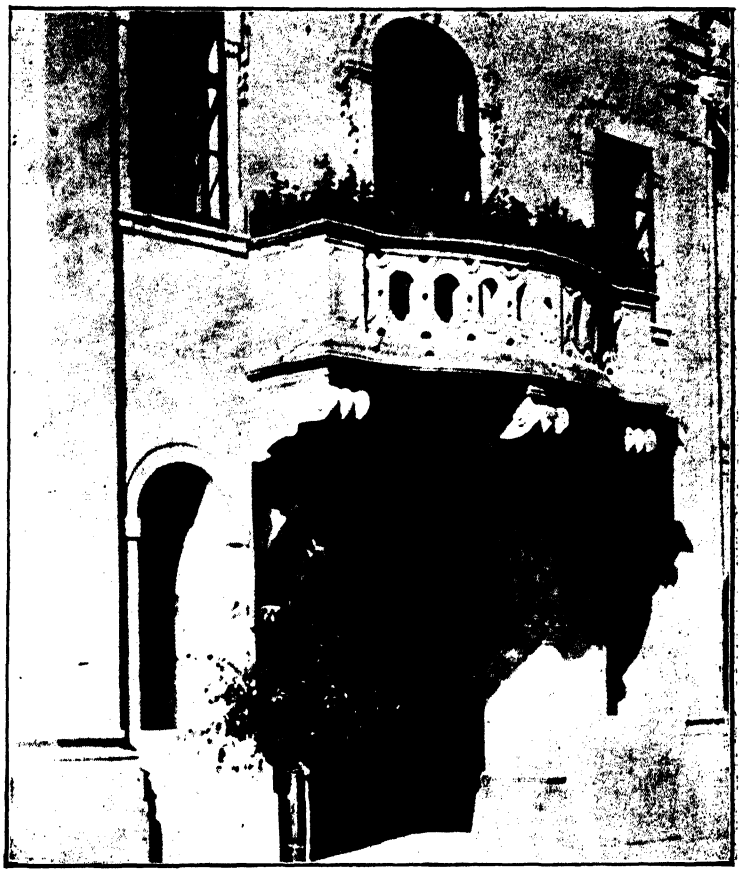
Taurinus and Reichersdorfer mention that a Roman temple stood on this site. Later historians say that St. Stephen founded the church with the treasure he confiscated from Gyula. Later researches ascribe the foundation to St. Ladislaus. This much is certain, however, that the present church was built neither by St. Stephen nor by St. Ladislaus and' that it already existed at the time of the Tartar incursions. We may fix its date as being at the end of the XIIth and the beginning of the XIIIth centuries. In its ancient form, the church was 60 metres long. It was a thre naved groined vaulted building. On the west side it had no towers but above the crossing rose the squat octagonal tower. Rogerius, canon of Nagyvárad, in the XIIIth century paints a picture of deplorable destruction, possibly with great exaggeration. In the restoration of the cathedral King Béla IV and Bishop Gallus II may have taken part. In 1277 according to an ancient document, the Saxons under Gán, the son of Alárd, set the church on fire. Thereafter it was repaired and and in connection with these repairs two sealed documents still extant, forms of contracts referring to the rebuilding operations. There is a contract between Bishop Peter and John, the stonemason, and Tyns, his son, of the city of St. Adeodat dated 1287. According to the other document, this same Bishop Peter contracted with four carpenters in 1291 for work on the roof. Bishop Szécsi (1319—1356) also restored the church, as is testified by his crest, a two headed eagle which is found on the arch above the middle of the main aisle. In the north side chapel may be found his tombstone. It was he who built the long sanctuary. In the middle of the XVth century John Hunyadi rebuilt the main door, and here they buried him beside of his younger brother in 1456. In 1556 the Transylvanian see was destroyed and the church fell into the hands first of the Unitarians and then of the Presbyterians. In 1597 the Roman Catholics regained possession of it but lost it to the Presbyterians again in 1601. The troops of Basta plundered both the church and its tombs in the same year. In 1603 it was burned down during the siege by the Turks and then Gabriel Bethlen restored it in 1613.

In 1753 great improvements were carried out. French influences can be recognised in the form of the Roman capitals.

Budapest.

Now let us see what remains of the Roman period in the capital of Hungary.

In olden times by Pest was meant the city which embraced the modern Belváros on one side of the Danube and the Gellért Hill and the citadel on the other opposite, with what lay between them. Where the Tabán is to-day there used to stand the church of the Blessed Virgin, in which in 1046 they burried St. Gellért. It was perhaps from this Church that that interesting early-Roman relief came which is now to be found in the present Tabán church, built into the wall on the right under the organ, in which Christ is represented in a seated position with his right hand raised in blessing, an inscription running round the whole.

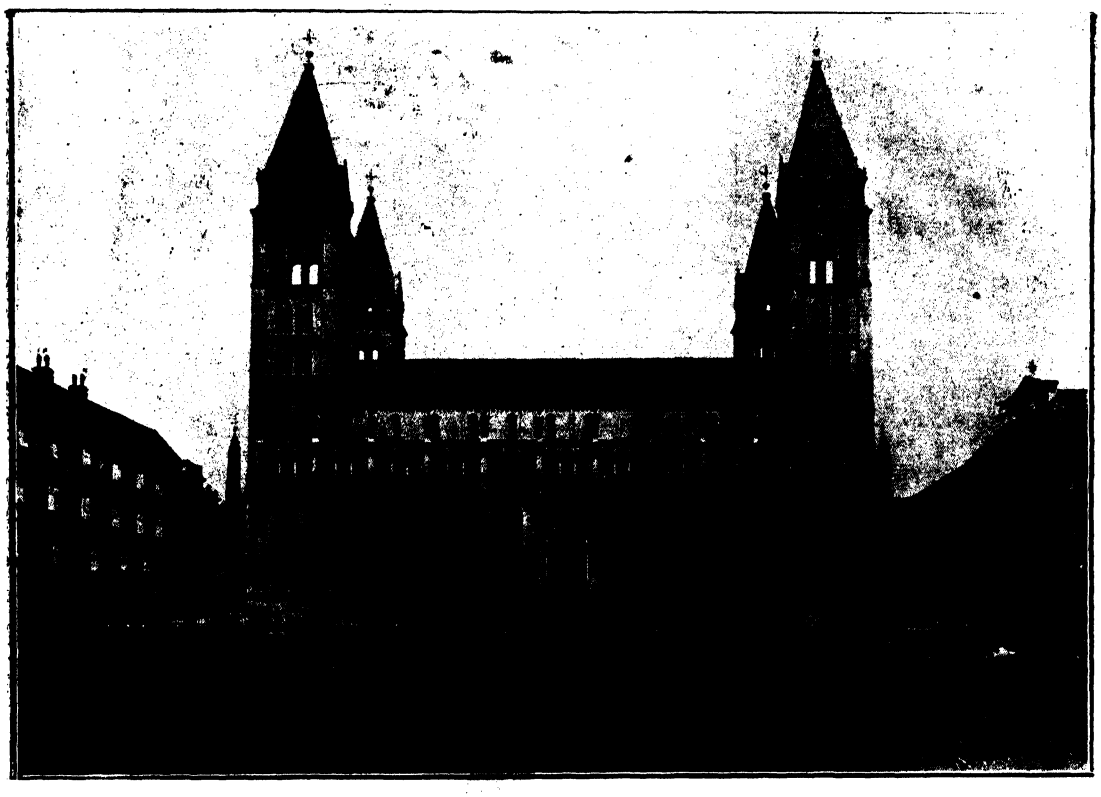


The Balcony of the City Hall (Early XVII th Century.)

On the left bank of the river the oldest church is the church of the Blessed Virgin in the Eskü-Square. The first reliable mention of this place is in a document dealing with a law-suit dated before 1171 in Stephen III's reign. The church was built in the XIIth century as is certified by the arcaded Roman firieze of the south tower, althoug no document mentions the church before the XIIIth century. This detail comes from the period preceding the Tartar invasion. The south tower built in 1726 rests upon this Roman wall. The sanctuary is built in the Gothic style.

After the Tartar invasion, the old Buda, which occupied the site of Óbuda of to-day. together with the Margaret Island flourished and played a more important role than the citadel of Buda which Béla IV had built and Pest which was rebuilt only slowly. The royal palace e. g. from the time of Béla IV untill that of Sigismund was in Óbuda. This locality, however, lost its importance after the XVth century and the citadel of Buda came to the front. In Óbuda fine remains of the Árpád period came to light in 1908 during building operations in the house of the Presbyterian minister. They were left in their original place under the staircase. The surviving fragments were of red and white marble. These formed parts of the gateway and vestibule of the Óbuda provost's church and are in the late Roman church. Their architecture has much in common with that of the Cistercian Abbey at Zwett and the monastery at Maulbrunn. It is probable that here we have an instance of the influence created by the Cistercian monks of the Pilis whom Béla III had introduced into the country. Bishop Ranzanus who was in Buda when King Matthias died, gives this church laudatory mention. The Turks blew it up.

On the side of the little stone house built in the XVIIIth century above the basin of King Béla's Well on the Swabian Hill, traces of late Roman carvings might be seen. The carvings represent a pair of birds with necks intertwined and to-day is in the City Museum. Fragments such as this



Pécs Cathedral.

dating from the Roman period have been discovered on the capitals of the pillars in the churches of Gyulafehérvár, Jaák and Zsámbék.

The little Premontratensian Church of the Hares — now the Margaret Island — was also a building of the Roman period. In the sixties of last century Nicholas Ybl, the great architect, prepared a map from which we can learn more than from the ruins as they are to-day. In our own time, the Council of public Works with praiseworthy zeal excavated the site. It was in 1130 that the Premonstratensians came to Hungary and probably the church on the Margaret Island was built not long after this date.

B) Monastic Churches.

The building activity of the monastic orders which settled in Hungary during the Roman period determined the character of Hungarian architecture. As early as the time of Géza the Beenedictines settled at Pannonhalma and built a monastery and church there between 996 and 1001.

Pannonhalma (Mons Pannoniae), its name is derived from the Roman settlement at the foot of the hill. In the neighbourhood was born Martin, the son of the Roman tribune, who latterly became famous as St. Martin, the bishop of Tours and the patron saint of France in whose honour Charlemange erected a chapel at Pannonhalma to commnemorate his conquest of the Avars.

The first Benedictine church was still standing in 1002. The present church with its hexagonal vaulted roof and its great crypt dates from the time of Andrew II, in the beginning of the XIIIth century and was built by Abbot Urias. This was a third church and it was consecrated in 1225. The southern door opening into the Gothic transept is the only example in Hungary of a red marble doorway. In the vaulting there are traces of the pointed arch everywhere. In the capitals we can recognise French influence.

Tihany. In 1054 King Andrew I founded the church at Tihany. In the crypt of this church, with its treble nave and simple crossvaulted roof, we have the only exis-

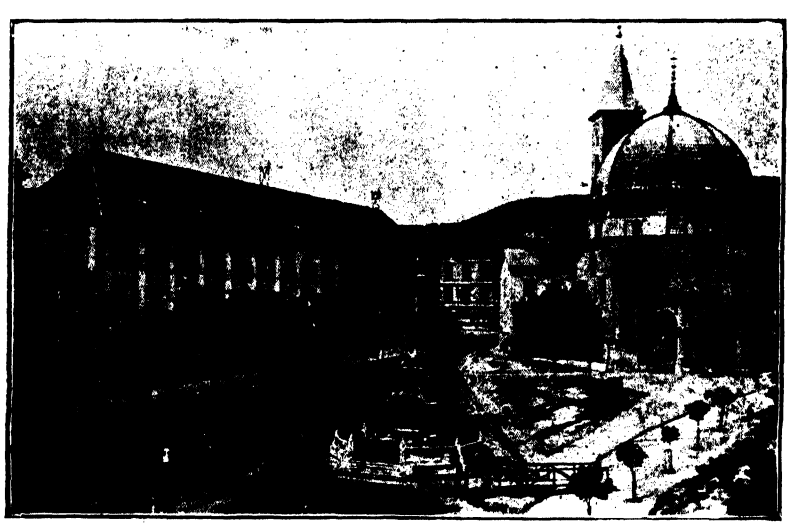
ting example of XIth century Hungarian architecture. Andrew I himself is buried here. Built into the right wall a tombstone with cross marks the tomb of an unknown abbot. The church was finished and consecrated in 1055 in the presence of the King. In the time of the Romans a fort with four corner towers stood on this site. The present church belongs to the baroque period and dates from the XVIIIth century.

Bishop's Palace, Pécs NAWAB SALAR JUNG BAHADU

Lébény. The church of Lébény with its treble nave is a characteristic representativ of the Roman period churches in Hungary. It also was once a Benedictine church. The triple apse at the east end and the two substantial towers at the west end mark the limits of the church built here at the beginning of the XIIIth century. Documents, dating from the middle of the XIIth century, mention this village. In this time it was in the possession of the Héderváry family, but after 1202 it fell into the hands of the Benedictines. Andrew II in 1208 confirmed the deed of gift. It is characteristic of this building that its three apses are in one line and are directly joined to three naves without a transept. Besides this the lower part of the western tower is joined to the side-nave. The church has highly ornamented doorways on the west and the south.

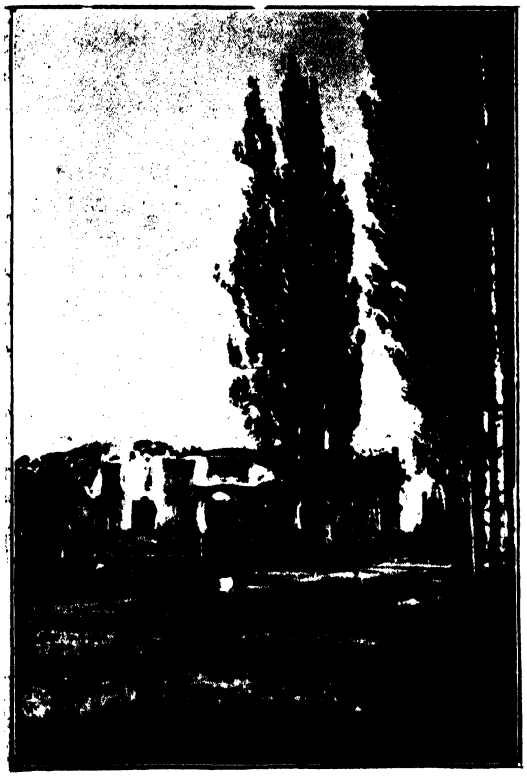
The Turks set fire to this church in 1683, and the vaulted roof collapsed. At this time the church was in the hands of the Jesuits. And when in 1776 the order was expelled the treasury laid hands on it. In 1830 the ruins of the monastery were pulled down and from 1838 it has served as a parish church. The German architect, Essenwein, restored it in the seventies and in 1879 it was consecrated anew. The restoration cost 48.000 guilders.

Jaák This was likewise a Benedictine property. It is the most richly sculptured church in Hungary and belongs to the abbacy of Jaák, in the county of Vas, founded by Ivan, the son of Martin, of the family of Jaák, at the beginning of the XIIIth century. The village of Jaák is an hour's journey to the south of Szombathely. The church is built on a little hill in the centre of the village and is sacred to St. George. Its ground plan is similar to that of Lébény, but the principal apse



City Hall and Parish Church, Pécs.

has bean lengthened. In 1256 it was consecrated by Omodé, the bishop of Győr. The western door is one of the finest doorways in the country. The doorway bears witness to Italian influence in the lion bases of its pillars. The monastery was built on the north side of the church, but no trace now remains of it. Frescoes adorned the whole interior of the church and some traces of these are still to be seen in the western part. On the outside there are symbolic reliefs. Near the west frontage of the



Ruins in the neighbourhood of the City, Pécs.

church there stands a chapel with four wings, of the same period as the church itself. The church was restored in 1896, and the following years.

The double church of *Deákmonostor* is likewise a Benedictine foundation as the churches in *Aracs* — now in ruin — at *Dömölk, Csanád* and lastly at *Vértesszentkereszt.*

The Premonstratensien order came to Hungary in 1130, during the reign of Stephen II. Their place of origin was Premontre in France. The order spread quickly in the country and built many beautiful churches during the time of the Árpáds.

The church of *Bény,* in the county of Esztergom, is one of them. The provostship was founded by the family of Omodé before 1217. The church has a single nave with a transept and with three apses, there is a vestibule attached to the two towers standing on the west side of the church. The whole groundplan of the church is very unusual in Hungary. The side apses are pentagonal and the main apse is heptagonal. Only in France do we find churches with such a groundplan. In the interior of the church there is a peculiar capital in the northern choir which depicts a bear hunting with men in Hungarian national dress (suba). It was restored by Prof. Czigler in 1896—98.

The same order built the church in *Ócsa,* now used by the Presbyterians. This is a triple naved church with transept and with doorways on the northern and the southern side. It has no door at the west side. Its sanctuary was decorated with frescoes in the XIIIth century.

Zsámbék. This church of a provostship in the neighbourhood of Budapest shows adready the signs of transition, because though its ornamentation is yet in the Roman style, the vaults are built in the Gothic style.

The church was founded by Comes Smaragd II who in 1205 was the chief judge of the county. Prof. Möller thinks that the French architect, Villard de Honecourt, who spent a comperatively long time in Hungary, worked at the building of this church also. It was first restored as early as the XIVth century. The stone spire of the southern tower still stands as it was. The towers were built in pure Roman style. This ist the most picturesque church ruin at the present time in Hungary, and with its fine, carved stone ornaments it is one of the finest remains of medieval architecture in Hungary.

The church was deserted by the Premonstratensian order during the Turkish occupation. It was destroyed by an earthquake in 1763 and later the population of the neighbouring villages used the ruin as a quarry.

The *Cistercians* were brought into Hungary by Géza II in 1142. Béla III asked monks from the mother monastery in Citaux in 1179 and the monks of *Zirc* came from Clairvaux in 1182. Their more impor-

tant churches were in *Zirc* (only one pillar stands now) in *Kerc* (now in ruin) in the county of Fogaras, and lastly the church of Apátfalva in the county of Borsod. Simplicity is characteristic of their churches.

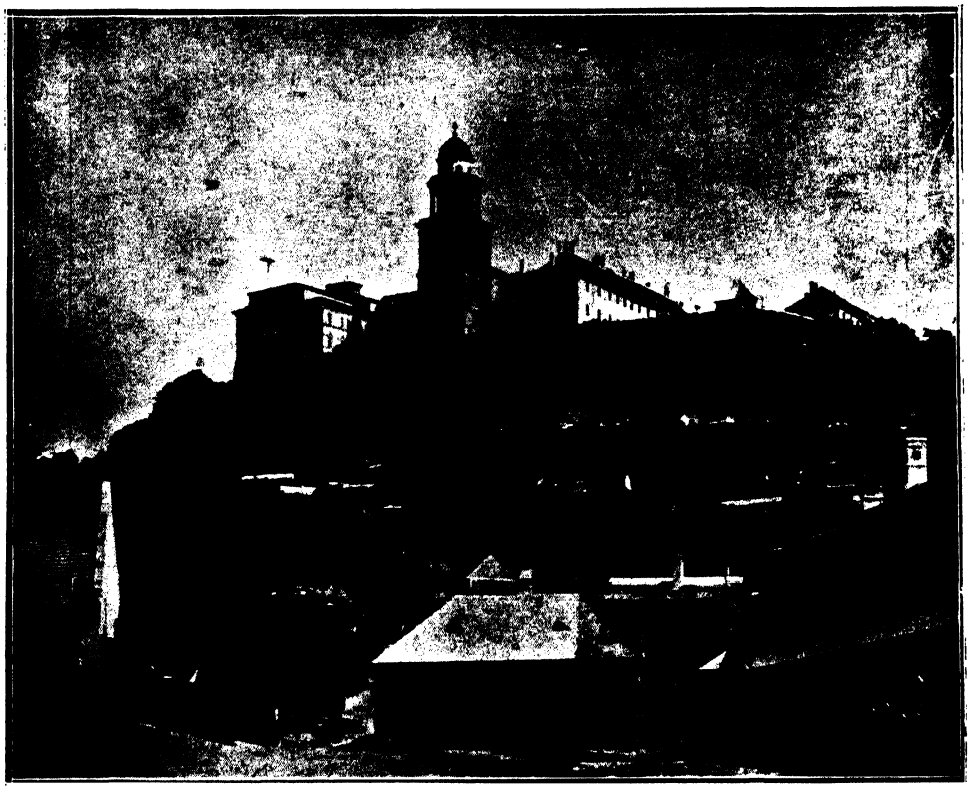
IV. THE REMAINS OF THE GOTHIC STYLE.

While the building monastic orders provides us with the numerous examples of the architecture of the Roman period, it is to the lay masters that we must turn for examples of the Gothic period in churches, city-halls and other buildings which owe their existence to the enthusiasm and wealth of the populace.

In this instance we shall deal with our material according to the consideration of the site and topography.

The Gothic style, as the style of the pointed arch is commonly called, originated in France. The first example is to be found in the Abbey Curch of St. Denis, built by Abbey Suget and finished in 1144. The style continued to develop until 1200 A. D. In Germany the Liebfrauen Church in Trier is the earliest example of a Gothic building. This was finished in 1227.

In Hungary the Gothic style was introduced during the time following the Tartar invasion of 1241—42. At that time there began a new activity in building in which both the Kings and nobles took a share, in most cases employing the best craftsmen.



The Monastery of the Benedictines, Pannonhalma.

Though Hungary was the country in which under King Matthias the influence of the Italian Renaissance was first definitely felt, the Gothic style maintained itself and even as late as the XVIth century the smaller village churches continued to be built in this style.

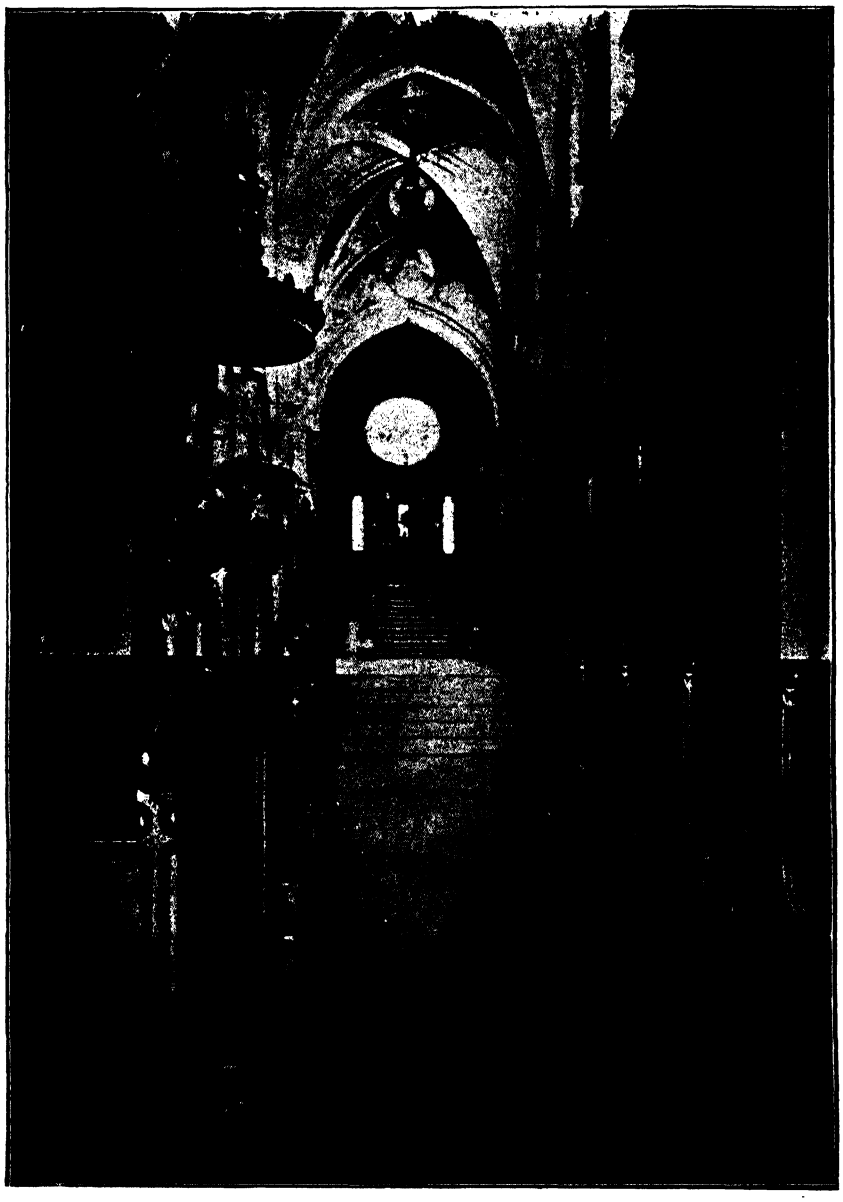
A) Budapest.

I have already mentioned that after the Tartar invasion Béla IV, seeing the need for strongholds, built a castle and founded a city on the hill of Buda which, according to ancient documents, was called the „Cas-

trum Novi Montis Pestiensis". In the legend of St. Margaret it is called New Buda in contrast with the old, the modern Óbuda.

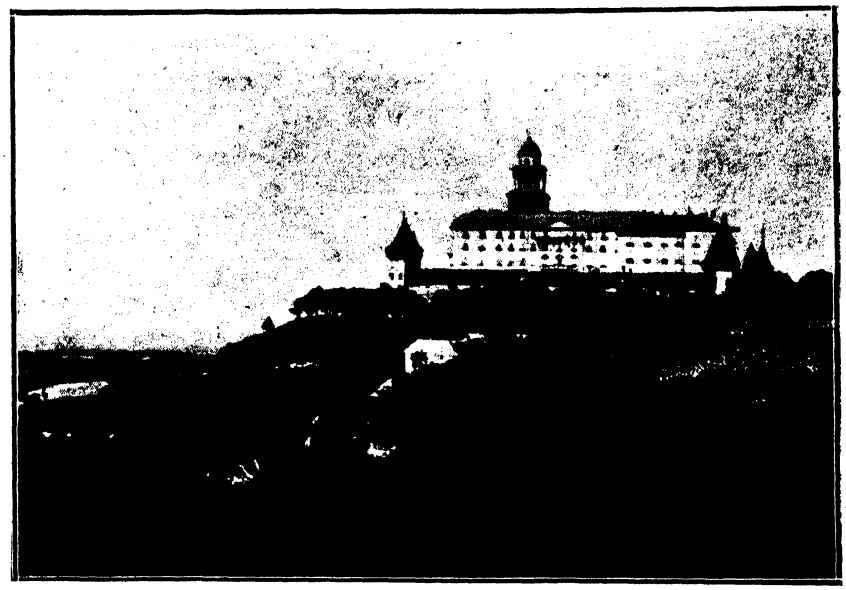
The object of Béla IV was to provide a place of defence, within whose walls and fortified territory the inhabitants of the neighbourhood could find a place of refuge when the need arose. The spot chosen on the Castle Hill, owing to its central situation, was predestined for such an object. And on it Béla IV settled Germans who were skilled in the art of castle defence. The governor of this territory was a royal magistrate.

Andrew III, the last of the Árpáds, died in the palace, built on this spot and his bier lay in the Church of Our Lady while he was buried in the Franciscan Church of St. John. The castle of Buda at that time was already an important place as may be seen from the fact that the opposition of its citizens brought about the failure of the first attempt made by Charls Robert, the Anjou pretender, in 1302, to seize the



Monastery Church, Pannonhalma.

crown. It was only after a bloody war and a desperate siege that the first members of the House of Anjou succeeded in gaining possession of the Castle of Buda in 1307. He was crowned in the Church of Our Lady in 1309. It was from this King that Buda won its rights of autonomy in ecclesiastical and juridical affairs. It received its right to levy toll on merchandize from Louis the Great in virtue of which it became the most important city in the country.



The Monastery of the Benedictius, Pannonhalma.

Béla IV in 1255 founded the present *Church of Our Lady*, better known as the Matthias Church or the Coronation Church. All the Kings of Hungary from Sigismund to John Zápolya heard mass here. It was here that King Matthias was married to his second wife Beatrice of Naples. The first inhabitants of the Castle of Buda were Hungarians. And it was only later that the colony of German knights was settled here.

Béla IV himself described the church of 1269 as being newly built. Originally it was begun with the intention of building it as a basilica, but it is certain that, while building was still going on, the plan was changed and the church was finished as a triple naved edifice. It was enlarged in the XIVth and XVth centuries by the addition of chapels. It was at that time also that the south tower which bears the arms of King Matthias was built in 1470.

Between 1876—1896 Frederick Schulek rebuilt the coronation church, restoring its ancient splendour to what has always been the Coronation Church of the Hungarian Kings.

Among the churches built on the Castle Hill of Buda the Garrison and Dominican Churches, near the Coronation Church, go back to the XIIIth century. In the Garrison church the tower, the doorway and the sanctuary are in a later style, being of XVIth century origin.

The Gothic remains of the old Dominican Monastic Church have been incorporated into the XVIIIth century building of the Ministry of Finance. The polygonal wall of its chancel rest upon the wall of one of the bastions. Its squat four cornered tower is still in existence.

The Castle. Our data relating to the Royal Castle give us a more or less comprehensiv picture. These data were lately gathered together by Clement Lux in his excellent monography on the palace of King Matthias.

The real builder of the castle palace was King Sigismund, as document and other contemporary writings bear witness. Some remains of the castle walls are still in existence. Windeck who was a contemporary of King Sigismund, says about it that a finer castle had scarcely ever been known. Ambrose Gemalduli is lost in admiration of its beauty. Bonfini, the court historian of King Matthias, writes of King Sigismund's building with enthusism and even with exaggeration. The wonderful interior of the castle was the work of King Matthias.

Among the buildings of the Margaret Island also there are traces of the Gothic style, e. g. in the remains of the Franciscan Church, dating from the XIVth century, which are to be seen near the Archduke's summer villa.

The monastery of the Dominican nuns of which Margaret, the daughter of Béla IV, became an inmate, was built originally in the XIIIth century, but later underwent several transformations. With its long chancel and its single nave it is a typical example of a monastic church. Now it is a ruin.

B) Transdanubia (Pannonia).

Sopron was the centre of an ancient culture and prosperous burgoisie, intimately connected with Western Europe, for many centuries. Here as early as the XIIIth century churches were built, the remains of which are to be numbered among the most interesting and valuable in Hungary.

In the second half of the XIIIth century was built the octagonal chapel of St. James, now incorporated in the vestry of the parish church of St. Michael. Formerly it was used as an *ossarium*. A little apse is formed out of the three sides of the octagon. In 1885—86 Francis Stornó jr. restored it and decorated the interior with paintings.

The three naved parish church already mentioned is an important monument of Gothic architecture. It was begun in the XIIIth century, and only finished in the XVth. Its long choir is joined to the triple nave by narrow transepts and on the west there is a single tower. It was restored by Francis Stornó in 1863—66.

The Church of the Benedictines is one of the earliest and most famous examples of Hungarian Gothic. It was built about 1290. According to legend the money for it was furnished by a treasure which was discovered by a shepherd's goat while scraping in the ground. Its designer, as is proved by the form of the choir and especially by the slender columns and ornamented capitals, belonged to the French school.

Towards the end of the XVth century it was restored by some member of the Szentgróti family whose coat of arms with the goat is found above both the tower door and the main doorway. The choir is long and the triple nave is short. It is built on a rectangular groundplan. The church originally belonged to the Franciscan order. It was destroyed first by an earthquake in 1590, and then by a fire in 1676. Up to 1787 it was in the possession of the Minorites and after that it was used for housing the archives and as a place of meeting for the county authorities. In the XVIIIth century a beautiful baroque altar and pulpit were added. Since 1802 it has been in the possession of the Benedictines. Its tower 48 metres high, and besides the beautiful tower of the Franciscan church in Pozsony, is the most notable example in Hungary of its kind. From the red marble pulpit in the nave John Kapisztrán preached for the crusade against the Turks in 1456.

The chapterhouse in the Gothic style of the period with its beautiful Gothic pillars and vaultings, opens into the south transept. To-day it is used as a storehouse.

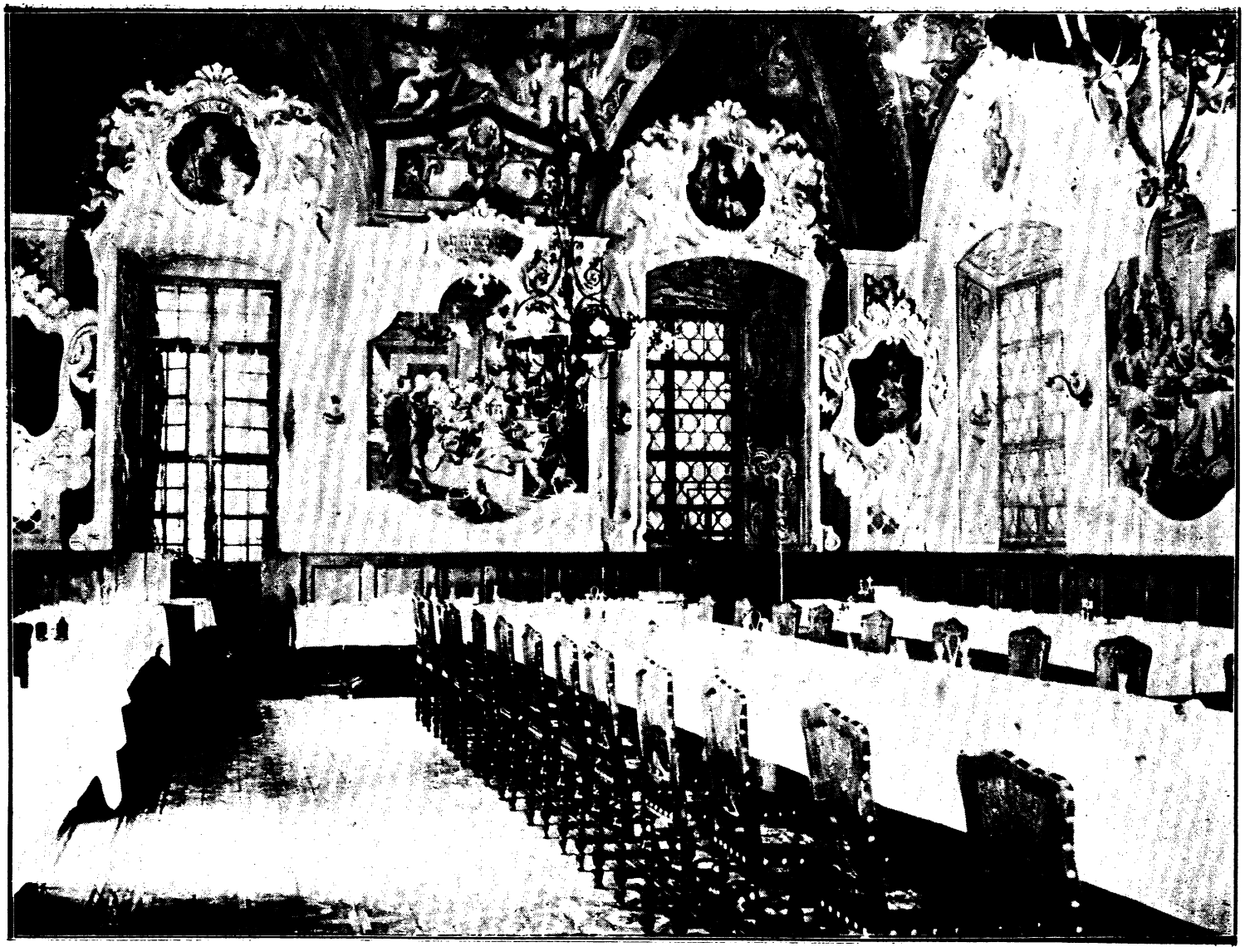
In the territory of the *county of Vas* there are several village churches in the Gothic style (e. g. Sámfalva, Rőtfalva etc.) The most beautiful is the church of Máriafalva, built in 1469 and restored in 1666. E. Steindl cleverly restored it in 1882—84. The carved stone-work of the choir and its beaten iron doorway dates from 1483. The majolica high altar and the pulpit come from the Zsolna factory in Pécs and were built in at the time of the restoration.

C) North Hungary.

North Hungary is especially rich in remains of Gothic architecture. It escaped the Turkish occupation, and its population for the most part composed of workmen, especially miners, enriched their picturesque towns with works of art.

The principal and most important town is Pozsony and in Pozsony the town house, with its low vaulted doorway and its beautiful tiered gallery, belongs to the beginning of the XVth century. Here in the Franciscan monastery is the finest Gothic tower in Hungary. It rests upon a four cornered base, but higher up it takes the form of a hexagon (XIVth century). Frederick Schulek rebuilt it in its ancient form in 1897. A famous monument of the same century is the chapel of St. John's which adjoins the church of the order. This was finished in 1361.

Near the Szilágyi Dezső Street on the Dom Square stands the large medieval coronation church. The first church was begun in 1221, but this edifice was destroyed by fire during the Czech wars in 1271. The present church was built in its place in the XIVth and XVth centuries. The most interesting feature of the church is the sculptured ornament of the keystone



Refectory in the Monastery, Pannonhalma.

over the main doorway of the St. Ann's chapel (1350). In this chapel there is a tomb of Schomberg, a provost, which is in the Gothic style. The church was finished about 1480, dating from the same time as the fine beaten iron work rail of one the shrines of the church by Sigismund Fischer of Vienna. Eleven kings, eight queens were crowned in this church, from Maximilian and Mary, 1563 to Ferdinand V, 1830. Along the walls on the exterior there are beautiful tombstones built in. The present spire dates from 1835. Joseph Lippert restored the church between 1863—78.

To this period belongs the single naved church of the Clarissa order. On one side of it there is a slender pentagonal tower. The stone spire in its modern form, built in 1899, is a poor imitation of the tower of the Franciscans. The old spire was destroyed by an earthquake in 1700 and in its place there was erected a zinc covered spire (1702).

Nagyszombat. The church of the chapter-house, now used as a parish church, was begun by Louis the Great at the end of the XIVth century and finished by King Sigismund at the beginning of the XVth. It is a large triple-naved basilica. In its general outline it is a pleasing, harmoniously constructed building with two western towers. The lofty main nave is without flying butresses. The nave is 24.5 metres long, 18.7 high and the choir is 18.5 long. The primate and his chapter fled here from Esztergom during the Turkish time. It was at this time too that they enlarged the side naves with chapels, and from this period also dates the work in the interior of the church.

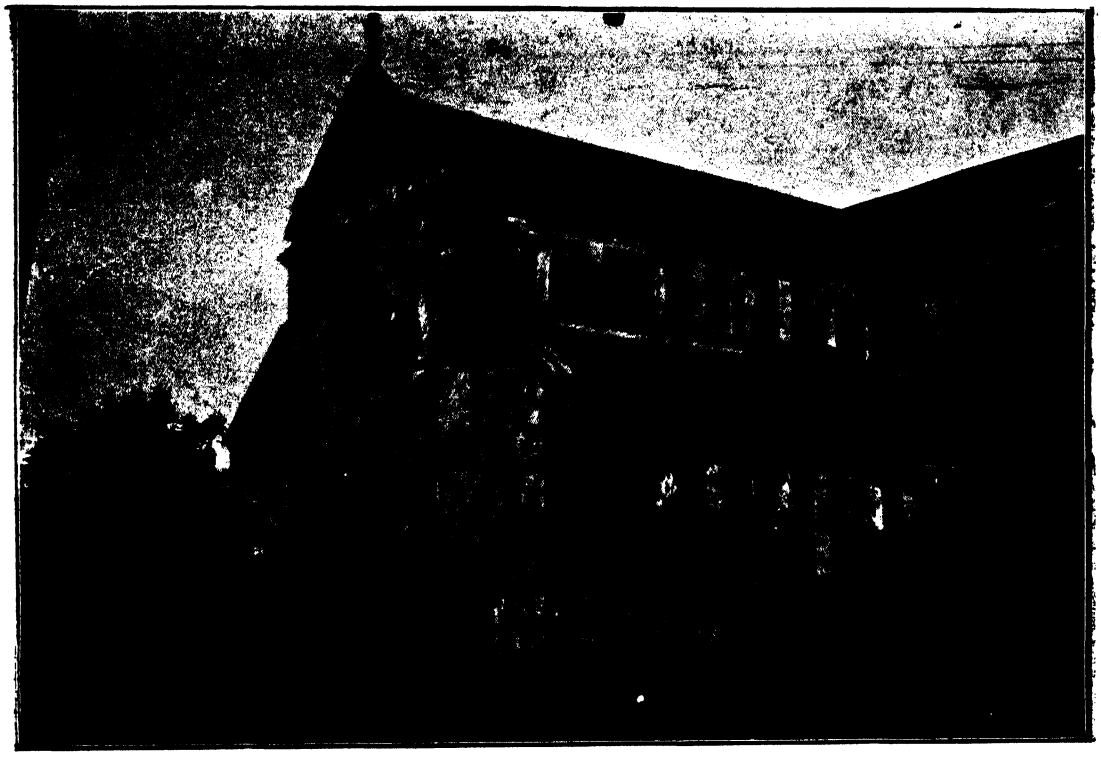
In the *Castle of Eger* there stood a Gothic cathedral which, judging from the single pillar which remains, was worthy of comparison with the greatest churches of Europe. Its western part was begun as early as the Roman period. During the Turkish wars the great church was destroyed.

Körmöcbánya is one of the oldest of the free royal boroughs of Hungary. According to tradition the origin of the city dates back to a time previous to the coming of the Hungarians. The story goes that when the Lord of Eaglestone Castle was hunting in the woods, he found golden seeds in the inside of a grouse which had been shot. Following upon which discovery a mine was established on the spot. Although it was a walled city at the time of the Tartar invasion, it is not mentioned before 1295, when it appears in a document as the „Villa Keremnice". From 1323 Körmöc was the seat of the royal mint and in 1328 it received all those rights and privileges from Charles Robert which Kuttenberg enjoyed as a first class mining town in Bohemia. It was here in its mint under Charles Robert that the sovereigns were struck off for which the king made a contract with Master Hippolit, the captain of Árva Castle. The miner city was built during the time of King Sigismund and consisted altogether of 39 houses, surrounded by a wall.

The whole territory on which the town stands, as well as the surrounding country, has been undermined. The double-nave castle church, built on an eminence, is greater in breadth than in length. A single central pillar supports the vaulted roof. In its present form the church comes from the XVth century as the figures 1485, 1488, 1491 carved on its walls testify. But as early as the beginning of the XIVth century a church stood on this side, though no document, referring to it, dates earlier than 1393. This ancient church underwent a transformation later on under King Matthias. The church named after St. Catherine was restored by Francis Stornó 1884—87.

Besztercebánya. Is another mining town. Its copper was already famous in primitive times. In the bronze age the Celtic peoples had already begun to work up its copper. The town developed out of certain mining settlements in the XIIIth century and in 1255 it received the right of a municipality from Béla IV. Later on King Stephen V in 1271 renewed and confirmed its privileges. Silveresmiths also flourished in this town. Béla IV, Stephen V and Charles Robert frequently visited it. We find detailed accounts in its council minutes of the royal visits. Its worthy citizens complained often and bitterly of the great expense involved in these visits, and because of these the National Assembly in 1405 regulated the expenses of royal receptions. The King had to receive all that was necessary for two luncheons, the furriers had to present the master of the horse the fur cloak and the saddlers with a saddle, while the other officiers of the court had to get nothing. In 1424 the town came into the possession of the wife of Sigismund, and in 1478 Beatrice, Matthias' queen,

R C. Church, Lébény.



The Cistercian Abbey of Bélapátfalva, built in 1232.

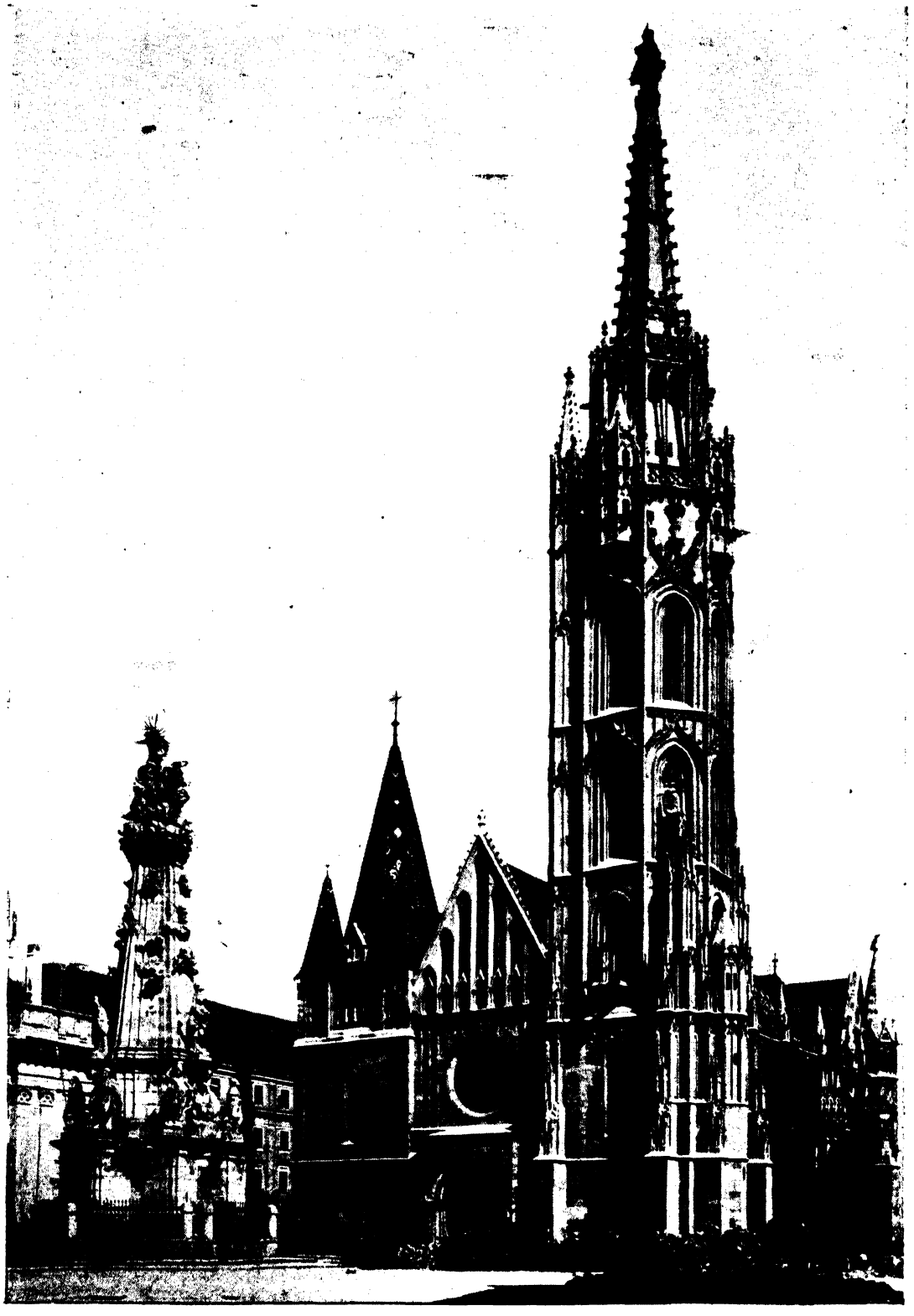
took possession of the town's taxes. Towards the end of the XVth century the rich copper mines fell into the hands of the Thurzós and the Fuggers. Besztercebánya became the most flourishing town in Northern Hungary.

It was natural that under such circumstances its citizens should have adorned their churches. The most interesting part of the town is the late Gothic Church of Mary and Michael which is surrounded by fortifications. The Church of Mary was begun in the second half of the XIIIth century, transformed in the XIVth century and its choir and side chapels built in the late Gothic style of the XVth century. The church has a single nave and a long choir. On its western front there stands a squat tower, the lower part of which dates from the XIIIth century.

Kassa. The cathedral of Kassa is the gem of the Gothic buildings in Hungary. Up to the middle of the XIIIth century there are no documents relating to Kassa. So far the first mention of the church at Kassa dates from the eighties of the XIIIth century. There is evidence that by 1307 the citizens of Kassa were already organised in guilds. The church which is mentioned in the XIIIth century document is not the one which exists to-day, but a Gothic building with a single nave which was much smaller and in place of which the present cathedral was built. When in Paris in 1856 Henszlman showed Eugene Leblanc the plans of the St. Elisabeth Church, as the cathedral is called, the latter immediately recognised the architectural affinity of its choir with the choir of the monastic church of St. Yves in Braisne (1180—1316).

The old writers affirm that Kassa cathedral was designed by Villard de Honnecourt, the French architect, who visited Hungary between 1244—47. His sketch-book still exists with some sketches of Hungary in it. It was he who designed the church at Cambray after the model of Rheims.

Villard de Honnecourt came to Hungary on the invitation of Béla IV, doubtless with the idea of assisting by advice and plans in the erectioon of important buildings. Forty four pages are missing from his sketch-book and it may be that this contained his Hungarian sketches. It is at any rate certain that the church of Kassa is intimately related to the churches to



The Coronation Church of Our Lady, Budapest.

The Old City Hall, Győr.

the Liebfrauen churches of Braisne and Trier. The building of the church, however, was actually finished only long after the departure of the French architect, indeed, about a century and a half later. Fire destroyed the old, smaller church at the end of the XIVth century.

It was after this that the building of the larger church was begun in 1437. When King Sigismund died, the work had so far progressed that they were able to conduct services in it. For a decade after 1440 the Czech armies of Giskra hindered the building though did not completely put a stop to it. At this time Master Tade Schynagel worked on the church. King Matthias supported the work and he and his wife, Beatrice, visited Kassa several times. In 1400—1430 they built the beautiful north doorway. The building was completely finished in 1477. The southern tower was begun in the sixties of the XVth century. In 1462 they begun to build the lofty tower-like vestry (16 metres high). The stained-glass windows are from the hand of St. Helt who hailed from Brünn, but settled in Kassa, in 1460; and of Nicholas von Perga, a little later, 1469. They were building the south chapel between 1465—1477. Specially interesting features are the choir and the disposition of the west towers which stand exceptionally far apart from each other. The imposing vestry is the work of the stone carver, Stephen of Kassa, who was almost certainly commissioned by King Matthias to do it in 1462—77. The army of Albert John stormed the city in 1491 and their artillery did considerable damage to the church. The work of restoring it was directed by Nicholas Krompholz. The northern tower was finished in 1502. The interior was gutted by fire in 1557. Between 1682—87 it was in the hands of the Lutherans. Since 1804 it has been the cathedral church of the Roman Catholic bishop. Bishop Fábry had it restored in 1857—63, but the work was very badly done, and in 1877 Imre Steindl, one of the greatest of Hungarian architects, began rebuilding it. His aim was to rebuild it in such a manner that the original faults of construction would be eliminated. The work of restoration was completed in 1896. The little chapel of St. Michael which stands near by is from the XIVth century.

The Square of the City Hall with the Church of the Benedictiues Sopron.

Szepesség. Cornelius Divald has written a splendid monography on the architectural remains of this county. The county of Szepes is one of the most interesting in all Hungary. Its beautiful churches, the castles which dominate its valleys, and the ruins of monasteries, all bear witness to a historic past and an unbroken tradition of culture. Of its 200 churches three quarters belong to the XIIIth and XIVth centuries. The original inhabitants of Szepes were for the most part foreign colonists, but they very soon became good Hungarians and so far as culture went, were completely assimilated. Most of them entered Hungary in the XIIth century under Geyza II (1140—60) and they came for the most part from Central Germany (Thüringien, Meissen). As early as 1239 the Germans formed religious communities.

The architectural development of this county kept step with that of the rest of Hungary. But certain distinctive features are characteristic of the architecture of the Szepesség, and we may even speak of a Szepes school of architecture. The same can be said of the work of wood carving, painting, bronze and silver work.

Csütörtökhely. Besides the larger churches there are among the Gothic buildings of Hungary several beautifully proportioned chapels which are worthy of special mention. I have already referred to the Franciscan Chapel Church in Pozsony. One of the best examples is the lofty chapel of Our Lady which adjoins the parish church of the Minorites in *Csütörtökhely*, part of which is presented in replica in the garden of the Agricultural Muzeum in the City Park of Budapest. In ornament and design it is a beautifully proportioned building. Both chapel and crypt were used for worship. It was founded in 1473 by the Palatine Stephen Zápolya, a member of the famous and wealthy Zápolya family. Together with the similar Zápolya chapel in Szepeshely, this is certainly the work of a craftsman, trained in somee Viennese school. Altough this chapel was built in the XVth century, that is during the late Gothic period, its unknown author had the good taste to avoid the tastless accumulation of ornament. It has an intersting vaulted roof. The chapel was restored by Louis Steinhaus of Lőcse.

Késmárk. The Church of the Holy Cross in Késmárk is a triple naved edifice. Its greatest patron was Imre Zápolya. The church recognised his services by having the coat of arms of the Zápolyas set above the southern doorway alongside of the arms of the city (1486). The church was finished at the end of the XVth century. It has a star-vaulted roof. For a certain time it was in the possession of the Lutherans, and during this time several of its furnishings were removed. The great crucifix above the high altar, the vestry, and the sculptured tombstone of Christopher Warkocz (1520) with the baptismal font, made in 1472, are the most notable artistic features of the church.

Szepesszombat. The little church of St. George is a single nave structure with splendid apse. It boasts five beautiful winged altars. The southern door of the church has an iron door knocker which is the oldest thing of its kind in the county of Szepes.

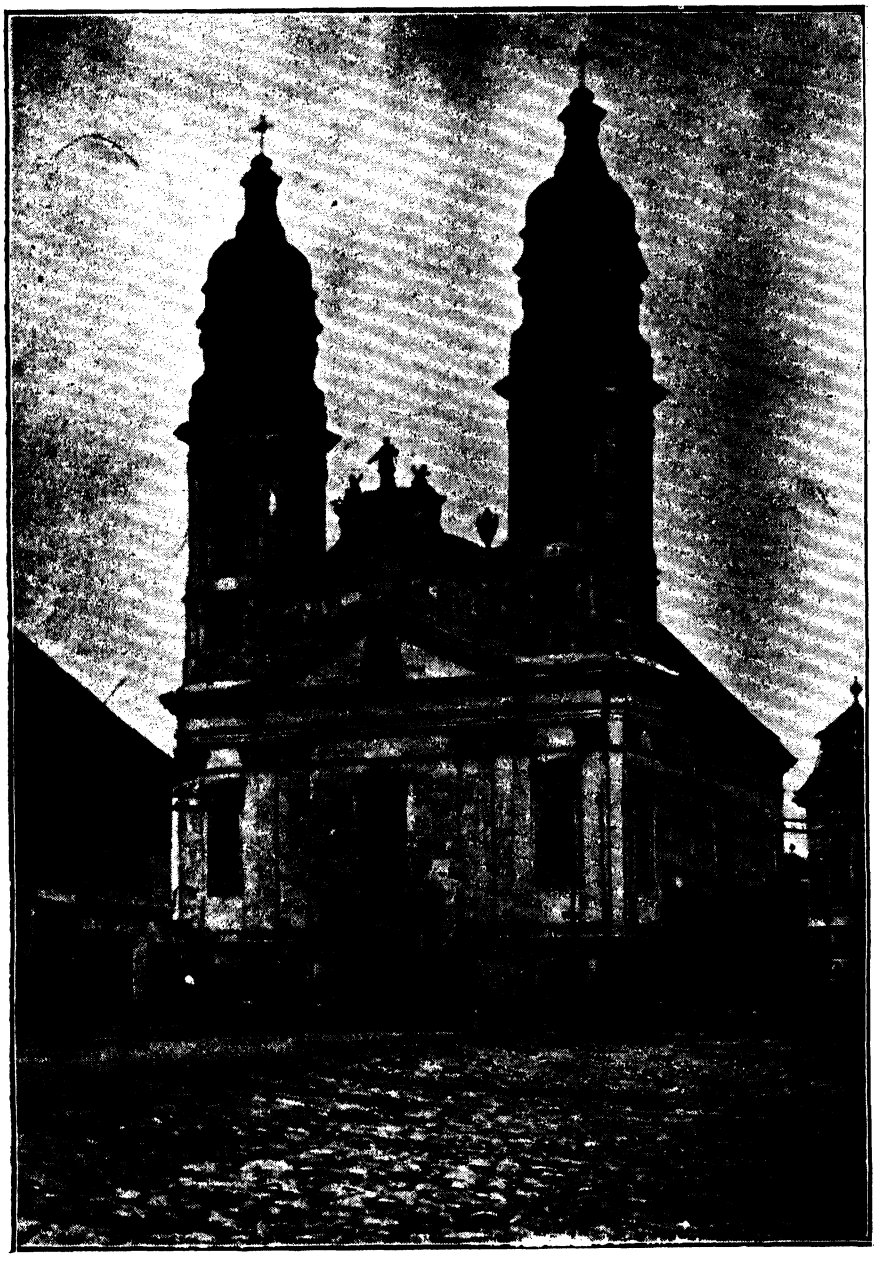
Igló. The parish church of Igló, the Church of the Assumption of Mary, is an example of the work of the Lőcse school. The choir is new, only the main body of the church with its triple nave has preserved its original form. On the west there is a lofty tower, the upper part of which was designed by Imre Steindl and which is one of the finest towers in Hungary. The vaulted roof is carried on four cornered pillars. The chapel of St. Michael on the north side was built in the XVth century. Among the famous examples of the silversmith's art to be seen in the church, a large crucifix and a XVth century remonstrance are worthy of special mention. The baptismal font is adorned with bronze Renaissance ornamentation of the XVth and XVIth centuries.

Lőcse. According to ancient chronicles the Saxons of the Szepesség fled before the Tartars to Látókő where they lived for three years enduring many hardships. After that, in 1245 the present Lőcse was founded as their common place of refuge. Among all the churches of the Szepesség from an artistic point of view the finest is the parish church of St. James which stands on the principal square of Lőcse. The sacristy is the oldest part, dating from the XIIIth century. It is an example of the earliest Gothic style. The tripie naved church has been the subject of many scholarly studies, e. g. by Vencel Merklasz, then by the great antiquarian Victor M. Henszlman and lately by Cornelius Divald. Nothing referring to the history of the

Váç Cathedral,

church in document remains to us. The present church was built in the first half of the XIVth century. It is one of the largest medieval churches in Hungary, being 56 metres long, by 23 broad and 19 high. there is a partly rejecting tower whose upper octagonal part dates only from the XIXth century.

The most beautiful ornament in the church is the high altar, 19 metres high,



R. C. Parish Church, Pápa.

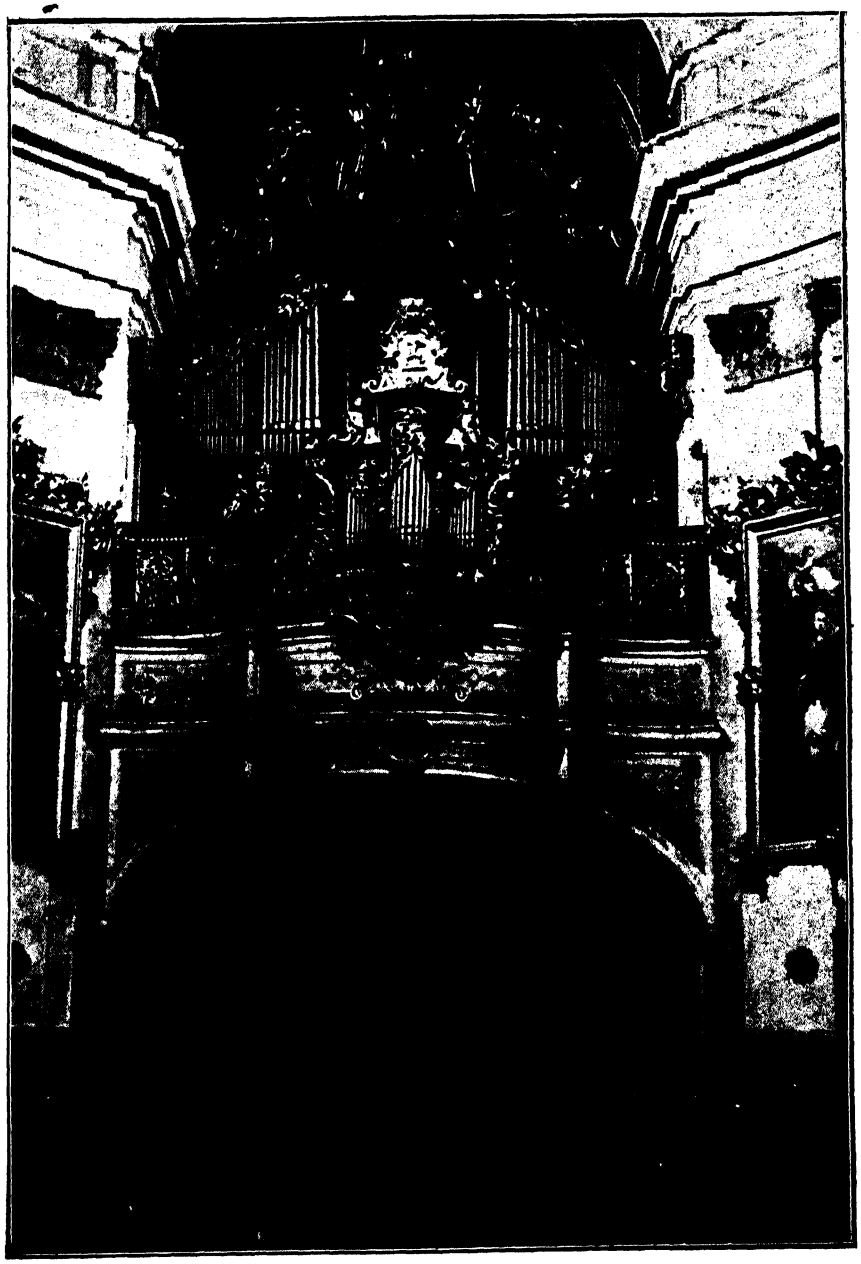
Its imposing and spacious interior with its altars and other furnishings is a regular museum. The simple four cornered pillars support a ribbed cross-vaulted roof. The finest doorway is in the south. On the west which is the master piece of Paul of Löcse. It is the greatest winged altar in Hungary, the shrine of it containing figures of Mary St. James, St. John.

The interior of the church was decora-

ted with frescoes of which some remained to this day.

The old church of the Minorites is built in a style similar to the parish church.

Eperjes. This is one of the most interesting towns in Hungary from the point of view of architecture. Its broad High Street runs the whole length of the town, broadening out in the middle to form the market place. Here stands the parish church of St. Michael which has seen so many vicisitudes. With its buttered walls and 70 metres high tower it towers over the neighbouring houses. This is the most perfect example of the pointed arch church in Hungary (dimensions: length 54.5 metres, breadth 34.5 m., height 16 m.). In its present form the church was built in the XVIIIth century. Traditions credits Béla II with the foundation of the town, and the



The Gallery in the Benedictine Church, Pápa.

Hungarians who settled in it called it Eperjes because the strawberry (eper) grew so plentyfully in the district. Later still Flemings came here as colonists. So much is certain, at any rate, that the older parts of the church are older than the XVth century. Considering its length the church is disproportionately broad, because the available space did not permit any addition to the length of the church. Thus the two side naves are each as broad as the principle nave. The vaulted roof of the nave is carried on octagonal pillars. The roof of the church was destroyed by fire in 1441. A heavy tower rises in the western part which was built by Frederick Schulek in its modern form in 1903. The winged altars of the church were removed in the XVIth century, and their place was taken later by baroque altars in the XVIIIth cen-

The Hunting Lodge of Matthias Corvinus, Pápa.

tury. Only one or two statutes remained from the earlier time. The marble font is the work of the Renaissance dating from the XVIth century.

Bátrfa. The Cistercian Abbey of Bártfa formed the very heart of the town. It was founded in the XIIth century by Béla III. This place is first of all mentioned in a document of Béla IV's time, dated 1247, and in it the name of the town is consistently given as Bárdfa. Probably the name is derived from the axes or *bárd*-s used in clearing the woods. In 1365 Louis the Great conferred the *ius gladii* upon the town, and it became a free royal borough in 1376.

The two most celebrated features of the town are the Church of St. Egidius and the Town Hall.

The older parts of the triple naved basilica church were built in the beginning of the XIVth century, and the choir dates from 1448. In that time the naves underwent a transformation also, work upon which continued until 1494. In 1878 a great fire destroyed the town, damaging the church also, but Imre Steindl restored it in the original style. Its interior is enlivened by tasteful and valuable winged altars and pews. The magnificent bookcase which once stood in the sacristy and is now one of the finest pieces in the National Museum (Budapest), is remarkable. Eugene Ábel in his work entitled „The History of the Library of St. Egidius Church in Bártfa", published by the Hungarian Academy of Science, paid tribute to the wealth of its contents. This library contained 30 books in 1460 when the Cathedral of Kassa in 1516 could only boast of nine. The bronze baptismal font belongs to the XIVth century. The dalmatic, with Gothic style embroidery, are amongst the most beautiful in existence.

The Town Hall which stands in the centre of a great square is in a style characteristic of the late Gothic and the early Renaissance periods. At the present time it is furnished as a museum. The earliest mention of it occurs in the year 1505. The archives preserve data referring to the cost of erection. It is richly ornamented by sculptures on its frieze and projecting balcony. The building was finished in 1511. In the accounts one Alexander is mentioned as the master mason (lapicida). While one Master John built the gabels. Of the Gothic furniture of the Town Hall a fine table is still extant.

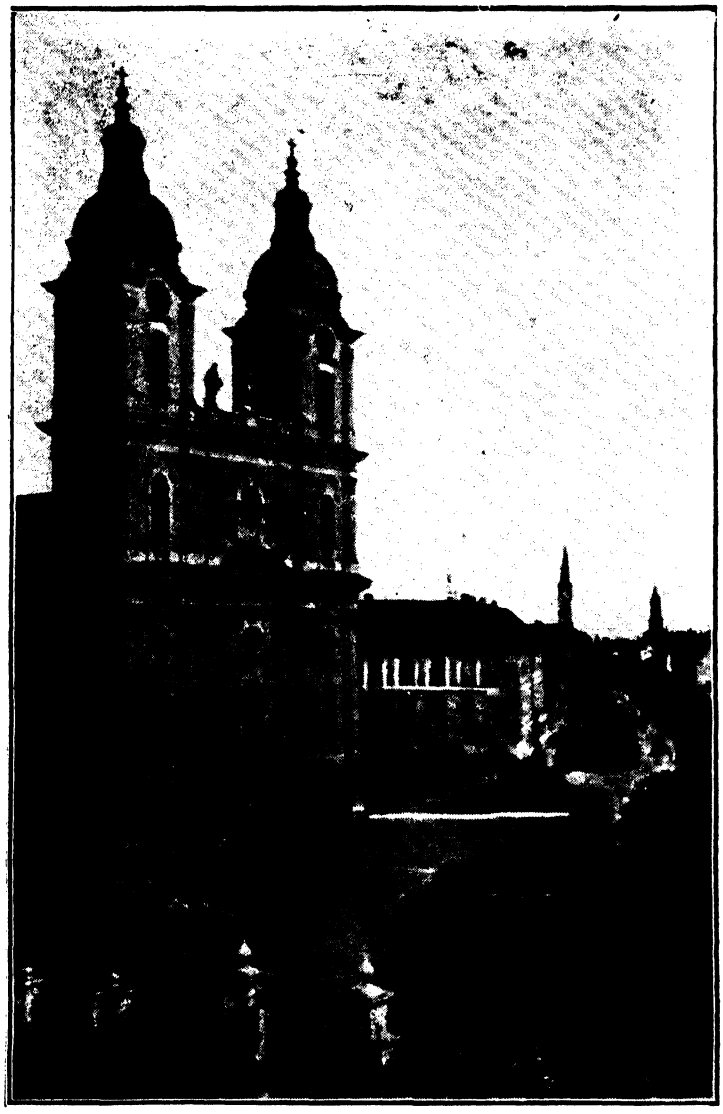
Transylvania.

Transylvania formed the eastern part of the Hungarian Kingdom and from the very beginning played an important part in its history. It was, as a matter of fact, its eastern bastion. The Christian religon early spread to Transylvania. Under King St. Stephen there was a rebellion against him which was, however, unsuccesful.

In the time of the Árpáds Transylvania was but thinly populated. The Székelers guarded the frontier on the east, and formed the defence of the southern border. King Géza II (1140—61) settled colonies of Germans on the land, the ancestors of the present day Saxonians. These brought with them their own culture. They received special privileges from the Hungarian kings. There were likewise colonies of Wallachiens settled in the upper parts of the country. Those parts of the country which were not occupied by the Hungarians and had been devastated by numerous incursions of the Cumanians and the Petchenegs, nomad tribes from Asia, came to be filled up by a people which up to that time had been of the pastoral or nomad type and go by various names: *vlachi, olachi or blachi.* They are first mentioned in a writ of emancipation, issued by Andrew II in 1224. In 1293 they are still so few that Andrew III wished to centralise them on the royal estates. After the Tartar invasion new waves of people came in upon the country. The Hungarians, the Széklers and the Saxonians formed a „Union" for the defence of the province which was renewed in 1459. Because of the Turkish occupation of Hungary proper, the relations between Transylvania and the mother country were interrupted. In the first half of the XVIth century Transylvania became independent. In 1848, however, the old connection with Hungary proper was renewed.

The principal town is in Transylvania *Kolozsvár,* the „treasure city". Here King Matthias was born on 23 Febr, 1440 in one of the houses of the old castle. This house was built in the XIIIth century. Lately it has been restored, and is now used as the Ethnographical Museum of the Transylvanian Carpathian Society.

The great central square of the city has been the scene of many a historic and often bloody event. The imposing Gothic church of St. Michael, by its very dimension, indicates the importance which Kolozsvár had in the Middle Ages. This is a



Kalocsa Cathedral

three naved church, 58 metres long, built between 1396—1432, during the reign of King Sigismund. Under the ruling prince the church was for a long time in possession of the Protestants. For 150 years from the time of John Sigismund, i. e. from 1556 to 1716 the Unitarians possessed it. And it was only in 1718 that came into the hands of the Roman Catholics. The roof is vaulted. Above the north porch rises the great tower in 80 metres which was built between 1837—1862. It was in this church that Isabella, the widow of John Zápolya, handed over the Holy Crown of Hungary to Nádasdy and Casteldo, the ambassadors of Ferdinand I (1551). But it was also the scene of even more important happenings. Here, amidst great rejoicings, John Sigismund was installed as reigning prince in 1556. Here in 1605 Bocskay took the prince's oath, and here also in 1633 Gabriel Bethlen was acclaimed.

The Franciscan monastery in Kolozsvár is the most beautiful example of the Gothic buildings.

In Farkas (Wolf) Street there is the imposing Presbyterian Church, a single nave Gothic structure, which was built in 1480 during the reign of King Matthias.

Nagyenyed. This old town was inhabited by the Saxonian colonists in the XIIIth century. It takes its name from the Church of St. Egidius (Egyed) which used to stand at the eastern extremity of the town, but which was destroyed in the XVth century. In the Middle Ages it was noted as the centre of a wine-growing district and as a great market town. A castle is built on the market place, in the middle of which rises the great Presbyterian Church. This a is a cothic building of the XIVth century, and its exterior has preserved its original form. The interior, however, was gutted in the XVIIIth century by fire, and renovated in the baroque style, all except the changel which is now as it was originally with its old vaulted roof. The stumpy, strong, squat western tower belong to an earlier period.

Maros Szent Imre. John Hunyadi suffered a defeat here in 1442, but immediately afterwards was completely victorious over the Turks at *Nagyszeben*, and to mark his victory he raised this little Gothic one naved church in the place where he had suffered defeat.

Nagyszeben. One of the principal Saxonian towns. It was founded by German colonists. In 1223 it went by the name of Villa Hermann from which is derived the German name of the town: Hermannstadt.

It developed quickly. In 1376 in a set of rules published for the Saxonian guilds, Nagyszeben is found to have had 19 guilds with 25 industrial branches. The commerce of the city made it an important link between East and West, and was the source of great riches. The town with its strong walls offered a safe place of refuge to the inhabitants of the neighbourhood at the time of the Turkish invasions, and as early as the XVth century it was designated by Pope Eugenius VI as the bastion of Christianity, defending it against the infidels.

In Huet Square there is the Lutheran church which was originally the Parish Church of the Blessed Virgin. It was begun in the second half of the XIVth century on the site of an older church. The second period of building falls between 1448—60, from which time dates the part of the nave falling to the west of the tower. In the third building period, in 1477—1520, were built the gallery above the southern side nave, and the south and the north porches.

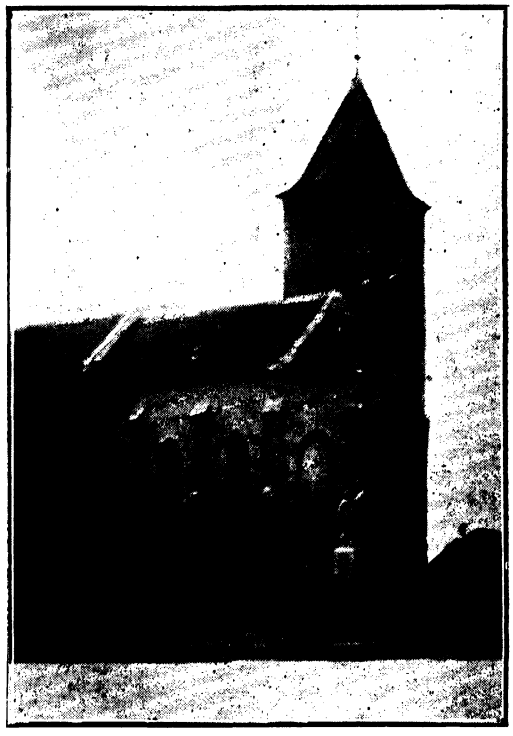
On the northern wall of the chancel above the sacristy door, one can see the splendid fresco of John Rozsnyói, 1445, the principal subject of which is the Crucifixion. The bronze baptismal font, dated 1438, the masterpiece of Leonhardus, is well known. In the western nave we find the tombstone of the Saxonian counts, Szeben burgomasters and the ministers of the church.

The larger part of the Town Hall belongs to the Gothic period. The town bought the building in 1545 from Mark Pempflinger, the King's Magistrate, and from that time it has been used continuously as a Town Hall.

The inhabitants of the Királyföld (King's Land) and the Barcaság were not contented with the defence provided for them by the castles which then existed, because their situation close to the frontier exposed them to continual danger. They solved the problem of defence by building fortified churches in the villages. There was great activity in the building of these churches under the kings of the Anjou dynasty who encouraged it: it was also helped by the rapid increase of wealth, and the need of such places during the time of Turkish inroads in the XVth century. To this day many of them remain extant.

The XVth century was the most flourishing period for the building of the Saxonian church-forts. From an artistic point of view they have no special value, because they were built quickly, and in most cases without ornamentation. But in spite of that, they are interesting documents in showing the necessities of their times. Their defensive purpose frequently influences the character of the churches' exterior.

The surrounding wall is generally strengthened by two others, sometimes even by five towers. The church itself is built in the centre of a castle square and its western tower serves also as the keep of the fortress.



R. C. Church from the time of the Arpads. Kőröshegy.

The church-forts with their towers have always a picturesque appearance.

The biggest and most complete of them all is the church-fortress of Prázsmár, in the middle of the Barcaság. It is built on the level ground, and surrounded by a double circle of walls. The church is in the centre, and is older than the fortifications. Above the meeting of the naves there rises a so-called quadri-lateral tower. The chancel and the transepts are closed by the three sides of an octagon.

Brassó. Andrew II (1205—35) settled the Teutonic Order in the Barcaság in 1211

and entrusted to the knights the duty of defending that part of the Kingdom against the barbarian peoples of the South. In the track of this knightly order German colonists entered the Kingdom. The German order, however, becoming powerful, sought freedom from the kings' sovereignity and so Andrew II, in 1225, drove them out by force. The colonists, however, remained, and it was they who laid the foundations of Brassó. According to legend, the city stands where a golden crown was found at the root of a tree, and from this the town gets its German name: Kronstadt.

R. C. Church, Celldömölk.

This is also why we find on the coat of arms of the town the root of a tree and a crown.

At first the Saxonians settled in that part which is known as old Brassó, where stands the early Gothic church of St. Bartholomew. Later on, however, they spread to the foot of the Royal Castle which was dismantled during the governorship of John Hunyadi, and which used to stand in the present day Belváros (Inner Town). The halcyon days of Brassó were in the XIVth century when it was the centre of the commerce coming from the south, passing through Nagyszeben, Kolozsvár, and the Szepesség, and thence to the Hansa towns of the North.

In the Inner Stadt the greatest Saxonian church rises above the central square, the *Black Church.* This building was begun at the end of the XIVth century, and even in 1423 it was not completely finished. We can read the figures 1477 on the south door and possibly this represents the year in which the nave was completed. In 1689 a great fire destroyed the church. Its walls were blackened by the fire and hence

The Interior of the R. C. Church, Celldömölk.

the name, the „Black Church". It is 89 metres long. Its bronze baptismal font dates from 1475. The interior is adorned by 120 Turkish carpets, each more beautiful than the other, of Asia Minor origin. These are remains of the trade which Brassó used to have with the East. The western tower is one storey lower than it was originally. Honterus, the apostle of the Saxonians, on returning home to Brassó from his studies in Germany in 1533, quickly won the people over to the Lutheran faith. Since that time the „Black Church" has been used by the Lutherans.

Its interior can only be rivalled by that of Kassa Cathedral for wealth of ornament.

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The conditions under which the „Transylvanian Papers" of Paul Gyulay first saw the light in 1867 are a sorrowful reminder of our own times. Once again a foreign tyranny is established in the valleys of the Szamos and the Maros, and a foreign flag flies over those buildings built by Hungarian brains and Hungarian hands. One is consoled, however, by the knowledge that might cannot permanently triumph over right, and that sooner or later it must give way to justice and truth.

V. THE REMAINS OF THE RENAISSANCE STYLE.

Renaissance is a French word meaning New Birth. It indicates the new development of art which took place in Italy in the XVth century and was based upon the study of the art of ancient Rome. The study of the Latin literature powerfully affected the whole world outlook as well as the development of art. The art of the Renaissance was not and could not be a simple imitation of that of the Roman period, for the problems confronting it were quite different; but it used the artistic forms of the Romans in applying itself to the tasks before it.

In Italy, the original home of the Renaisance, the Renaissance architecture was first of all that of buildings devoted to secular purposes. In this it was in marked contrast to the architecture of the Middle Ages whose forms were first of all developed in church buildings and from them taken over to others.

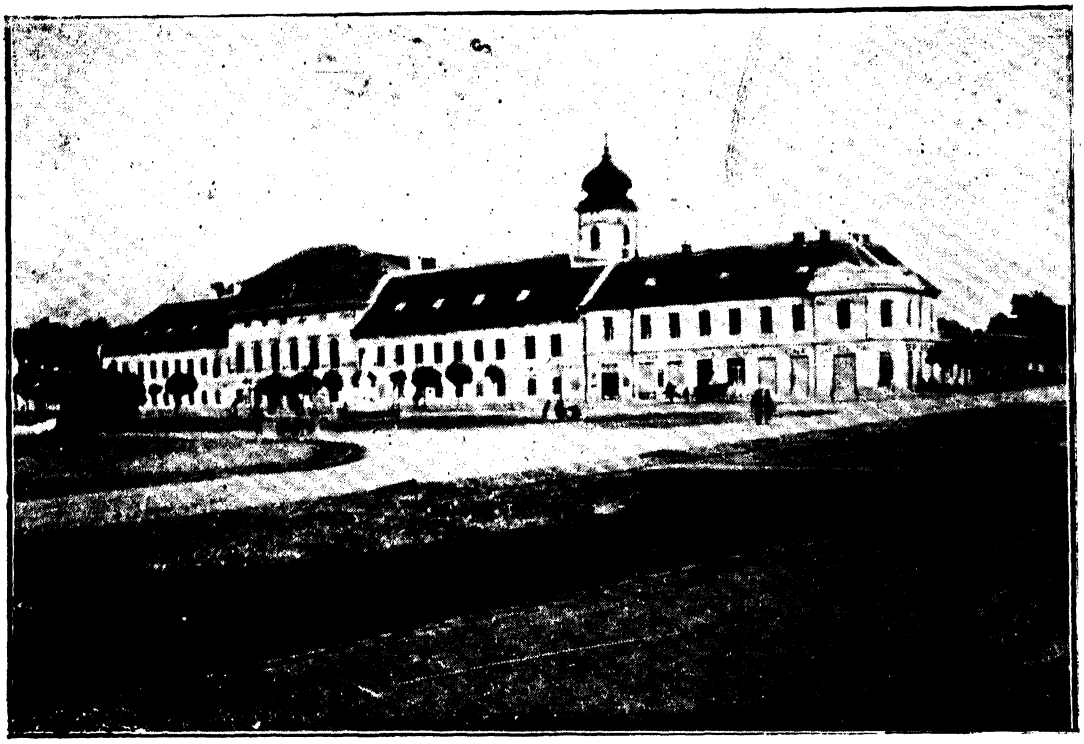
The individual became more prominent in this time and asserted himself more successfully. Vasari, writing in 1550 of the artistic life of the period, was the first to use the word „rinascita" (Renaissance), meaning by it that, as compared with the art of the dark Middle Ages, which they esteemed barbarous and called Gothic, there had really been such a transformation that could justly be called a new birth of art.

Nothing was more natural than that the Renaissance should spread to Hungary, since no country in Europe was able to resist its influence. The way was prepared for it by the Humanist movement, that is to say by that movement which was inspired as to culture by the literary remains of classical times and which made itself felt very soon in Hungary, owing to the close contact then existing between Hungary and Italy. This new direction given to art by the study and emulation of the ancients naturally affected the architecture of Hungary. To a certain extent the pointed arch went out of fashion, but only to a certain extent, for, to begin with, it was only the more „Humanist" rulers together with certain of the principal nobles and higher clergy who welcomed the change in taste. In Hungary, the native craftsmen, to whom at first it was strange, fought shy of the new forms of art. Thus it was that the first to introduce them were craftsmen invited from Italy.

The first declared advocate of Renaissance ideas in Hungary was also an Italian. This was Philip Ozorai, High Sheriff of Temes. Originally he was Filippo Scolari, a Florentine, who came to Hungary and served under King Sigismund as his general, dying in 1426 a Hungarian Magnate. Vasari records that Ozorai gladly helped such Italian artists as came to Hungary and himself gave employment to several. Apart from him, the Florentine Buondalmonte, Archbishop of Kalocsa, Joannes de Milanensibus, Bishop of Várad, and Conrad de Cordinis, his provost, were all Humanists and so patrons of the Renaissance.

Among the leading Hungarian clergy were Cardinal Dénes Széchy who was a student in Padua in 1426, and John Zrednai, later Archbishop of Esztergom, the first Hungarian Humanist, under whose influence John Hunyadi, the great hero of the Turkish wars, came also to be a supporter of the new culture. John's son Matthias, in fact, received a completely Humanist education.

We know that the great king and lover of art gave commissions to numerous Italian artists both in Hungary and in Italy. It was under the direction of Italian masters that King Matthias had the interior of his palace in Buda built and furnished, an interior which contemporary writers and especially Bonfini, the King's historian, cannot find words to praise sufficiently. Fragments which have lately come



The Monastery of the Premonstratensians, Csorna.

to light recall to our minds the contemporary Renaissance artistic forms of Florence. The material of which they are composed is certainly the product of Hungarian mines. These fragments are from the interior of the castle chapel, as may be deduced from their obviously ecclesiastical motifs.

The remains of the palace of Matthias which had fallen to ruin or, more precisely, had been going that way, were used under the Turks and later, when the walls of the citadel were rebuilt, to make up the mortar used in building. So Professor Alajos Hauszman, the designer of the new castle, says.

By a piece of good fortune, two bronze candelabra from the exterior of the palace of Matthias escaped destruction and are now to be seen in one of the mihrabs, or prayer chambers, of the Mosque of St. Sophia in Constantinople. According to a Turkish inscription, as the late Imre Karácson, our great expert in the Turkish language and literature, has established, the Turks carried them off from Buda and used them in the decoration of Justinian's great church. The form and ornamentation of the candelabra cleverly exhibit the features of the Renaissance. They are mentioned also frequently by Bonfini in his description of the palace as it was when newly built.

After the death of Matthias the influence of the Renaissance continued to be felt. Both the higher clergy and the citizens, according to their respective means and opportunities, gave it their support. In the church of Our Lady, in Pest, there are still existing some remains in the Renaissance style which date from the beginning of the XVIth century: two ambries on the right and left sides of the chancel. One of them, from the device and inscription on it, was evidently made to the order of Andrew Nagyrévi, priest of the church, who was Bishop of Thermopyle. The other, as we know also from the device upon it, was made for the citizens of Pest. We can even determine the date of these two pieces more accurately from the figures 1507, which are inscribed on the latter and indicate the year. Both of these works of art are from the hands of a master of his craft, displaying, as they do, excellent technique and a real sense of style. It is probable that we have here two examples of the work of Giovanni Dalmata who was

already working in Hungary in the times of Matthias and whose full style and title was „Magister Johannes Dukarovic de Tragurio". The centre part of the ambry reminds one of the upper portion of the altar of the south nave in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Florence, which is from the hands of Giovanni della Robbia. We find analogies also for the construction of the frame and the upper portion. In 1509, Giovanni Dalmata appears again in Ancona, but previous to this the only mention of him dates from 1490. It is probable that the twenty years between were spent by him working in Hungary, which the existence of certain Renaissance works of art, obviously from his hand, allows us to assume.

Andrew Nagyrévi was priest of this church only until 1506, so that the ambry which was made for him must have been made previous to the other upon which the date 1507 is visible.

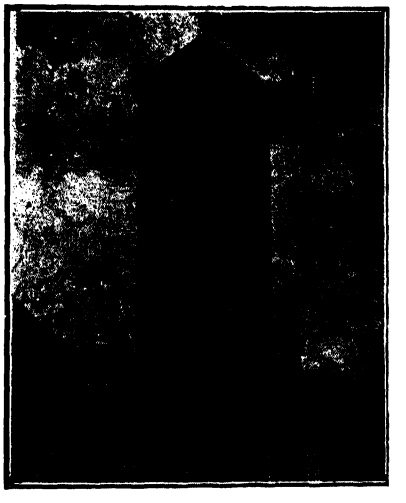
A powerful patron of Renaissance architecture was George Szathmáry who was later Bishop of Pécs. A beautiful Renaissance coat of arms of his is to be seen on the staircase of the Kassa Town Hall. This dates from 1492. While he was Bishof of Pécs, George Szathmáry enriched his cathedral there by an ambry, resembling those in Pest. In 1783 this was removed from its original place in the chancel and since then it has been used for the altar of the Corpus Christi Chapel. The lower part of the red marble altar, similar to those in Pest, is adorned by the arms of the Bishop who raised it.

In the Episcopal Museum at Pécs, there are preserved two relics of another work for which Bishop Szathmáry was responsible, i. e. his palace. These are two semicircular window frames, decorated with the episcopal coats of arms. This palace stood before the south-eastern tower of the cathedral until 1780.

Here we may mention another exhibit in the Pécs Museum, the coat of arms of Sigismund Ernest, Bishop of Pécs, carved out of limestone, dated 1498. Originally this stone stood above the gateway, in the bastion of the Castle of Pécs which the bishop had built, and which was demolished in 1819.

The Hungarian bishops, as is obvious from what has been said, powerfully supported the new artistic movement. Among them we must mention Thomas Bakócz, the Archbishop of Esztergom, who built in 1506 and 1507 a cruciform red marble sepulchre-chapel beside the Roman style cathedral of Esztergom which has been already mentioned. We do not know whose work it is, but it is certain that the architect was an Italian. Vasari mentions in the book which we have already cited, that the author of the white marble was Andrea Ferrucci da Fiesola.

The Renaissance art conquered during the course of time not only the centre, but the more distant parts of the country also. So e. g. a primitive, but, nevertheless, charming work of the Italian Renaissance architecture may be seen in the northern vestibule of the Gyulafehérvár Cathedral,



The Tower of the R. C. Church (XVIth century), Vaál.

in Transylvania. There are traces of both the Roman and the Gothic style in this vestibule. Though the building itself was already erected in the Roman style of the XIIIth century and its fine vaulted roof is in the Gothic style, the architectural ornamentation of this exterior is done decidedly in the style of the Renaissance. For this latter, John Lászai, otherwise Johannes Lazoynus, was responsible, who was senior in Transylvania, but was transferred later on as father confessor of the Hungarians in Rome. As such he died in Rome in 1523. His tombstone still may be seen in the church of San Stefano Rotondo there. The stay of John Lászay in Rome makes it likely that the Renaissance ornamentation of the vestibule was done by an Italian master.

In Transylvania, *Kolozsvár* was the centre of both architectural and artistic activity throughout the XVIth century. But while until now we have been dealing with such remains of architecture as were built mainly by, or at least under the guidance of, Italian masters, the architectural remains which we find in Transylvania, dating from this period, betray the work of Hungarian masters who have learned the artistic forms of the Renaissance style and adopted them with considerable success

On the central square of Kolozsvár stood the so called Szatmáry House which was called also Báthory House, for Prince Sigismund Báthory used to stay there. The house was built during the course of the XVIth century and, as its still remaining parts show, not all at once. The frontage of the house was pulled down in 1890 and a modern building was erected in its place, but the parts around the courtyard are still extant. The carved stone window- and door-frames of the demolished part are now kept in the Kolozsvár National Museum. One of the windows is dated 1541.

A smaller relic of the Italian Renaissance art from Transylvania is the ambry of the church in Ágotakövesd, dated 1537 and now kept in the Transylvanian National Museum at Kolozsvár.

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The Renaissance remains which date from the time after the Mohács disaster can be divided into two parts. In the first place, through the spread of the Reformation, there are remains which reveal the overwhelming influence of the German Renaissance; and in the second place, others which belong to what may be briefly called the Renaissance of Northern Hungary. The latter show distinct signs of Northern Italian, first of all Venetian influence which was, however, modified also by German and more particularly Hungarian local characteristics.

We may mention among the latter the ornamented well in the main square of Pozsony. This is the work of Andrew Luttringer, a stonecarver from Németujvár, and as the inscriptions on the well testify, it was erected between 1563—1572. Its basin is octagonal, having on each side a mask, and in its centre there is a standing statue, bearing a coat of arms. This is, according to tradition, the statue of Maximilian, the German Emperor and the King of Hungary.

The great meeting room of the Town Hall is similarly an example of this new style. This room had originally a vaulted roof in the Gothic style, but the City Council ordered a new carved roof, made of wood and suspended under the original stone vaulted roof. This was done in 1577.

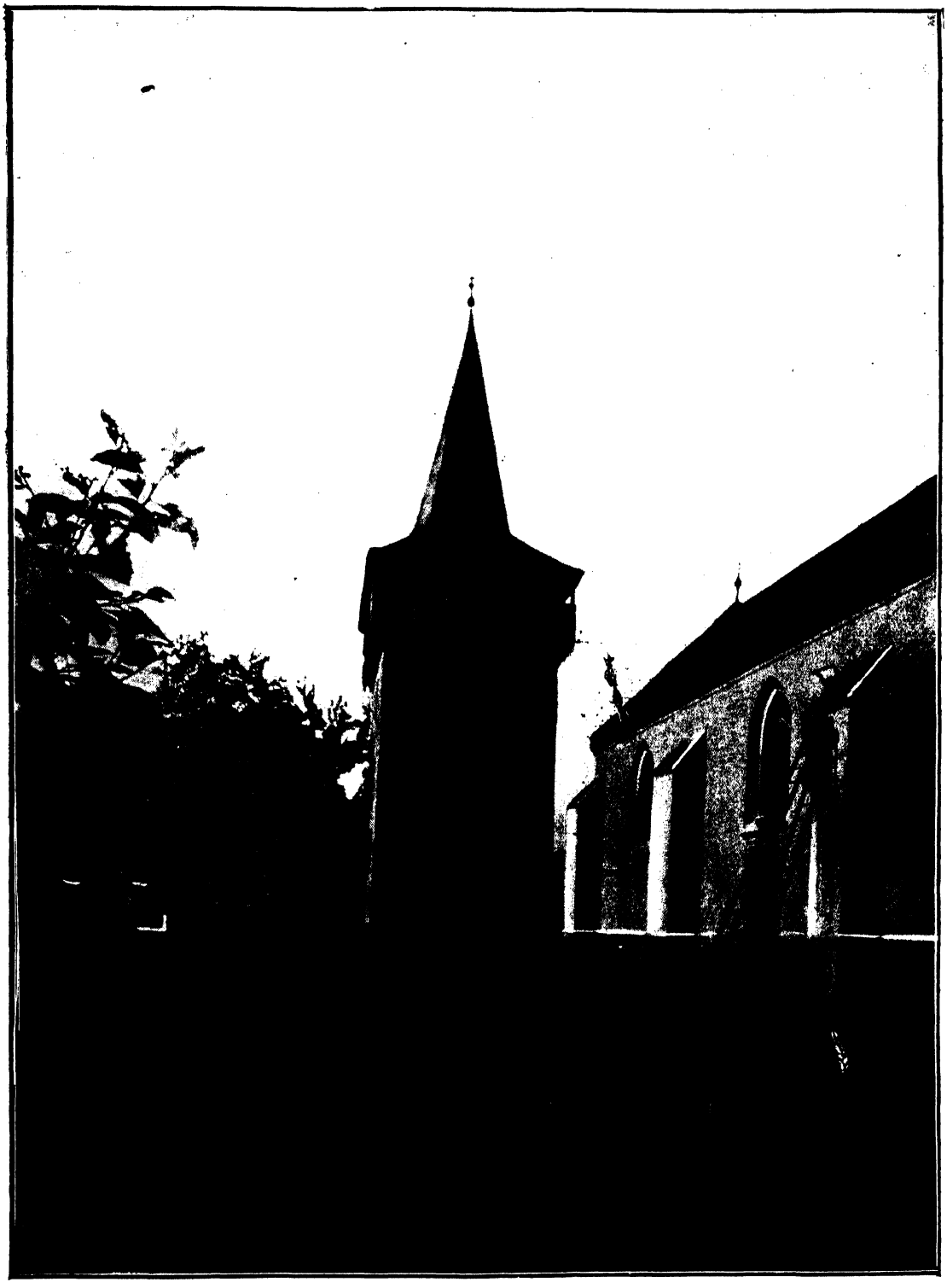
The gate-tower at the end of the Mihálykapu (Michael's Gate) Street is an example of the late Renaissance style also. This gate was mentioned first in 1410 in a document in the city's archives. Its spire was made out of copper in the XVIIth century; the statue of the Archangel Michael killing the dragon is the work of the Pozsony coppersmith, Peter Eller.

The arched corridor of the first floor, which runs along the northern wing of the Town Hall, was built in the XVIth century and its lofty structure gives a pleasant look to the courtyard of the building.

The remains of the German Renaissance, as we have already mentioned, date mostly from the second half of the XVIth century. Some tombstones of architectural value are built in this style. These are usually built into the walls or the pillars of the churches. Their material is either bronze, or red, or white marble, or different kinds of limestone. They are usually ornamented with reliefs, showing the dead man and his relatives as they kneel before a crucifix. These tombstones give good opportunity to study the contemporary dresses both of the aristocrats and the bourgeois.

Among the tombstones of the Pozsony Coronation Church, the finest is the tombstone of Anna Erdődy, the first wife of the Palatine Stephen Illésházy, who died about 1577.

The furniture of the churches' interior is more seldom from these times than from the Gothic period. The carved stone high altar of the parish church in Pozsonyszentgyörgy is one of the finest remains of this age. It is a worthy companion to the Italian altar of the Bakócz chapel in Esztergom. It was most likely raised by one of the counts of Szentgyörgy and Bazini. Carved out of soft limestone, it is richly ornamented with various figures. Its form is similar to those of the winged altars of the Gothic style, and thus it is most likely that its master was not of Italian origin. The various incidents to be seen on the



Presbyterian Church, built out of the ruins of an old Castle, Szendrő.

altar show the Birth of Christ, the Flight to Egypt, and, in the centre, St. George killing the dragon.

The towns of Northern Hungary which had already a fully developed legal and social organisation in the first half of the XVIth century, were in a great measure affected through the changes caused by the consequences of the Mohács disaster. While the most of Hungary suffered under the Turkish occupation, in Northern Hungary, the two rival kings, Ferdinand the Habsburg, and John Zápolya, were disturbing the peace of the country. The towns were oftentimes sacked by the armies of either the one or the other king. They recovered, however, quickly and their material and spiritual development was by no means checked by these catastrophes. The commerce from abroad was concentrated in these towns. A new and more lasting building activity started with a better town planning which was the direct influence of the Renaissance style. Most of the Hungarian towns in the north received their still existing plans during the XVIth century when they usually planned and built their large and regularly formed central squares. Many town halls and towers were built in this time, mostly in the style of the German Renaissance. — Such is e. g. the town tower of *Nagyszombat*.

The arcades, leading to the frontages of the houses, were built mostly during the XVIth century. They were used as bazaars during the fairs held in the towns. In the great central square of *Zsolna*, which was at this time a very lively town of trade and commerce, we find these rows of arcades, with their semicircular arches and groined roofs, almost in complete preservation.

The Cathedral of Nyitra, which was built in place of an older church by John Telegdy (1622—44), is a simpler building partly reconstructed during the XVIIIth century. Its high altar was made by John Pernegge in 1662.

I mention here only two buildings from this period in old Pannonia. The one is the town tower of Sopron. The cylinderlike under part of this tower was built perhaps as early as the time of the Romans, but certainly not later than the time of the Árpáds. Its octagonal upper part, with its gallery of beautiful columns, dates from the time of the Renaissance. Its copper roof was made in 1676 and the double-headed eagle (the coat of arms of the town) at the top, in 1681.

The old parish church of Kőszeg, or, as it is called, the St. Emerich or the Magyar Church, stands in the Jurisich square and was built between 1615—20. Its tower is 47 metres high. Its northern chapel and vestry were built in 1671.

There can be formed an extra group from the remains of the Renaissance of Northern Hungary. The characteristics of this group are the richly ornamented gable-wall and frieze on which the motifs of the Middle Ages and Renaissance palaces of Venice can be traced.

This style was brought by Italian masters to Poland also and developed similarly as it did in Hungary.

The chief motive for the building of the gable-walls was the frequency of fires. The chronicles of the towns of Northern Hungary are full of records of these frequent'y occuring conflagrations which were especially dangerous because of the high roofs of the medieval buildings. The Italian Renaissance did away with these high roofs, but the Renaissance style of Northern Hungary went still further: all the four sides of the building were surrounded with a fireproof wall and the roof was made to slope on all sides towards the courtyard. The gable wall, facing the street, was covered with ornamentations in the new manner.

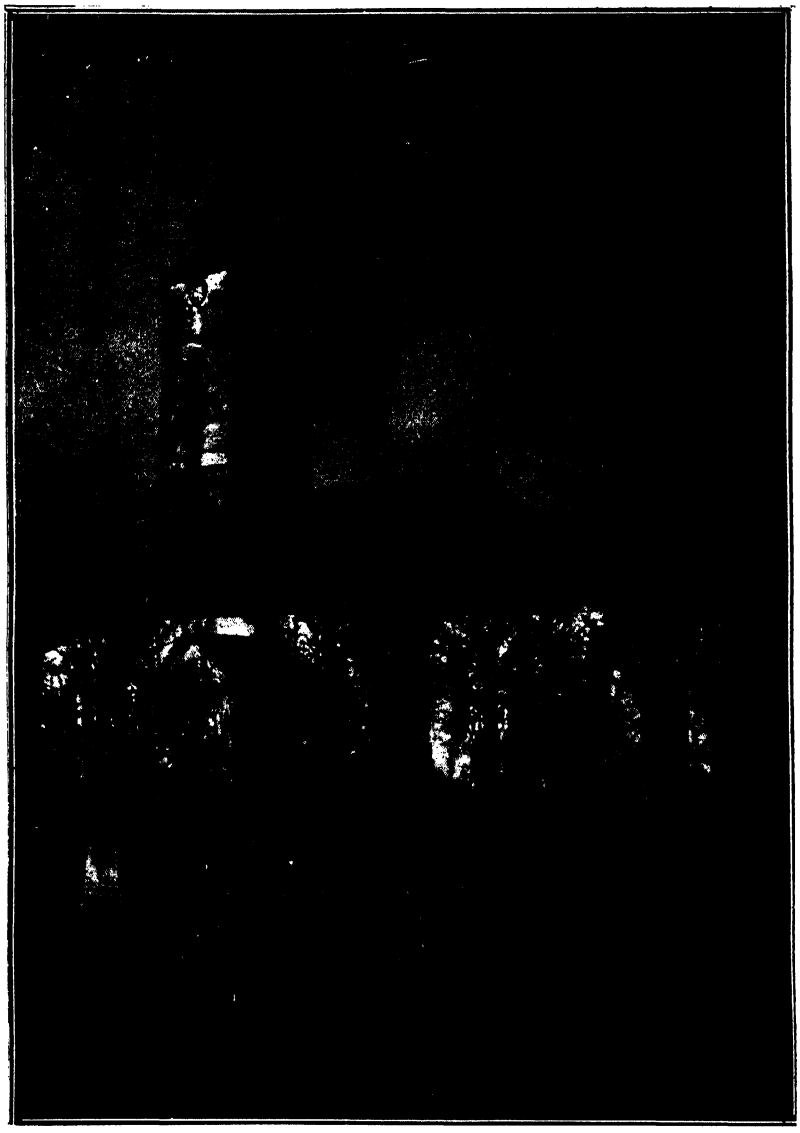
In the XVIth century the arcades were decorated also with *sgraffito* ornamentation, until in the architecture of the XVIIIth century the sgraffito is supplemented by mouldings. We find the best examples of this kind of thing in the counties of Szepes and Sáros. In the county of Szepes, the oldest relic of the Northern Hungarian Renaissance is the Thurzo Castle of Bethlenfalva.

The Lőcse Town Hall, in its present form, was built in 1551. The core of the building, as may be seen especially on the groundfloor, is medieval, and bears witness to the fact that the building was already standing in the XVth century. It was only after a fire in 1549 that it was transformed and connected with the arcaded corridors. In the XVIth century it was rebuilt entirely. The southern part is an XVIIIth century piece of work. In the past century it was restored by Frederick Schulek.

In the XVIIth century the houses of the town were also rebuilt in the peculiar

manner of Upper Hungary. In Lőcse, one of these houses is still standing. This is the building, wrongly called the Thurzó House, which lately was bought by Count Vidor Csáky from the Bágya family. Its interior dates from the Gothic period. The sgraffito ornamentation which had been destroyed, was replaced in 1903. The courtyard of this building is interesting, but the finest courtyard in Lőcse is that of the Bobst-Szkicsák House.

The independent bell-towers, which are of frequent occurence in Northern Hungary, form one group, representative of the Renaissance architecture of Northern Hungary. Italy is the home of the campaniles. In Hungary, quite apart from the Italian influence, there was sufficient reason for their existence in the fact that from the beginning of the XVth century the Hungarian bellmarkers cast such large bells that they could not be taken into the small medieval churches. In Kézsmárk, according to Genersich, the present bell-tower was built already in 1525, though its sgraffito ornament was only worked in 1591. This gives us an excellent example of how the sgraffito design takes the place of an ac-



Presbyterian Church of Szikszó, surrounded by a great wall. The Church was used as a refuge for the inhabitants during the Turkish wars.

tual arcade. The Poprád tower is of similar design, but it was built only in 1568.

In Eperjes also, quite early, there was felt the influence of the Roman style, but the greater part of the remains, existing to-day, are from the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. There are whole rows of houses which preserve the forms of the Northern Hungarian Renaissance. Excellent examples are the *Munk, Gallocsik (formerly Rákóczy) Werther* and *Kerényi* houses which exist side by side. The Rákóczy house was built about 1500. It was here that Prince George Rákóczy I, in 1633, concluded the Peace of Eperjes. The new sgraffito ornamentation is succesful.

Among the castles of Northern Hungary, the gem is the *Fricsi Castle*, in the neighbourhood of Eperjes. It is in very good condition, and with its sgraffito ornament fairly well preserved, faithfully represents the original form of the Renaissance castles. Its frieze is done in Hungarian style. In its arcades there is a row of figures of almost life-size: princes, noblemen, student with guitar, mounted figure, mythological figures (Greeks, Romans, Persian, Hungarians etc.). In its design the ornamentation shows regard for popular taste, and therefore, from our point of view, is all the more valuable.

About this castle's history, we know that Michael Sorger built it in 1623 and that the artist who ornamented it with sgraffito in 1630, was Martin Vaxmann and its owner was Valentine Berthóty.

Turkish Remains in Hungary.

The Turks occupied Hungary for 150 years and in the field of architecture perpetuated their memory in baths, wells, shrines, dervish monasteries and burial chapels. Of all they built, however, nothing much remains to-day.

It was in 1541 that the Sultan Suleiman took possession of the citadel of Buda and made it the capital of a Turkish province, so that Buda became the centre not only of Turkish politics in Hungary, but of Turkish culture also. There were seven high schools, twenty-four dsami and forty-six mosques. The most generous patron of Turkish architecture in Buda was Szokoli Mustapha Pasha 1566—78.

From Turkish times there remain the Rudas, the Király, the Császár baths, and the burial chapel of Gül Baba. Apart from Buda, the principal centres of Turkish culture were the chief towns of the vilayets: Eger, Nagyvárad, Pécs, Temesvár, Eszék. In 1686 Buda was recaptured from the Turks and this marked the end of the Turkish empire in Hungary. The finest minaret left standing is in Eger.

VI. REMAINS OF THE BAROQUE ARCHITECTURE.

A) Budapest.

In the history of Budapest, the baroque period began after 1686, the year in which Hungarians recovered Buda and Pest from the Turks. A new period of development began from that date. It was Pest that took the lead in this new period. Leopold I raised Pest to the rank of a royal city, but the Rákóczy War of Liberty intervened and later on, a horrible epidemic raged within its walls. In the first half of the XVIIIth century, however, and especially during the reign of Maria Theresa, there was tremendous building activity on both sides of the Danube. From 1700 to 1750, eleven churches were built in Budapest.

The University Church, once the Church of the Pauline Order (1715—1776), the Viziváros (River Town) Church (1740—1746), the present City Hall whose plans were done by Martinelly, all belong to this period. The foundation stone of the Servita Monastic Church was laid in 1717. The Franciscans likewise, who settled in Budapest on the Friars' Square at an early date, erected their present church at this time.

Maria Theresa, after visiting Pest in 1715, built a royal palace on Buda. In 1767 a permanent pontoon bridge was made to join up Buda and Pest in 1777. The University was brought from Nagyszombat to Buda, and later, in 1784, moved by Joseph II to Pest. In 1786 the present New Building (Neugebäude) was built, at a considerable distance from the city at that time, on the site of the present day Liberty Square.

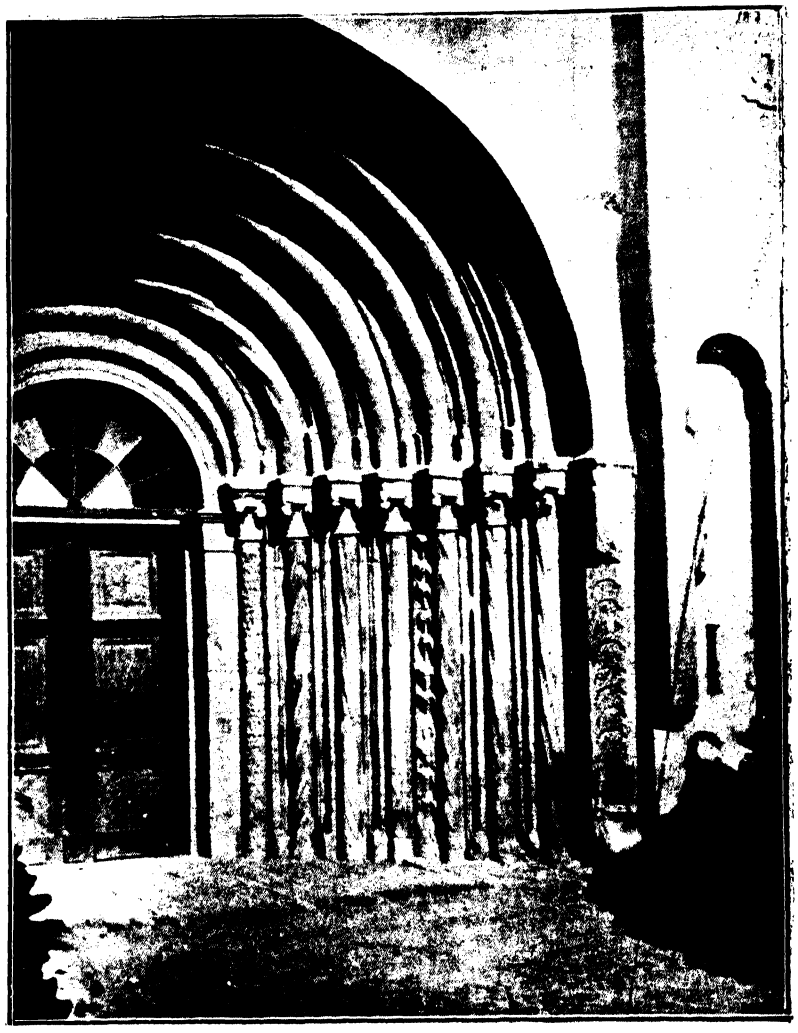
We shall now consider the architectural remains which we may classify as follows:

1. The church buildings of Pest;

2. The church buildings of Buda;
3. The secular buildings of Pest;
4. The secular buildings of Buda;
5. Statuary.

At the corner of the Friars' Square there stands the *Franciscan Church* which was built between 1690 and 1715. The square was previously occupied by a Turkish mosque. It is a single naved building in the baroque style, with two side chapels. The four ceiling paintings, from the hands of Charles Lotz, were in a very bad condition, until recently they were restored. In the middle of the simple frontage, the main doorway is set between two pillars, under an ornamented pediment. A beautiful tower rises behind the chancel.

The *University Church*, a double-towered building, was built by the Pauline monks between 1715—1776. This is the first baroque church in Budapest. Its main doorway, by virtue of its rich ornamentation, is especially to be admired. It is a single naved church, its ceiling was decorated with frescoes by John Bergle, the Pauline brothers made its carved pews. Its splendid high altar (1758) and gorgeous pulpit are worthy of mention.



R C. Church (XIIIth century), Sopronhorpács.

The *„Angol Kisasszonyok" Church*, in the Váci Street, is again of XVIIIth century origin. Until 1787 it was in the hands of the Dominicans. A statue of the Virgin enthroned adorns the doorway.

In 1787 the foundation stone of the *Burghers' Hospital* was laid. This hospital stands by the side of the Rokus Chapel on the Rákóczi Street. The chapel itself was built in 1711. In 1797 the hospital was finished by Thomas Kardetter.

The *Serbian Church*, quite a small building, was built in the second half of the XVIIIth century on the Pest side. It has a nobly proportioned tower.

The choicest of all the XVIIIth century churches in Buda is the double-towered *St. Anna Church* which stands on the southern side of the Batthányi Square. It was built by the Jesuits between 1740—58, and remained in their possession until 1773. It is now the parish church of the Felső Víziváros (Upper River Town).

The church of the St. Elisabeth Nuns, in Fő Street was built by the Franciscans between 1703—32 in the place of the most splendid of the Turkish mosques. It was Joseph II who handed it over to the nuns

in 1785. It is a single-naved spacious church with a rich interior.

The present *Castle Theatre* was the Church of the Carmelites. It was built between 1694—1715; but the order of the Carmelites was expelled by Joseph II in 1784.

The *Taban Church* of the Serbs was built in 1732. The rococo tower of the church, with its correct proportion and beautiful silhouette, is a credit to the taste of the architect.

The old *Calvary Church*, which once

The Interior of the R. C Church, Ercsi.

stood on the Calvary Square, now stands in the Epres Kert (Mulberry Gardens). Its architect was the famous Luke Hildebrand of Vienna, the finest of the baroque artists in that city.

The Pauline Brothers are responsible for the beautiful oak woodwork in the library of the Theological Seminary.

The *City Hall*, once a home for disabled soldiers, was designed by Anton Martinelli, the Imperial architect, to the orders of Charles III, between 1716—28. The work was supported by the Archbishops Collonits and George Széchenyi. It was designed to hold 4000 people. The main frontage, with its three doors in the baroque style, is 190 metres long. Above the main entrace, the figure of Atlas is represented, carrying the world on his shoulders, between two other figures, representing Peace and War. George Széchenyi's share of the expenses of this building came to 322.000 guilders.

In 1749 Maria Theresa built the *Royal Palace* to the designs of Joseph Hildebrand, the imperial architect. The costs were met by the counties and the cities, and came to 402.649 guilders. In 1790 Joseph II added the second storey. In 1812 the observatory tower of the Palace was demolished.

Regal, the commander of the Buda Garrison, built the *Zeughaus in 1730*. It was in the baroque style also, but later was demolished. The old building of the National Archives in olden times was the Convent of the Clarissa Nuns.

The *City Hall* of Buda was built in 1692 to the plans of Venerio Ceresola, the Imperial architect. Later it underwent several transformations (1723—74).

The *Holy Trinity Monument* is a characteristic example of baroque statuary. It was a votive monument, erected by Bernardo Feretti, an Italian sculptor who was commissioned to do it by the City Council of Buda.

The *Statue of Mary* was set up on the Irma Square in 1724, but since 1826 it has occupied its present site on the Bomba Square.

The *Holy Trinity Monument* in Óbuda was built in 1686.

B) Baroque remains in old Pannonia.

The baroque architecture, properly speaking, is a richer modification of the Renaissance architecture. Columns, pillars and pediments are made the subject of ornamental work. Curved lines are the most characteristic feature, even in the designs of the groundplan. Some time ago this style was regarded with contempt. But a better understanding has brought a greater appreciation of it. Especially in the interior there is a striving after picturesque effects by means of coloured marbles, lively sculptured designs and rich frescoes. The name *barocco* is of Portuguese origin and means a pearl of irregular shape.

After the death of King Matthias, the defeat of Mohács and the incessant natio-

nal wars were responsible for a barren patch in the history of Hungarian culture, all the more barren, because the nation was rent in twain by religious quarrels. Under these circumstances, the best elements in the country were paralysed, and it was often impossible for Hungary to keep step with the rest of Europe in the development of science and art. The Turkish domination, moreover, was an obstacle to all free development. The Hungarian people was overcome by general depression, and the incessant wars destroyed the better part of the older architectural monuments. Since the kings of Hungary no longer lived in the country, there were no more royal buildings erected. The magnates and the higher clergy took the place formerly held by the kings in this regard, and they were the principal builders of the XVIth, XVIIth, and XVIIIth centuries. This is especially true of the XVIIIth century when there was such a spate of building, following the expulsion of the Turks. Cathedrals, churches, chateaux were built all over the country. In the XVIIIth century the Primate, Peter Pázmány, and the Palatine, Nicholas Eszterházy, were the chief promoters of the building activity.

The home of the baroque style was Italy. This style, however, did not influence Hungarian architecture in a direct way, but through Austria. A later variation of this style is the rococo and still later, in the second half of the XVIIIth century, the Louis XVI style.

The rococo style developed in the first half of the XVIIIth century in France during the reign of Louis XV and its influence was chiefly to be felt in the interior decoration of the buildings. The word *rocaille* means shell which was a favourite motif of this style. Its culminating point was reached during the reign of Maria Theresa Later on, however, the style went back to the simpler and quieter forms. That was the style of Louis XVI, which was very much in fashion during the reign of Joseph II at the Vienna court also. The style of this period was greatly influenced by the discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum. The simple and quiet manner of the Roman art thus took the place of the unsettled, irregular artistic forms of the rococo.

The Intérior of the Presbyterian Church, Gyoma.

The names of architects who worked at this time in Hungary are mostly unknown, but we find many names on the frescoes, mostly of artists who came from Austria. So e. g. Bartholomew Altomonte from Upper Austria, Paul Trogger the director of the Vienna Academy (1698—1777), Anton Maulbertsch (1724—1796) Stephan Dorfmeister and John Winterhalder (1743—1807).

First of all we shall deal with the remains of Pannonia. In 1589 the town of Győr was recovered from the Turks. The old cathedral, first built in the Roman, later on in the Gothic style, was rebuilt by Giovanni Rana, the Italian, between 1639—45 who took the old three naved arrangement as his basis. In the XVIIIth century, in Bishop Zichy's time, it was completely transformed. The alterations were finished in 1774. Maulbertsch, the Austrian Tiepolo, was also responsible for the painting above the high altar, representing the Assumption of Mary. The Benedictine Church in Győr was originally built by the Jesuits in 1641. Except for the interior of the side chapels, it was completely transformed in the XVIIIth century. Paul Trogger completed the beautiful ceiling painting in 1744. The Church of the Carmelites was built in Győr in 1726, after the pattern of the mother church in Rome, with an elliptical cupola and on a concentric groundplan. Altomonte painted the four altarpieces.

The baroque portions of the Veszprém Cathedral were destroyed during the latest renovations. The Abbey Church of the Benedictines in Tihany was built in the XVIIIth century on the Roman foundations. Charles Lotz, in 1899, adorned the single naved interior with splendid paintings. He was assisted by Bartholomew Székely and Louis Deák-Ebner.

Szombathely Cathedral was begun by Bishop Szily, after the see was created in 1791. The church was designed by Melchior Hefele, the Primate's architect. This cathedral is the best example of the Louis XVI style in the country. One is especially impressed by the spaciousness of the interior. The frescoes are from the hand of one Winterhalder, a pupil of Maulbertsch, who worked from the sketches made by the master himself. The church was completed in 1797.

The *Cathedral of Vác* is an example of monumental simplicity. It was built in the XVIIIth century, being begun in 1760 by Count Charles Eszterházy, later the Bishop of Eger. The work of building it was carried on by Migazzi, and finished in 1777. The plans were prepared by Canevall, a French architect. The cupola is 42 metres high. The painting of the cupola is by Anton Maulbertsch.

In *Tata*, the double-towered church was built in the second half of the XVIIIth century at the expense of the Eszterházy family. The interior seems somewhat bare, because the walls are without paintings of any kind. In form it resembles the parish church of *Pápa*, which was built by Charles Eszterházy, Bishop of Eger. The frescoes on the ceiling are by Maulbertsch and are the best work of this great artist.

Rohoncz. The Catholic church was founded by Count Adam Batthányi in 1679; it was dedicated to St. Catherine and consecrated by Zinzendorf, the Bishop of Győr in 1732. A characteristic example of the smaller village churches is the *Reformed Church* in *Balatonfüred* whose front reveals the simple lines of the Louis XVI style. It was built at the end of the XVIIIth century.

C) Baroque remains in Northern Hungary and on the Great Plain.

We have already mentioned the cathedral at *Nyitra*. The present building took the place of one older, and was built by Bishop Telegdi 1622—44. Taken as a whole, it is a simple structure which was transformed in the XVIIIth century. John Pernegger built the marble altar which stands in the side aisle.

The Jesuits and the other monastic orders who worked in the service of the Counter Reformation, built very little in the XVIIth century. About 1620 Peter Pázmány built the Franciscan church of Nagyszombat. In Pozsony, the Church of the Order of Mercy (Irgalmasok) was built by George Szelepcsényi. In 1682, Sophie Báthory, the widow of George Rákóczi II built another church for the Jesuits which is now owned the by Premonstratensians.

After the expulsion of the Turks, there was an increase in building activity in the more peaceful time of the XVIIIth century. Almost half of the Hungarian churches come from this time. In Pozsony, Sopron, Győr and Szamosujvár whole sections of towns were built during this period, so

The Ruins of Diósgyőr Castle.

that e. g. in Pozsony, the town in general has a baroque character. The finest example of the baroque style is the domed chapel adjoining the northern side of Pozsony Cathedral. It was built by Count Imre Eszterházy, the Primate of Esztergom, in 1734., to the honour of St. John the Almoner. The artist responsible for the church as well as for the sculpture in it, was George Raphael Donner.

Charles Eszterházy, the Bishop of Eger, had a special passion for building. We have already mentioned one of his works, the Cathedral of Vác. Another is the Lyceum in Eger which I shall deal with later together with the other secular buildings of this period. Tradition credits him with 99 churches.

In Eger there is one of the most imposing examples of the baroque architecture in the double-towered *Church of the Minorites*. It was in the XVth century that the Minorites settled in Eger. After the expulsion of the Turks they were reorganised. They received a mosque beside the Eger stream, to which a piece of ground was added by Francis Noszvaj, a converted Turk. On this ground the Minorites built a new church, now standing on the present Kossuth Square, which, with its large proportions, monumental details and its domed interior, deserves to be ranked amongst the finest examples of Hungarian architecture. It was completed in 1771. The altar pieces, with the figures of St. Anthony of Padua above the high altar, and those of St. Anna and the Pieta above the side altars, are the works of Luke Kracker.

In the course of the XVIIIth century, the double-towered Church of the Cistercians was built which belonged once to the Jesuits and then to the Franciscans.

A picturesque ruin may be seen in the Vág Valley, near Trencsén. This was once the double-towered church of the Abbey of Szkalka. Near by are the ruins of a monastery which was partly hewed out of the solid rock. A cave opens on the eastern side of the monastery, the interior of which has been adapted to serve as a chapel, and from it steps lead down to the crypt where formerly the remains of St. Benedict and Zoerard were buried. According to tradition, it was here that the two hermits lived in the Xth century, to whose activities the spread of Christianity in these parts was due. In the interest of their missionary work, Zoerard removed to Zobor Hill, near Nyitra. Both of them died a martyr's death.

The monastery and the neighbouring church were raised to commemorate the gentle hermits. James, Bishop of Nyitra, built them for the Benedictines in 1222. After Mohács the armies both of Zápolya and Ferdinand sacked the abbey. George Thurzó restored the church in 1520. In 1644 it came into hands of the Jesuits, and consequent on the expulsion of that order from Hungary in 1773, both the church and the monastery fell to ruin.

In *Trencsén*, the double-towered baroque church which is built adjoining the monastery of the Order of Mercy surprises the beholder with its tasteful artistic interior. Formerly it belonged to the Jesuits. George Lippay, Archbishop of Esztergom, laid its foundations in 1652 and it was completed in 1715. The interior cost 120.000 guilders, an enormous sum for those days. A beautiful silver statue of the Immaculate Virgin Mother, one metre high, stands on the high altar. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, the church became the property of the Order of Mercy.

So far as dimensions are concerned, the Premonstratensian provost's church of *Jászó*, in the neighbourhood of Kassa, is a building commanding considerable respect. It was built between 1745—1765 to the plans of Antal Salzjeber. The two-towered church stands in the middle of the monastery building which is of several stories. Its striking interior derives its artistic charm from the parget pillars and the vaulted roof, with its frescoes painted by John Kracker showing scenes from the life of John the Baptist. Kracker likewise did the painting of the ceiling in the library.

The church of *Kisgaram* is a more modest example of the XVIIIth century small village churches. In the greater towns, the parish and monastic churches, even allowing for greater or lesser divergencies, are of kindred forms.

On the *Great Plain* (Alföld), we also find some churches of the XVIIIth century period which are of interest and value from an artistic point of view. Among these, the nearest to Budapest is the great Roman Catholic church in *Kecskemét*. The history of this town is intimately related to the history of the church. It is first mentioned in a deed of gift granted by Louis the Great, King of Hungary, in 1353.

Up to 1727 the church of the Franciscans was the only Roman Catholic church in Kecskemét. In the time of Michael Al-

Church Ruins from the Turkish times (XVIth century) at Kopáncspuszta, near Makó.

Chateau built during the Turkish wars, Mohora.

thann, Bishop of Vác, Kecskemét was brought again under the see of Vác. Since the Franciscan church was too small for the number of worshippers, a petition was made to Maria Theresa for the reestablishment of the parish. Gaspar Oswald, a Piarist monk, drew up the plans for the church, the same man as had been entrusted by Canevall, the Viennese architect, with the duty of superintending the building of Vác Cathedral. This new church was begun in 1774 and completed in 1799. In 1819, when a great fire broke out in Kecskemét, the tower of the Great Church, as it was called, together with the roof was destroyed. In 1863, however, the new tower was built according to the pattern of the old. An earthquake did serious damage to the church in 1911, damage which it proved very costly to repair. The frescoes on the ceiling were painted by Ignatius Roskovits in 1901.

Kalocsa is the seat of a Hungarian Archbishopric. It was St. Stephen himself who founded the see. Henszlman and Ernest Förk had both dealt with the old church of Kalocsa, the site on which the present baroque church stands. It was in 1135, under Béla II, that, from a bishopric Kalocsa was raised to the status of an archbishopric in the place of Bács. Under the Turks the see was destroyed and the town greatly declined in character and importance.

In 1602, after the unsuccesful siege of Buda, the soldiers of Bocskay surprised the Turkish garrison of Kalocsa and sacked the town. The two-towered cathedral and the episcopal palace were destroyed. Under Leopold I the see was reestablished. Count Csáky completely rebuilt the palace in 1725 and began the building of the new cathedral which was completed by Prince Joseph Batthányi. It was destroyed by fire in 1796, but later restored by Count Ladislaus Kollonich. Lately it has been enlarged after the plans of the architect Förk.

Hunfalvy's book on Hungary and Transylvania, beautifully illustrated with steel point engravings, says no more about the cathedral in *Temesvár* than that it is in the new manner with lofty towers, a spacious porch and two wings projecting from its sides in front of the chancel. We can recognise in the architectural forms the features of the less pronounced baroque style. Before it there stands a baroque Holy Trinity Monument of a richer type.

D) Remains of Baroque Sculpture.

The baroque sculpture in the first place always strives to be decorative and pic-

turesque. The various examples express movement which is passionate, restless, gesticulative and lively. It is therefore in correspondence with the spirit of pathos which prevailed during this period. It used to be the fashion to belittle this sculpture and even to dismiss it as of no value whatever, but lately more attention has been given to it by historians of art, because it so adequately expresses the spirit of its age. Apart from the figures themselves, the lines of the dress and draperies play an important role in this type of sculpture.

Looking round Hungary we soon discover that there is no lack of baroque sculpture. It was used first of all for the altars of churches. I shall, however, content myself with mentioning several examples of independent individual works. Among these, the best from an artistic point of view is the *„Ark of the Covenant"* in Győr, made to the orders of Charles III in 1732. The design of this monument was drawn by the sculptor Giuliani, an Italian who lived in Austria.

In Vác, there is the Holy Trinity monument built in 1750 in the rococo style.

In Nyitra is the statue of Mary, similar to that in Gödöllő.

In Selmecbánya, the Holy Trinity monument is remarkable for its singular construction. It was built in 1764 to commemorate the pest which broke out in 1710.

In Sopron, there is a figure of the Virgin above the well in the courtyard of the Benedictine Monastery, which is a fine example of its own style.

The Triumphal Arch or Stone Gate of Vác is the unique example of its kind in Hungary. It was erected in memory of the visit made by Maria Theresa to the town. Its design was the work of Canevall, the Viennese architect. It is 20 metres high.

CHATEAUX AND OTHER SECULAR BUILDINGS.

The chateau arose out of the needs of the times. In the Middle Ages, the aristocracy lived in fortified castles, because only there could men feel themselves secure. But when the claims of comfort began to make themselves heard, the lord of the castle forsook the narrow confines of his donjon keep which offered him so little of it. As early as the XVIth century, we find this removal taking place, evidence being supplied by the remains of the architecture of that time, such as survive, for instance, in the Korniss Chateau in the Vág Valley and others. These chateaux, however, were still places of defence with corner and gate towers — fortified chateaux we call them — but they were no longer built on the summits of rocks or in the middle of marshes. Instead, sites were chosen on simple undulating or even quite flat ground.

In the XVIIth and particularly in the XVIIIth centuries, these chateaux were built surrounded by splendid parks. Some were U shaped, others square, others rectangular. They were richly ornamented in the baroque style, their rooms were splendid and with their general spaciousness, they were chateaux worthy of the name. Many of them were built by the great nobles and the higher clergy in Hungary on their great estates.

Vágváralja, in the picturesque Vág Valley, is the most instructive example we have, illustrating so well, as it does, the three phases in the development of the chateau. Crowning the hill is the medieval keep, on the slope of the hill, in a wooded valley, the fortified chateau with its corner towers, and below, on the level meadows by the side of the Vág, there is the third chateau, a spacious structure of many arcades and passages in the baroque style. It was formerly the home of the Szapárys.

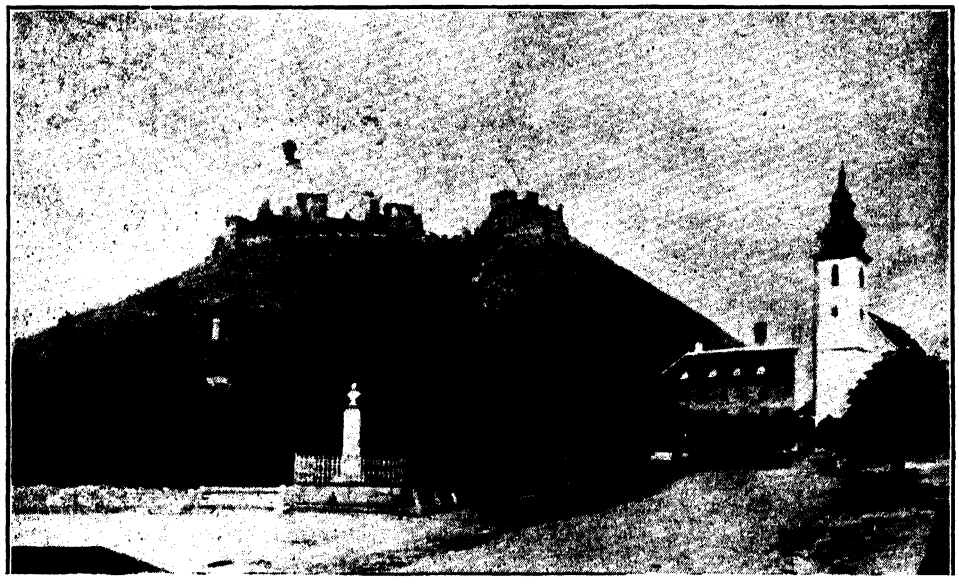
Although, strictly speaking, they were built for defence, we may still consider some buildings in Pannonia under the heading of fortified chateaux, which are found in Kőszeg, Rohonc and Sárvár.

The Eszterházy Chateau in Kismarton. When Paul Eszterházy became a prince, he commissioned Sebestiano Bartoletto and Antoni Carlotti to build him a chateau on the site of the old XIVth century castle of the Kanizsay family, after the plans drawn up by Carlo Martino Carloni (1663—72). The rear elevation shows the designs of a French architect, Moreau, who transformed it in 1805 to the order of Nicholas Eszterházy in the empire style. In the park there stands a round church in which there is a white marble statue of Princess von Lichtenstein, by Canova.

The Holics Chateau is a fine building,

dating from the XVIIIth century. It used to be surrounded by a moat; its interior decoration is an XVIIIth century bit of work. Originally it was in the possession of the Counts Czobor, but Francis of Lotharingen, the husband of Maria Theresa, bought it from the last scion of this family and established here the famous Holics potteries. In recent times it was one of the royal chateaux.

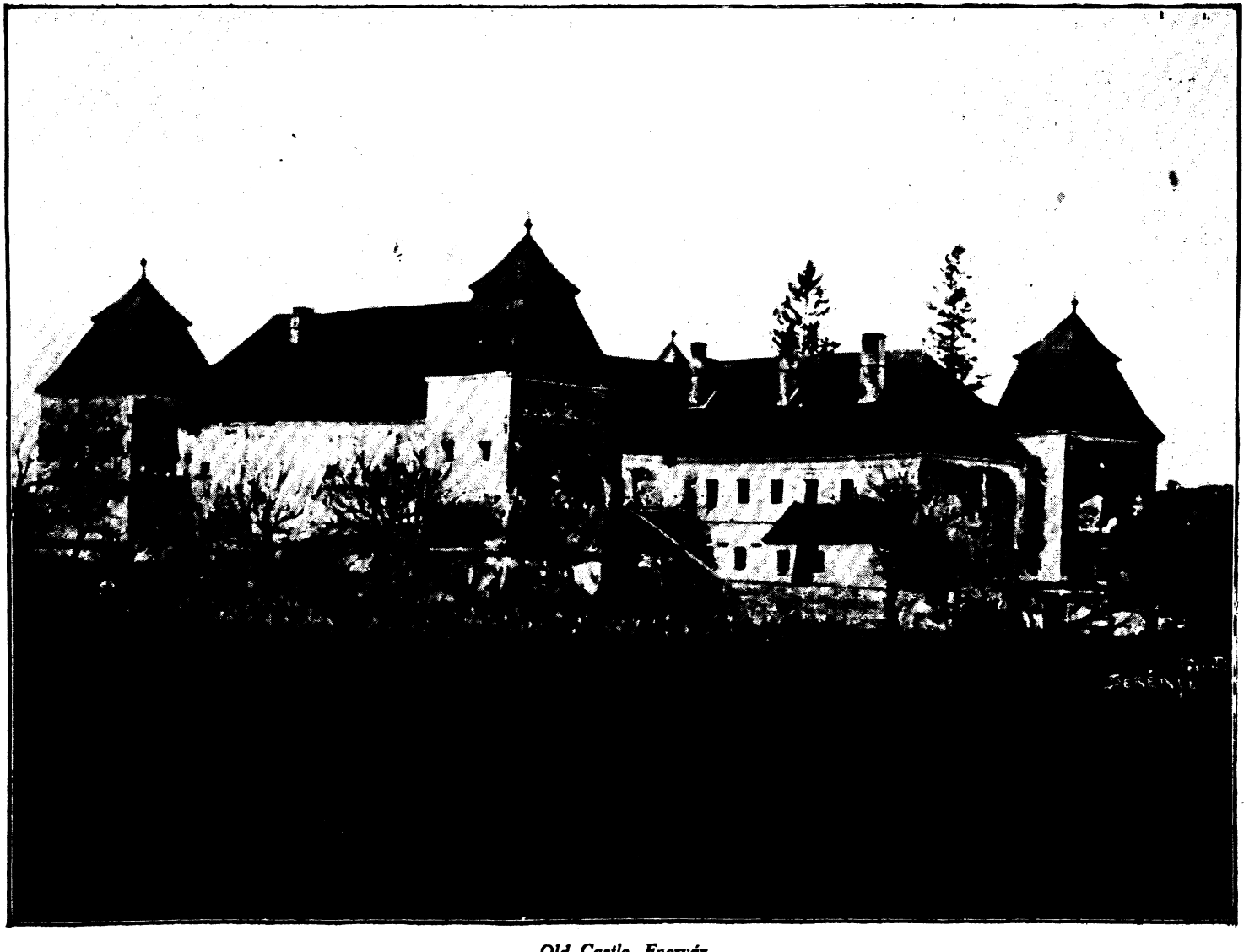
Királyfa, in the county of Pozsony, was already in the possession of the Pálffys in 1647. It was then called Königseiden or Königsdorf. The chateau, with its simple exterior, was built by John Pálffy, the Palatine, in 1712. In the chateau there was once a wonderful art collection, gathered together with great taste and discrimination by a descendant of the Palatine, the Count John Pálffy, who died in 1909.



Sümeg Castle.

Among secular buildings may be classed the great *Lyceum* in Eger, which was originally designed by its builder, Count Charles Eszterházy, the Bishop of Eger, who had a passion for building, as a Christian University. Joseph II, however, prevented this purpose from being carried out. Its exterior is simple and noble and easily recognised as being in the style of Louis XVI. James Fellner designed it, and it was built between 1765—85, at the cost of two million guilders. It is a square building, standing by itself, with a great courtyard and imposing observatory tower. The artist Sigrist covered the ceiling of its great hall with a most beautiful fresco painting, representing the four divisions of Science: Theology, Law, Medicine and Philosophy. The Library, which contains 65.000 volumes, has a large hall, upon the ceiling of which John Kracker painted a picture of the Council of Trent in which there are 133 life size figures. Maulbertsch is responsible for the fresco on the roof of the large chapel, whose subject is „Heavenly Bliss" and in which the figures of the Hungarian national saints are represented. This building serves both as an Art Gallery and the Museum of the Lyceum. In it, besides, there are the theological school, the teachers training school, and the elementary schools, together with a printing press. It is generally held that it has as many windows as there are days in the year.

The *County Hall* is one of the beautiful public buildings of Eger. The rococo ironwork in the gateway and passage is a worthy rival of the finest examples in any country. This building was erected in 1765, by Bishop Count Francis Barkóczy who was at that time the lord-lieutenant of the county also. In the ground floor passage, one of the doors, which are richly ornamented with iron work, bears the coats of arms of the Bishop and the county. Both



Old Castle, Egervár.

of them are real masterpieces of XVIIIth century beaten-iron work, though the craftsman who executed them is unknown.

Another fine example of the baroque style in secular buildings is the *Késmárk Town Hall*. The people of Késmárk built a town hall on this very site as early as 1461. The architect of that building was George of Szepesszombat. We know the name, because in 1464 he made an offer to the city to repair the roof of the sanctuary of the St. Egidius Church, and the letter in which the offer was made, is still preserved in the town archives. A clock was added to the City Hall in 1506, costing 20 guilders 60 denars. This City Hall was burned down in 1515. Then it was rebuilt, and in 1541 transformed. In this year one „Master Kunz", for 200 guilders and two casks of wine, supplied six carved stone windows, two other windows, two doors, one fire place and a double staircase. From this period the relief, representing the town's coat of arms, still remains on the wall of the building. Later on it underwent many transformations. The tower was built in 1642. A new façade was contructed in 1799. Not long ago it was again burned down.

In *Pozsony* the *summer palace of the Primate* was built by Count Francis Forgách, Archbishop of Esztergom, in 1614. Later on it was transformed by Imre Eszterházy, the Prince-Primate. One of its stairçases was sold in the nineties of the last century for 4000 guilders and taken to Köpcsény to be built into the Batthányi chateau, in the county of Somogy.

The *Aspremont Chateau* of Pozsony was built by John Robert, Count of Aspremont, to the design of Tallherr, the court architect, 1769. It came into the possession of the Eszterházys in 1780. Haydn worked here.

The *Primate's Palace in Pozsony* was designed by Melchior Hefele, the Primate's architect, in 1787. Messerschmidt, the Austrian artist, did the sculpture.

What was once the Grassalkovich Palace in Pozsony, and later the house of the Archduke Frederich, is an example of the transitional type of building which is something between a city palace and a country chateau. It was built in 1760.

Cseklész Chateau, in the county of Pozsony, a three-towered building with a beautiful situation, was built by Count Eszterházy in 1722.

The Town Hall of Esztergom is linked with the name of Blind Bottyán. In Győr, the oldest part of the Episcopal Palace is from the XIVth century. The greater part of the building, as it stands to-day, was constructed in the XVIIIth century. Statues of cherubs adorn the staircase which is the finest feature of the building.

The Monastery of Pannonhalma is, for the most part, of XVIIth and XVIIIth century origin. The great refectory and the royal reception rooms reveal the characteristic features of the XVIIIth century interior decoration.

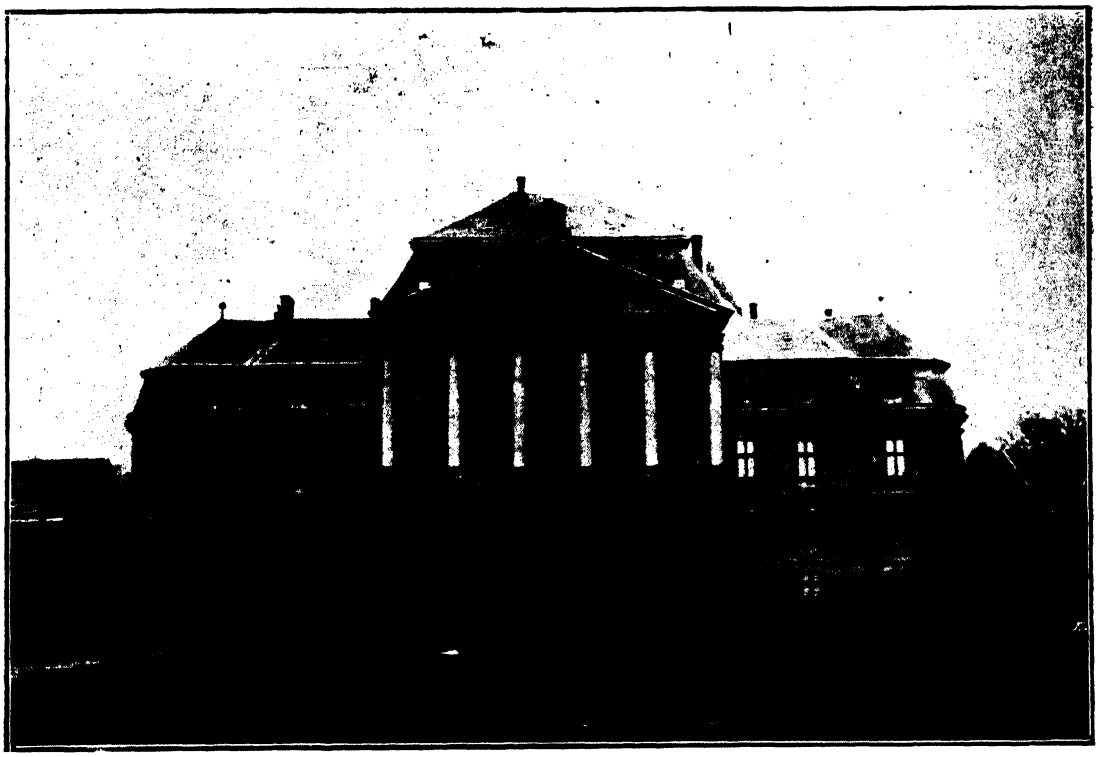
The XVIIIth century U shaped Eszterházy Chateau, in Pápa, is a characteristic example of the larger chateaux of the Hungarian magnates.

The Chateau of Körmend, belonging to the Battyányi family, is also a fine example of XVIIIth century work. Its great park is one of the most beautiful in the country.

The finest example of a Hungarian magnate's chateau is the *Eszterházy Chateau*, in Eszterháza. Prince Nicholas Eszterházy, who was called the „Magnificent" by his contemporaries, after visiting Versailles in 1764, determined to build a similar palace for himself in Hungary. Where there were before only marshes, covered with weeds, there arose with miraculous speed a paradise in the middle of which stood a splendid two storeyed chateau, built in the form of a horseshoe. The designer was Jacoby who took the French chateaux for his model. From beginning to end, the building was completed in two short years, 1764—66. On its frontage the quieter lines of the Louis XVI style are enriched by rococo ornaments. In the interior a whole suite of rooms is ornamented in the rococo manner. There are 126 rooms, splendidly furnished. The park is laid out in the French manner, and there used to stand in it temples of the Sun, Diana, Fortune and Venus, a Chinese house and a hermit's abode. These later disappeared. Here Haydn lived and worked between 1760—1790. This beautiful chateau was the scene of many great festivals, such as e. g. that of 1775, when Maria Theresa paid a visit and that of 1791, when Antal Eszterházy was inducted as lord-lieutenant; which latter festival cost 680,000 guilders.

The *Royal Palace in Buda* is from the time of Maria Theresa and is the finest building in the capital. It was begun by the Imperial architect, Joseph Hildebrandt,

The Chateau, Onód.



The Ducal Chateau at Körmend.

and finished in 1777. After the siege of 1849 it was renovated and later considerably enlarged, according to the plans of Aloysius Hauszman.

The *Gödöllő Chateau* was built by Grassalkovich who was the owner of another famous chateau in Pozsony.

In Transylvania, the fortified chateau of Fogaras is an example of the four towered type. Ladislaus Apor, the Vajda, began it in 1310, but it received its present form in the time of Gabriel Bethlen.

The Brassó Town Hall, in its older parts, dates from 1420, but during the XVIIth and XVIIIth centuries it underwent considerable transformation.

VIII. XIXth CENTURY BUILDINGS.

The XIXth century is not nearly so rich in architectural monuments as the century which preceded it. At the beginning of the century the empire style held the field. This was due to the great prestige of Napoleon. We already see the approach to classical forms in the Louis XVI style. These forms play an even more important role. In the later period, during which Europe was generally impoverished as a result of the Napoleonic wars, and the tendency was towards economy, the forms of architecture became simpler. This is the Biedermayer period in which we find the simpler forms of the Empire style.

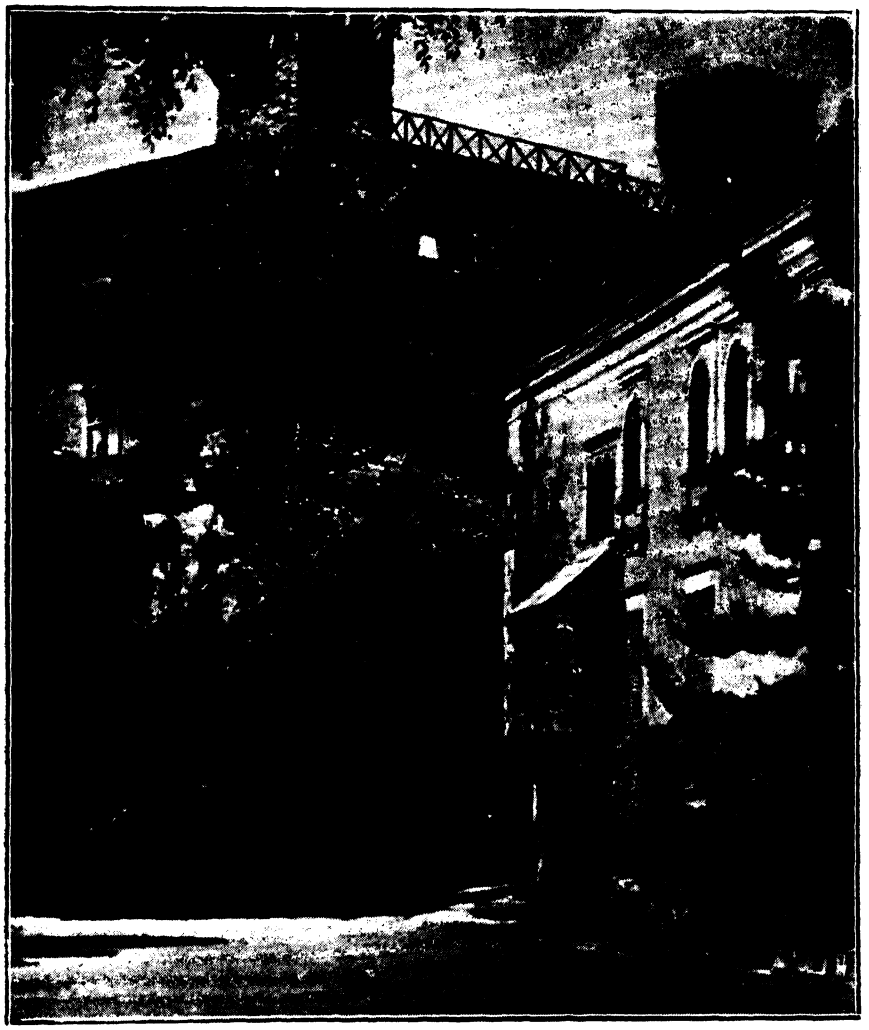
Of this period, the most important example in Budapest is the *National Museum*, with its pillared frontage, designed by Michael Pollák, and built between 1836—46. It was Pollák likewise who drew up the plans for the *Prime Minister's House* as it is to-day, in Buda, which, however, when it was built in 1804, was the house of Count Sándor. Under this head also may be grouped the *Reformed Church* in Calvin Square, formerly the Haymarket. Antal Balla was the designer and building was begun in 1801. The *Lutheran Church*, in Deák Square, was the work of Michael Pollák. Its foundation stone was laid in 1799.

One more building may be mentioned, belonging to this period. The so-called

called Lloyd Building, on the Francis Joseph Square, which was built between 1827—30 to the plans of Joseph Hild.

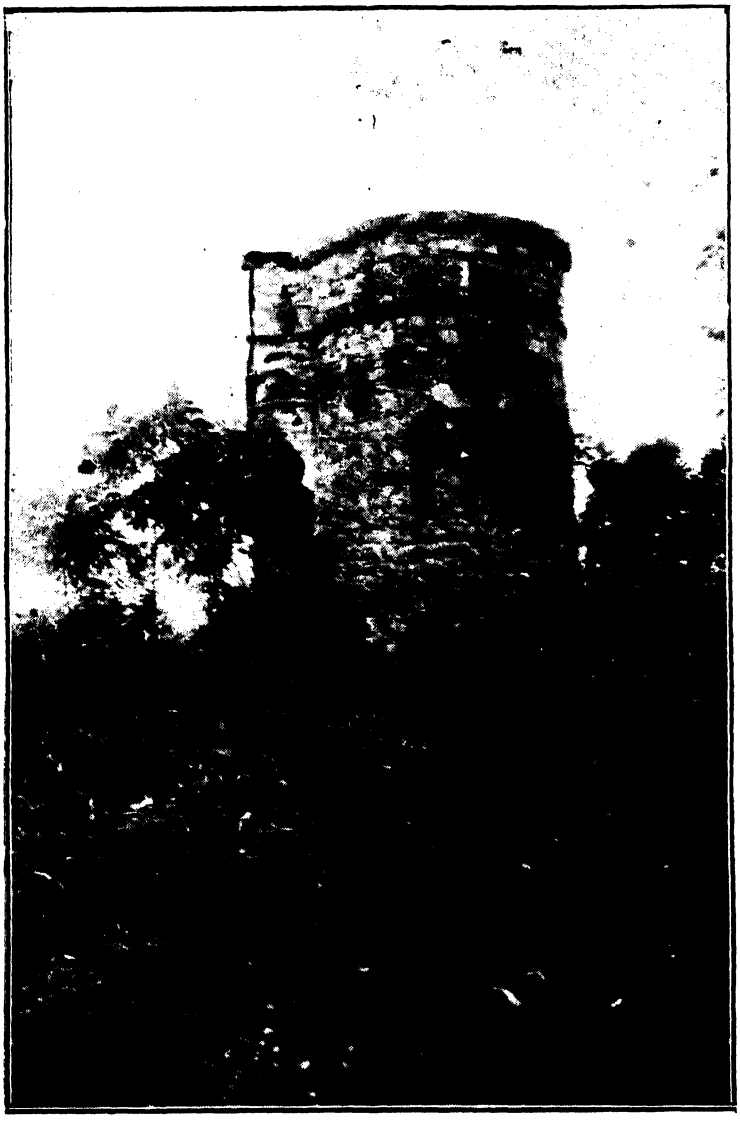
Several buildings of architectural interest were built during this period in the provinces also. Among the earliest of these was the great *Presbyterian Church of Debrecen.* This is a most imposing building, with two towers and a pillared façade, which stands at the head of the Main Street. On this site there used to stand the Church of St. Andrew which was as old as the XIIth century. This church fell into the hands of the Reformers at the time of the Reformation, but in 1564 it was burned down. Then, in 1802—04, the present church was built on the old site.

When the great Rákóczi bell is rung in the old church tower, the sound is carried above the houses of the town far over the Great Plain. This bell was presented to the town by Prince George Rákóczi in 1637. Six thousand people can find places in the church. It was here that Louis Kossuth, on April 14, 1849, issued the declaration of Hungarian independence and formally dethroned the Habsburgs.



A part of the Rákóczi Castle, Sárospatak.

Esztergom, under the Turkish rule, and by reason of successive sieges, was almost completely destroyed. The old beautiful cathedral in the Roman style which stood upon the Castle Hill, with the other excellent buildings, fell into ruins, with the single exception of the Bakócz Chapel. This



Tower dating from the times of King Matthias, Törtel.

chapel and the walls of the castle were particularly cared for by General Maximilian Schuhknecht, the castle's last commander, and for his good work he was buried under the Bakócz Chapel in 1732. When the Turkish dominion in Hungary came to an end, Esztergom lost its strategic importance, and so Maria Theresa gave it back to the church. Francis Barkóczy, the Primate, applied himself with great enthusiasm to the task of clearing the Castle Hill and dismantling the battlements, 1761—65. His ambition was to build a splendid cathedral on that site, but his death shortly afterwards held up his designs. It was only after a half century passed that the Archbishop Alexander Rudnay began the building of what is now the greatest church in Hungary. It was the same Archbishop Rudnay, previously Bishop of Transylvania, who brought back the Chapter from Nagyszombat in 1820, where it had been established for 277 years, to Esztergom.

In 1822 the foundations of the present cathedral were laid on the summit of the Castle Hill, on St. Adalbert's day — April 23 — with great celebrations in which the Palatine Joseph and other state and church dignities took part. The building was directed by John Pack whose relative, Paul Kühnel, the Viennese architect, was responsible for the plans. The work went on without interruption until 1831. During this time a great crypt was built. The liberal Archbishop Rudnay gave 820 thousand guilders for this building, because from the collection made in the country he received only 130.000 guilders. When Cardinal Rudnay died in 1831, the primacy was unfilled for 7 years and building ceased. In 1838, Joseph Kopácsi, Bishop of Veszprém, was elected as his successor and he continued the work which had been begun by Cardinal Rudnay. For this purpose he applied three years' income from the see of Veszprém.

The distinguished architect of the building, John Pack, died in the meantime. His place was taken by Joseph Hild who made several changes, not only on the original design, but on the parts of the building already built also. Thus he strengthened the main walls considerably and demolishing the already finished vault of the nave, built a much stronger, with double-arched vaulting. The huge incomes of Archbishop Kopácsy, both from his own archbishopric and the bishopric of Veszprém, and also the continuation and success of the collection all

over the country, made it possible for the building to progress quickly, and accordingly, the huge 6 metres high cross, at the top of the cupola, was set up in its place on the 18th of August, 1841.

Archbishop Kopácsy died in 1847. His successor, John Szcitovszky, the former Bishop of Pécs, was nominated in 1849. He continued the building of the cathedral with similar zeal, so much so that it was consecrated on Aug. 31, 1856, at a splendid church festival when the king, many princes, archbishops, bishops, magnates and many other guests were present.

In 1867 John Simor, formerly the Archbishop of Eger, became the Primate. He gave the cathedral the finishing touch. His architect was Joseph Lippert who carried out some important alterations on the building. The frontage received its final form at this time, with its columned portico. The coping stone was laid on Nov. 1. 1869. This great cathedral was built during 47 years and at the cost of 3,000.000 guilders.

In the portico there are to be seen four coats of arms of the archbishops who built the cathedral, with the following inscription; coepit Rudnay, continuavit Kopácsy, consacravit Szcitovszky, consummavit Simor.

To form an idea of the dimensions of the Cathedral, here are a few data about it: its length is 105 m., its height 100 m., the 24 columns of the cupola are each 19 m. high, their diameter 2 m. The statues of the Cathedral are the work of a Venetian sculptor, Marco Casagrande, and the reliefs are from the hand of Meixner.

The great picture of the high altar shows the Assumption of Mary and is a copy of a work of Titian by a Venetian artist, Grigoletti Michelangelo. He received for the making of the copy 1000 louis d'or.

In Eger, opposite to the Lyceum, stands the large Cathedral, built during the XIXth century. The cathedral was built between 1832—37 by Joseph Hild at the order of Archbishop Ladislaus Pyrker. The double towered building has a cruciform groundplan with a large cupola. Its chancel was decorated with frescoes in 1904, on the occasion of the centenary of the archbishopric at the initiative of the present Archbishop, Louis Szmrecsányi.

The architectural style of the XIXth century may be seen in the Lutheran Church of Lőcse which has a large cupola.

The chapel at Balatonfüred, within the territory of the spa, with its fine concentrically planned little cupola, is a charming example of the architectural style of the early XIXth century.

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Even this short and hastily sketched survey, which I have given on these pages, shows that great building and artistic activity has been carried on in the past in this country, which suffered so much during the 150 years long domination of the Turks. In spite of her cruel dismemberment, she bears witness in the present also to her excellence in the sphere of art, and justifies her faith in her future.

HUNGARY AS THE DEFENDER OF THE WEST.

BY

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BUDAPEST.

HUNGARY AS THE DEFENDER OF THE WEST.

The Treaty of Trianon put an end to compulsory service in Hungary, and gave permission only for voluntary recruitment of soldiers. This restriction was laid down as „a preliminary step to a general limitation of national armaments". The army which was raised by this voluntary method numbered 35.000 officers and men, of which 5% were officers and 6.5% non-commissioned officers.

The conditions of the Peace Treaty forbade mobilisation or anything connected with mobilisation. According to the terms of the Treaty, the numbers of gendarmes, custom-officers, gamekeepers, village and city police, and other such public officials were cut down. And it was forbidden to employ them, just as it was forbidden to employ the railwaymen, for any military purposes whatever.

Similar restrictions reduced the number of infantry corps, cavalry corps, divisions, infantry regiments and batallions, machine gun companies, cyclist squadrons, artillery regiments and batteries, minenwerfer companies and mountain batteries, and at the same time put a maximum limit on munitions.

The whole fleet, together with the ships belonging to the Danube flotilla, had to be handed over to the Allied Powers. Auxiliary cruisers had to be dismantled and converted into merchantmen.

The peace treaty also denied to the Hungarian army the use of aircraft, and demanded the surrender of all existing planes to the Allied Powers.

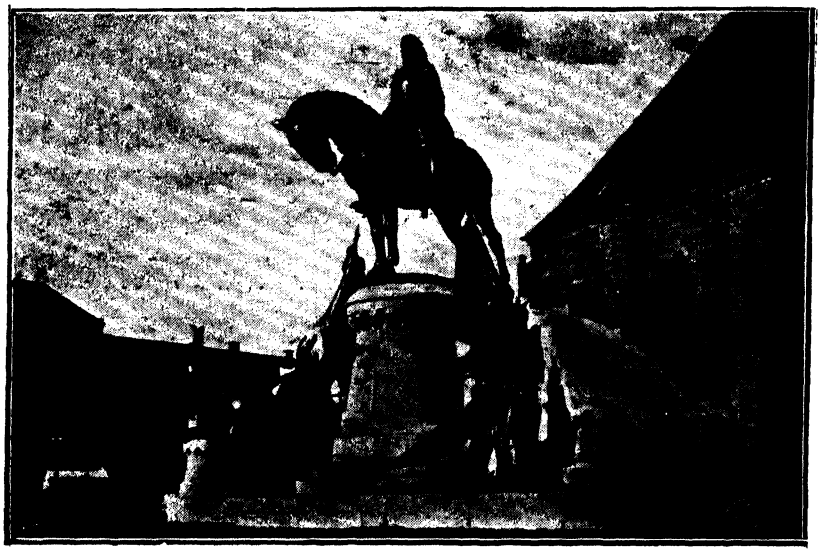
In this way the peace treaty completely deprived Hungary of all means of defence. It is a characteristic of the Hungarian people, which 400 years of Austrian dominion have ingrained in them, that, while they are ready and willing to take up arms when there is need for it and their country is in danger, they are just as unwilling to serve in the army in times of peace. This is the reason why the limit of 35.000 officers and men, allowed by the peace treaty, has not even been reached. This, however, is not the only drawback attaching to the mercenary army. The quality of the men is inferior, while the cost is many times more than that of an army raised by general conscription would be.

The Treaty of Trianon strictly and minutely restricted the armament and the equipment of the Hungarian army, taking account both of quantity and quality in doing so. It has no aeroplanes, no tanks, no heavy artillery, and it is forbidden the use of all weapons employed in chemical warfare, such as are generally used by other states. The artillery of any one of the armies of the Little Entente is at least eight times as strong as that of Hungary.

The disarmament of Hungary took place, according to the Treaty of Trianon, „as a preliminary step to a general limitation of national armament". Now let us see how other states stand in this respect, particularly Hungary's hostile neighbours.

First of all, take the Republic of Czechoslovakia, which stands at the head of the alliance known as the Little Entente, formed to maintain the frontiers drawn by the Treaty of Trianon intact.

It has an army, raised by general conscription, with a peace strength of 150.000 and the war strength of probably 2,000.000 officers and men! The peace strength of the army represents 1.1 per cent of the total population of the country, as compared with Hungary's 0.45 per cent. Naturally the equipment of the army is in all respects both ample and up-to-date. Not to speak of other things, it has an air force with 500 machines. That is to say, the Czechoslovakian army, in one single night, could easily and without meeting the slightest opposition, wipe the capital of Hungary, with all its factories, railways and river docks, off the face of the earth; for the Hungarians



Statue of King Matthias in Kolozsvár. (The work of John Fadrusz.)

have no air force, hardly any anti-aircraft artillery and no means of protection, either for their army, or for the civilpopulation, against gas attacks. When we remember that the war strength of Czecho-Slovakia is 2,000.000, against which Hungary could only put 35.000 men into the field in case of war, the disparity in military strength existing between the two countries becomes glaringly obvious.

Roumania and Yugoslavia likewise possess armies which are recruited by conscription; the young men being called up at a certain age for medical examination and recruited if passed as fit. The average numbers recruited yearly are in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, 140.000, and in Roumania 170.000.

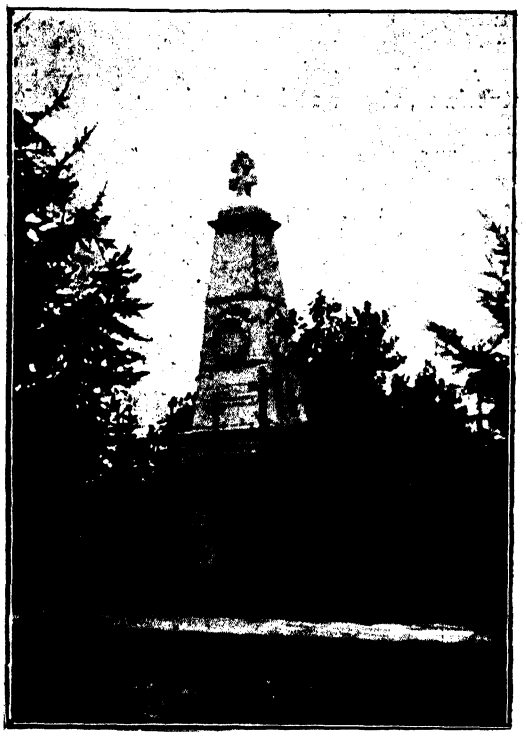
In Yugoslavia, out of every million inhabitants 9.583 are soldiers; in Roumania, 9000. In Hungary, on the other hand, there are only 4000 soldiers out of the million. The war strength of the Roumanian army is probably 2,000.000 and that of Yugoslavia 1,800.000. Thus, if we add the numbers of the armed forces of the three states leagued against us, we get 5,800.000 men. Contrasting this with the number which Hungary, according to the Treaty of Trianon, would be permitted to put in the field, we see that the treaty simply handed Hungary over to her neighbours, helpless. So far, we have only been considering numbers. But we must also remember, that the Hungarian army, owing to its equipment and a complete lack of modern weapons, would be compelled to throw down its arms, should the caprice of the Little Entente one day drive it to attack. One must not forget that from Szob, on the Czechoslovakian frontier, the enemy artillery could bombard Budapest, for the distance between Szob and Budapest is not more than 26 miles.

And, of course, the armament and equipment of the armies both of Yugoslavia and Roumania are just as modern and ample as those of the Czechoslovakian army.

The old Hungary, lying within the great circle of the Carpathians, was the most perfect geographical unity of Europe, a great natural fortress, which, for a thous-

Statue of the great Baron Nikolas Wesselényi at Zilah (Transylvania). The work of John Fadrusz.

War Memorial, Alsógalla.

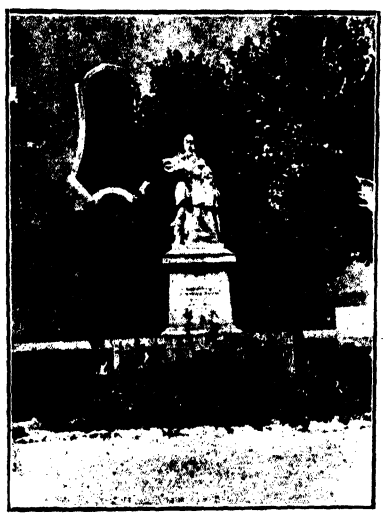


War Memorial, Bonyhád.

War Memorial, Disznóshorvát.

War Memorial, Gindlicsalád.

and years had resisted one enemy after another, Tartars and Turks, and in the four long years of the Great War both the Russian „steam roller" and the forces of Serbia and Roumania. Thanks to the Carpathians, the Hungarians, though greatly outnumbered, were able to stem the tide of the Russian attack, even if the defence of the passes cost them dear. And this natural fortress, the bastion of Europe for a thousand years, which through many vicissitudes had triumphantly resisted the attacks of the barbarians, defended as it was by a people who regarded themselves as the outposts of Western Civilisation, and gladly shed their blood in its defence, this fortress did not fall to a conqueror —



War Memorial, Bonyhád.

the enemy did not set one foot in it during the four years struggle — it was betrayed by the Treaty of Trianon, the world's most crying injustice. This treaty robbed Hungary of its natural frontiers and placed her at the mercy of hostile neighbours, who could advance from the north, south, east and west, unhindered by any natural obstacle. Their armies, equipped with the most modern artillery, could, with their long range guns bombard both Budapest and the other important commercial centres, Szeged, Pécs and Debrecen, from their own territory. The main railway line to the west, running along the Danube, could be destroyed from the Czech side by ordinary field guns.

This historical and geographical unity, this bastion of Europe, has collapsed. But will any of the Succession States, whose gain has been Hungary's loss, be able to shoulder the historic, cultural burden of Hungary and carry it with as much honour?

It was in the year 885, that the Hungarians, a nation of Pagans from the East, led by Árpád, made their way through the Pass of Verecke into Hungary and in a very short time took possession of that land which was to become the home of their children for more than a thousand years.

For the century following the occupation, the warlike tastes and temperament which they had brought with them from Asia, instigated them to seek war and ensue it wherever they could.

This wandering and fighting life had its first salutary check put upon it by Geza, a ruling prince who saw very well, that if this people were to retain possession of their land, they would need to forego their military excursions abroad and adapt themselves to the ways of other European nations. The first step in this direction was to open the gates of the country to the Christian missionaries. Géza himself remained pagan, but his wife was a Christian and his son Stephen received a Christian education and married a Christian wife Gisella, the daugther of Henry of Bavaria. It was through this marriage that the link was forged which bound Hungary to the West. The pioneer work of Géza was completed by his great son whose coronation in 1000, as Stephen I the Apostolic King of Hungary, marked the coming of age of Hungary as one of the nations of Western Europe. From that date, Hungary has been the buttress of the Christian culture of Europe towards the East, a role which she filled with distinction until the Treaty of Trianon took it away from her.

We shall content ourselves with mentioning two classical examples of how the Hungarians shed their blood in defence of Western civilisation.

The Mongols, a people who lived in Central Asia, were welded into one nation at the beginning of the XIIth century. This nomad people, mounted on swift horses and armed with arrows, under Jinghiz Khan soon conquered almost all Asia. His successor Jagatai, finding Asia too small for him, determined to conquer Europe also. His wild and merciless hordes poured westwards in three columns, carrying

destruction wherever they went. They crushed the Russians, they conquered Great Bulgaria and drove the Cumanians from their own home to seek refuge in Hungary.

The Mongols invaded Hungary in three columns from the north, the north east and the south-east. The main body entered the country by way of the Verecke Pass. In March of the year 1240, skirmishing parties of high cavalry infested the neighbourhood of Pest, spreading ruin and destruction wherever they went. It was here that King Béla IV's only ally, the Austrian Prince Frederic Babenberg, came to grip with these wild hordes. But after taking some prisoners he seemed to think that his work was done and marched home. Hungary was thus left entirely to her own resources to face the Mongol-Tartar armies which so far outnumbered any Hungarian force which could be put into the field. It was beside the River Sajó, on the plane of Mohi, that Béla IV fought the decisive battle with the invading hordes on April 11. The disparity in numbers made the prospect of success hopeless and the battle was lost. After the defeat Béla fled for refuge to Babenberg in Austria. Babenberg offered him an innkeeper's hospitality, and when he presented Béla with his score, the unfortunate monarch, on finding that he was asked to pay over all his royal jewels and three western counties for his board and lodging, removed himself elsewhere to the coast of Trau in Dalmatia. Thither the Mongolian hordes pursued him, overrunning Transylvania in the meantime, where they burned and destroyed everything and even knocked down the fruit trees. In the centre of the winter they crossed the Danube on the ice and spread

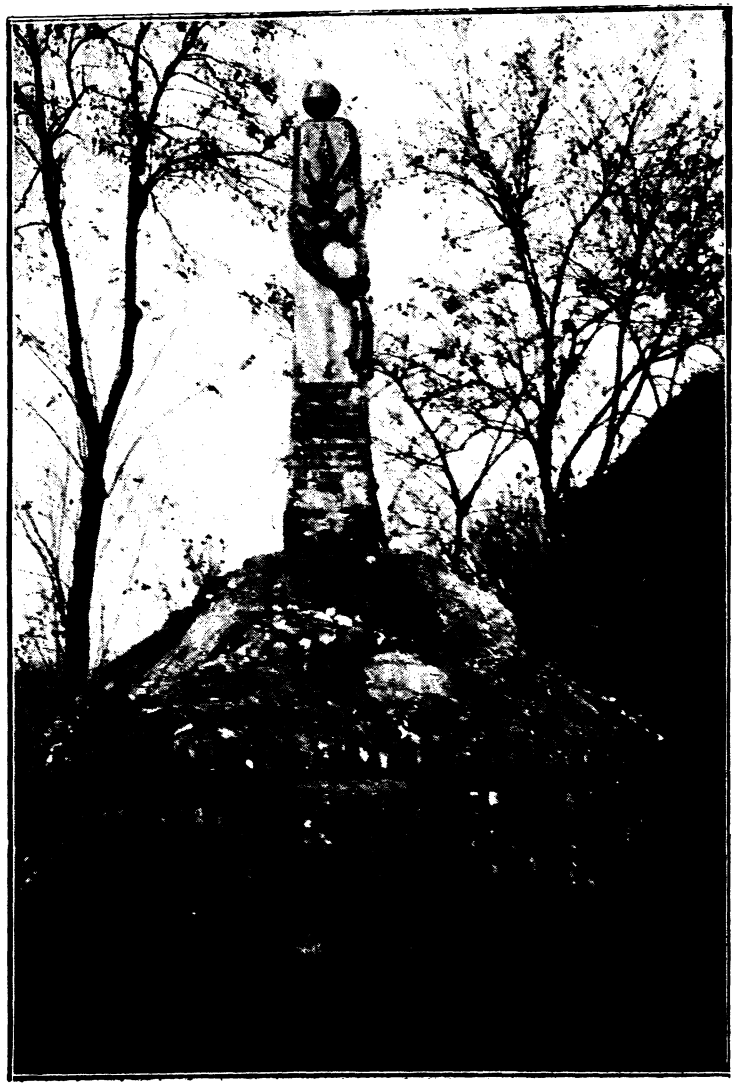
War Memorial. *Dombovár.*

War Memorial, Gamács.

themselves like a destroying flood all over the western parts of the Kingdom. The Hungarian inhabitants fled to the woods and hid themselves in caves, enduring indescribable hardships and living in constant terror of their lives. After the withdrawal of the Mongols, Béla IV returned home and began the rebuilding of a kingdom which had been laid in ruins. The depopulated lands he had repopulated by colonists of every nationality from neighbouring states. He gave them free land, even free stock, and showed them special favour by granting them various privileges. Germans came, bringing with them the culture of the West, and settled in the many cities which they built. King Béla had the cities surrounded by stone walls, so that every city became a fortress which could have been successfully defended against barbarian invaders. The population of these cities steadily increased and it might be said that the country was reconstituted on the basis of western culture during Béla's reign. It is for this reason that this wise king is known as the second founder of Hungary.

The second occasion on which Hungarian blood was freely shed in defence of the West, was during the desperate struggle against the Turks which lasted for more than two hundred years.

The Turks first made their appearance on the borders of Hungary in Transylvania and the south country during the reign of Sigismund, who, besides being King of Hungary, was also German Emperor and King of Bohemia. Sigismund (1387—1437) was a man of exceptional gifts, but instead of employing them to meet the danger threatening from the Turks, he devoted them to the securing of the Bohemian and the German Imperial crowns. His ambitious designs met with success and because of this, Hungary was brought into closer contact with the West than ever. But there was a reckoning to be paid; and the personal success of their king brought more evil to Hungary than it did good. Sigismund came to regard Hungary as being of secondary importance compared to Germany and Bohemia. Instead of trying effectively to stop the Turkish advance, he devoted himself to force the Habsburg Albert on Hungary. And so the shadows of a double tragedy were cast before. From the west, the danger of the Habsburg dominion and from the east that of the Turk, began

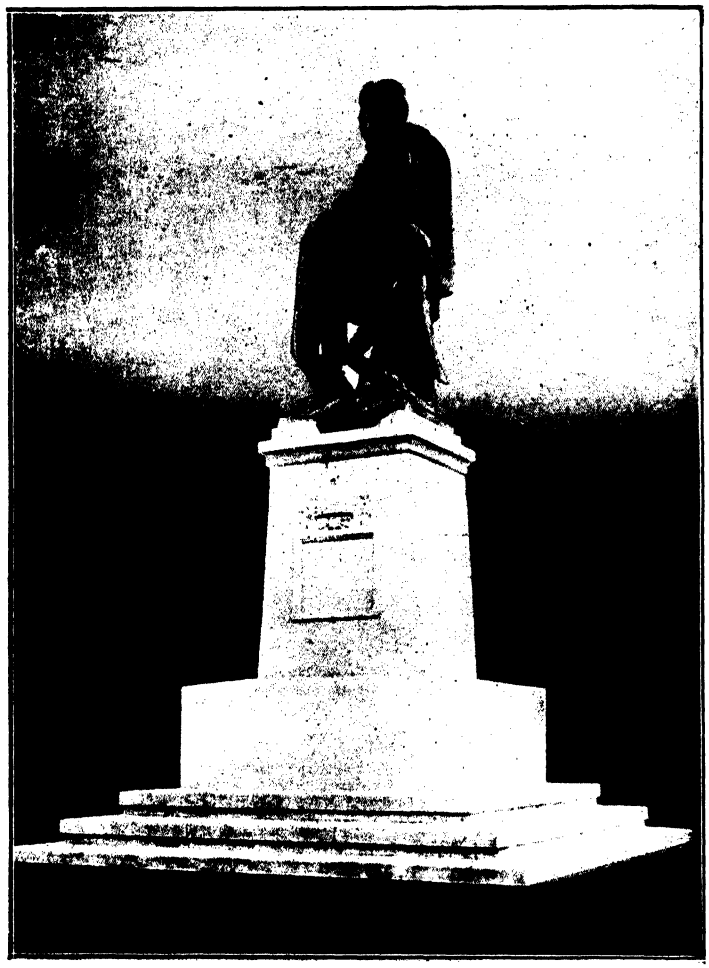


Honvéd Memorial from 1848. Felsőzsolca.

War Memorial, Hajduszovát.

to draw near with all the implacable inevitableness of fate.

The Turks had been driven out of Turkestan by Jinghis Khan and they had proceeded to seize Asia Minor, whence they had launched their attack upon Europe also. The Greek Empire was too weak to stop them and so they succeeded in taking Adrianople almost without opposition, in 1391. The first Hungarian king to meet the Turks in battle was Louis the Great (1342 —1382). He defeated them, but because of the lack of sufficient support, he was unable to execute his great design of driving them out of Europe. From that point the Turkish power in Europe grew steadily. After the battle of the Field of Blackbirds (Turopolje), they overran not only Serbia, but the „bánships" of Szörény and Mács and even the Szerémség. These Turks were fanatical Mohammedans, hating both the Christian religion and civilisation built upon it, and wherever they went they spread destruction with fire and sword. When Serbia passed under the Turkish yoke, Sigismund's suzerainty, which he exercised in the Balkans, was seriously threatened. It was this which determined the Hungarian King (1396) to take vigorous action and instead of wasting time and money on half-hearted, sporadic little campaigns, to measure his strength with theirs in a decisive action. Accordingly, with the help of other European rulers, he raised an army of 80.000 men. This force included 10.000 English, as many French, together with many Czechs, Germans and Poles. Altogether, there were more than 30.000 foreign troops in this army which, by its mixed condition, was reminiscent of the Crusades. On September 12, this array defiled under the walls of Nicapolis and began the siege of the fortress. It was not long before the Sultan Bajazid arrived with a strong army



War Memorial.

Hajdu-böszörmény.

NAWAB SALAR JUNG BAHADUR

to relieve his beleaguered town, and in the battle which ensued the Turks proved to be the victors. 20.000 Christians were left dead on the field and 10.000 were taken prisoners. At the same time, Bajazid had only gained a Pyrrhic victory; for his losses were so severe that he was quite unable to follow up the advantage given him by the fortunes of the day.

The Turk next established himself in Bosnia, Serbia and Wallachia, and from the last-named made several inroads into Transylvania to pillage and destroy. The King endeavoured to form an alliance with the rulers of the little Balkan States, but the Serbs betrayed the fortress of Galambóc, the key to the Temes country, into the hands of the Sultan Murad. Sigismund attempted to regain this important position, but his besieging army was attacked and defeated by a relieving force of Turks, and it was only with great difficulty that the King himself escaped falling into their hands. He had his revenge in 1437, when he won a great victory over the Turks who were besieging Semendria, but this success was not sufficient to check the invaders' progress for long.

After Sigismund's death, the Hungarians, trusting in the promises which Sigismund had repeatedly made, elected Albrecht of Habsburg as their king; and with this election, the ruling family of the Habsburgs struck its roots into Hungarian soil.

Meanwhile the Sultan Murad had been unable to forget the indignity of the defeat his troops had sustained at Semendria and so he set himself to avenge it. In 1439, he himself in person led a huge force of 130.000 men to besiege the town again. Brankovich, the treacherous Serb prince, hastened to Buda to ask help from Albrecht who, without considering the repeated treachery of this man, hurriedly raised an army of 24.000 men and marched south. Before he got as far as Titel, however, Murad had taken Semendria. To make matters worse, dysentery decimated his army, the King himself falling a victim to the disease. Thereafter, without advancing further, the army went to pieces and dispersed in all directions.

The reign of Wladislas, Albrecht's successor (1440—1444), was marked by a series of brilliant successes won against the Turks. Providence blessed Hungary with a

War Memorial, Hajdunánás.

The Statue of „Kuruc". Kiskunhalas.

great leader, by whose energy and genius the terrible Turkish armies were kept in check, far from the Hungarian frontier. This was the great John Hunyadi who won one battle after another at Gyulafehérvár, Szent-Imre, Nagyszeben and the Iron Gate, the head of a Hungarian army which was reinforced by German and Polish contingents, began a victorious march southwards through Nish and Sofia into the heart of the Balkans. All Europe rejoiced over the success of the campaign and the Pope even

The first statue of Petőfi in Kiskőrös.

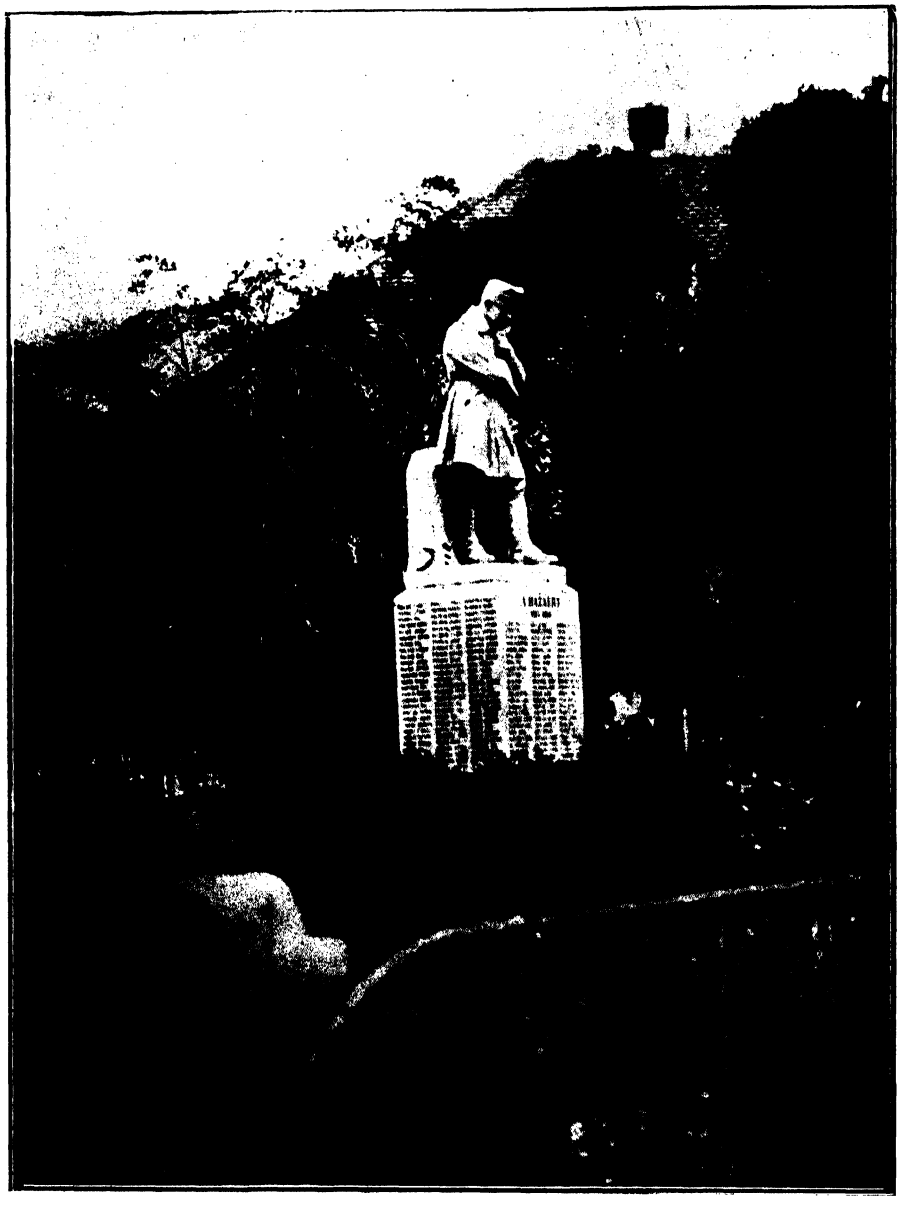
where he dealt the Sultan's forces smashing blows.

In 1443, at the Diet of Buda, the Estates, elated at the successes of Hunyadi, determined to send an army to support him against the foe. And so in the autumn of the same year, Wladislas and Hunyadi, at tried to stir up a crusade, in order to put Hunyadi at the head of an army strong enough to drive the Turks out of Europe.

Murad was alarmed by the stir created all over Europe and hastened to offer favourable peace terms which Wladislas accepted in 1444. In the same year, neverthe-

less, the offensive was begun again with an army led by the King and containing reinforcements from many different European states. Hunyadi opposed this new venture and events justified his opposition, for at the battle of Várna, fought on November 10th, 1444, the army of Wladislas was defeated and he himself slain. Four years later, on the 18th and 19th October, 1448, 17.000 Hungarians fell in the disastrous battle on the Field of Blackbirds, while the Serbs killed or robbed the fugitives as they fled homewards from the scene of the defeat. In this battle the Wallachians, led by their Voyvode, Dán, fought with the Hungarians under Hunyadi, and also suffered great losses.

Then came 1453 and the capture of Constantinople by Mohammed II. After that, the Turks set before themselves seriously the subjugation of Hungary. In the first plan, the Sultan, not content with his suzerainty over Serbia, demanded from Brankovich, its prince, that he should deliver up



War Memorial, Kiskőrös.

The Statue of Bocskay. Kismarja.

The Statue of General Gvadányi, the Poet. Rudabánya.

War Memorial, Kőröshegy.

War Memorial, Szerep.

The Statue of Árpád in Ráckeve.

the country entirely to the Turks. And now all the treacheries and intrigues of which that ruler had been guilty in his dealings with the Hungarians, were fully avenged on himself, and he was driven to plead for help from the people he had so often tricked. Hunyadi set himself to persuade the various states of Europe to combine against the Turk, but without success. Then in 1456 news came that the Sultan was making ready for a great attack upon Hungary and that he was even then on the march towards Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade). Hunyadi hurried to anticipate him and succeeded in throwing a force of 7000 men into the town. Leaving them there to hold it, he himself returned home to raise an army. With the help of John Capistran, the fervent priest, he succeeded in collecting 45—50.000 men, and with this force he was able to inflict a severe defeat on the much larger Turkish army besieging Nándorfehérvár, on the 22nd July. It was to commemorate this great victory that the Pope decreed that the bells of all churches should be rung at noon, each day, all over Europe. And to this day, at twelve o'clock the Church bells are rung, but the Trianon Treaty seems to indicate to the Hungarians that Europe has forgotten why they are rung.

Again in 1463, the Turks invaded Hungary, but one of the generals of King Matthias, the son of John Hunyadi, drove them out. In the same year, the King in person led an expedition against them through the Balkans and succeeded in recovering the larger part of Bosnia. Thereafter, Matthias was continually embroiled with the Turks whom he was able to hold in check, so as to stand between them and their ambition to conquer Europe. In this task the Hungarian King was left to himself entirely. Indeed he had to fight for the integrity of his Kingdom against other European powers, Austrian and Czech, as well as against the Turk. Then he died in Vienna in 1490, and with his death, things began to move swiftly towards the tragedy of Hungary.

Under Matthias's successors, Wladislas II and Louis II, Hungary fell to pieces, the prey of enemies both on the east and on the west, till disaster was crowned in Mohács. It is sometimes called the grave of Hungary's greatness and it could not be better named. The powerful Hungary of St. Stephen, Louis the

Great and Matthias was interred on the field of Mohács, although the consequences of that battle to the existence of the Kingdom were not anything like so appalling as those of the Treaty of Trianon.

In 1518 the Pope summoned the European States to raise a crusade, and sent intimation of his plans to every court in Europe. The princes agreed to the Pope's proposals and the Emperor Maximilian even uttered liberal advice as to the best means by which the Turks' power in Europe could be crushed. But nothing came of it all, although Pope Alexander VI permitted Louis XI of France to appropriate a tenth of the Church's revenue to provide him with funds for a crusade. The French king collected the money and promptly turned it to other purposes.

When Louis II remarked the procrastination of the princes, he made a three years armistice with the Sultan Selim in 1519, hoping thus to gain time for Hungary and her possible allies to make preparations for the struggle ahead. His armistice, however, did not last very long, for in the following year Soliman ascended the Turkish throne. Thereupon Louis II sent ambassadors to Venice to ask for help from the Pope and the Emperor, but the embassy met with no success. During the Electoral Diet of Worms, the Hungarian delegates emphasised that Hungary was no longer able to shoulder the burden of the Turkish wars alone, since the ceaseless struggle of 150 years had sapped the life blood of their country. To Charles V, however, the recovery of Milan, which had been lost to the French in 1515, was more important than the defence of Europe against the Turks and it was soon evident, not only that no help was to be expected from the Emperor, but also that the two principal Christian powers would soon be at each other's throat. Although Charles V knew of Soliman's great preparations, he yet refused all satisfaction to the Hungarian delegates. In despair they complained that though the Pope and the French King had often broken faith with the Hungarians by promising them help which never materialised, they expected more from the German Emperor. To this the Emperor replied that once he had set the affairs of his realm in order, he would join the other Christian states in helping Hungary. Till then he advised the Hungarians to make peace with the Turks for one year, on such terms only, however, as would not be humiliating to the Christian religion, the Christian states or to the Hungarian King. With this cold comfort, the Hungarian delegates had to be content.

Soliman, on his side, seing how things stood, acted at once and in that same year — 1521 — seized first Szabács, then Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade), the two keys of the Alföld, and then Zimony and Titel. The advance of the Turks at last stirred the Emperor and on the 23d of March, 1522, he summoned the Imperial Diet to meet at Nuremberg. Once more the alarm

War Memorial, Salgótarján.

was sounded: Hungary was lost if she did not receive aid in time. The Hungarian delegates reported to the Diet that 500 Turkish vessels were moored off Nándorfehérvár and that a thousand camels were transporting munitions of war thither. They asked for 5000 men to guard the Croatian frontier and for 12.000 to reinforce the Hungarian army, which, further strengthened by a force of 12.000 men from Bohemia, would then be able to attack the frontier fortresses. They further requested the Emperor to attack the Turks by sea from Naples, and to persuade the other princes to cooperate in the great campaign. And lastly they asked the Imperial authorities to pro-

vide the young and unexperienced Louis II with trustworthy advisers.

In response to questions put by the Diet, the delegation reckoned the strength of the enemy's forces to be about 200.000 men, while the army of the Hungarian King did not amount to more than 60.000. King Louis, however, would ask the support of his Czech vassals and it was certain that they would loyally respond. In addition, it was to be

War Memorial, Tiszanána.

hoped that the Wallachian Voyvode, once he saw the strength of the Christian army, would make up his mind to join them. How like the Wallachians! Five hundred years ago this Roumanian people was also cautiously waiting to see which way the cat would jump. They had no intention even then of being on the losing side.

On receiving the reply of the Hungarian delegation, the Imperial Diet appointed a commission to make inquiries, on the basis of which they had to express an expert opinion. This experts' report was accepted by the estates and in a letter to King Louis, dated the 12th of April, they promised him strong support, in earnest of which — so ran the letter — they were sending a contingent 3.000 strong, with the condition, however, that Louis should raise as many men in Bohemia and should himself provide the arms and equipment.

Later on, another delegation was sent to Vienna, which, however, had to return with even colder comfort. It was made plain to them that while the struggle with France lasted, not much help was to be expected from the Empire whose best troops were already fully employed. The Vienna conversations were protracted, but nothing much came of them. Hungary had to resign herself to the knowledge that so long as the European powers were occupied fighting one another, there was little chance of getting help from them.

Further imperial diets were summoned in 1522 and 1524, at Nüremberg, and in 1526, at Speyer, to deal with the Turkish danger, but none of them had any practical consequences. The upshot was that the Hungarians were entirely left to themselves. Their treasury was empty and they had to sell the jewels and other valuables in their churches to find the necessary arms and ammunition, when on the field of Mohács, without an ally and with only a force of 30.000 men, they were compelled to meet a Turkish army four times as strong. Naturally they were defeated. Their young king — he was only 20 years old — was drowned in the 'Csele, fleeing from that stricken field on which 24.000 Hungarian warriors lay dead.

After the battle, the Turks sacked Buda and ravaged the country lying between the Danube and the Tisza, before retiring south with their booty and many thousands of Hungarian prisoners, destined for the slave markets of Stamboul.

At Mohács Hungary lost her independence, and from that day she had to fight a life and death struggle with two sets of sworn enemies, with the Turks on the one hand, and on the other, with the Hungarian Kings' Austrian advisers, who steadfastly pursued their end of making Hungary a hereditary province.

The Hungarians were thus left between two fires, and thus they remained for many a long day. Their long struggles with the Turks bled the nation white, but in the end they did prevent the Turkish power from spreading westwards. At the same time and after, as the nation gathered strength, they fought continually for the

principles of liberty against the despotism of the Habsburgs, till in this struggle also they at length emerged successful. None who knows the terrible history of those three centuries following the battle of Mohács, can withhold from the Hungarian nation the tribute of sympathy and admiration.

The third occasion on which Hungary has had to bear the brunt of a danger threatening Europe from the East, brings us up to our own times; and, though in a different way, this modern eastern menace was, and is still no less serious than the menace of Islam and the Turks.

The latest danger threatening the West is the Bolshevism of Russia. How Hungary came to close grips with the Bolsheviks and succeeded in extirpating them within her own borders, is already a matter of common knowledge. But the danger is still imminent from Russia, and it is not a matter of common knowledge how weak are the barriers against it. Of those states which, in virtue of their position, must bear the responsibility of defending Europe against the encroachments of Bolshevist Russia, none but Poland seems to be really reliable.

Roumania is a comparatively new state and in many respects only a loose compound of incompatible elements, incapable of offering a solid resistance to any serious attack whatever. Moreover, were she threatened from Russia, she would most certainly have to reckon with the disloyalty of most of the people of Bessarabia.

Czechoslovakia has no marked dislike of Bolshevism and is saturated with Panslav sentiment, so that any opposition which she might offer to Russia would at the best be but half-hearted. Poland would put all her heart into a struggle with Russia, should Russia attack her, but if she were to depend upon the help of the Czechs and the Roumanians, she would be leaning upon broken reeds. Hungary alone of all the states of Central Europe is designated — both by nature and tradition — to be the strongest bastion defending the West against this menace from the East. She has no ties of race with Russia, no happy memories of her dealings with the old Russia and no love of the spirit of the new. The Hungarians themselves have been tested and have come out of their trials with honour. In the past, they have not hesitated to throw themselves in the way of fearsome floods flowing from the East, nor have they counted the cost of stemming them. And it is certain that, if their duty called them to play that part in the future which they have played so well in the past, the spirit of their ancestors, who fought the Mongol, the Turk and the Austrian, would flame forth once again in a new generation of Hungarians called upon to resume their nation's ancient role.

War Memorial, Ujszentiván.

BUDAPEST, the metropolis of Hungary, is one of the most beautiful cities of the world. The marvellous situation, the splendid buildings and the colossal bridges over the Danube, would make it world famous, even without its most efficient thermal sources, which a munificent nature so amply bestowed on it.

The most delightful spot of this stupendous metropolis and at the same time the most valuable thermal bath of Europe is St. Margaret's Island. It is a veritable fairyland in the midst of a great city. The beautiful arms of the Danube embrace it, separating the lovely island from the tumultuous life of the city, so that in clean, healthy air, every one can find all the resources of convalescence, of entertainment, and of recreation.

Amidst the giant trees of the secular park are hidden the modern great hotels, the sanatoriums, and the magnificent bath buildings, all guaranteeing the best comfort. At the same place, where once, in the 13th century, St. Margaret, the king's daughter, healed the poor sufferers, to-day modern science with the aid of the sulphurous hot springs, heals the sufferers. The picturesque ruins of the medieval cloister are witnesses of the lovely island's glorious past.

St. Margaret Island offers also an endless variety of sporting and intellectual amusements. The island is fitted for every kind of sport, with the most modern and perfect paraphernalia. Besides horse racing, polo, golf, tennis, pigeon shooting and other things, there are rowing, yachting, swimming, fishing or special sports for the guests. In the enormous basins of the Strand Bath, filled with hot mineral water, several thousand people can enjoy at the same time the splendid sunshine, the bracing forest air, and the beneficial action of the waves. On the Sport Grounds of the Hungarian Athletic Club thrilling matches are always to be found, football, races, and other athletic games. On the Danube may be viewed the exciting regattas of the numerous rowing clubs.

Theatres and symphony concerts also entertain the guests, with the most carefully chosen artists appearing in the programs. These take place every afternoon and evening. The Island Club offers the greatest comfort more than which the most exclusive society desires nothing.

All these grounds, buildings and other arrangements, are nearly lost and hidden among the colossal trees of the beautiful park, so that surounded by the thick forest, amidst gorgeous and many-coloured flowers, one may enjoy undisturbed the songs of the birds.